

THE ANALYSIS OF THE FEMALE DRIVERS' INTERNALIZATION AND
REPRODUCTION OF GENDER STEREOTYPED PERCEPTIONS IN TRAFFIC

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ABSTRACT

THE ANALYSIS OF THE FEMALE DRIVERS' INTERNALIZATION AND REPRODUCTION OF GENDER STEREOTYPED PERCEPTIONS IN TRAFFIC

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This study investigates the factors of stereotypical perceptions about female drivers, the internalization and reproduction of negative perceptions by female drivers themselves in active traffic in Turkey. In this context, the effects of patriarchal ideology and male norms on female drivers' driving features were analyzed by focusing on age, social status and social transformation of female drivers through their own driving experiences with the feminist standpoint approach. Additionally, in order to survive in traffic as an active female driver the coping strategies that they developed were examined through their subjectivities. To collect the data triangulation research method was used in this study. In the quantitative part, 118 male and female respondents answered to an online survey and in the qualitative part of the research semi-structured in-depth interviews were carried out with 20 female drivers between the age of 35 to 65 from upper-middle and middle-class women who live in Ankara. According to the findings of the study, both male and female drivers reproduce gender stereotyped perception about female drivers. Moreover, female drivers internalize and reproduce negative "female driver" stereotype by developing a hierarchy among women drivers by emulating

masculinity as a coping strategy which strengthens the ideology of patriarchy and hegemonic masculinity.

Keywords: Driving, female drivers, stereotyped perceptions, traditional masculinity, coping strategies

ÖZ

TRAFİKTE CİNSİYET KALIPYARGILARININ KADIN SÜRÜCÜLER TARAFINDAN İÇSELLEŞTİRİLMESİ VE YENİDEN ÜRETİLMESİNİN ANALİZİ

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Bu çalışma kadın sürücülerle ilgili kalıpyargı içeren algıların etkenlerini ve Türkiye’de aktif trafikteki kadın sürücülerin bu kalıpyargıları içselleştirme ve yeniden üretme süreçlerini araştırmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, ataerkil ideoloji ve eril normların kadın sürücülerin sürücülük özellikleri üzerindeki etkileri yaş, sosyal statü ve sosyal transformasyona odaklanarak kadınların sürücülük deneyimleri üzerinden feminist duruş kuramı ile analiz edilmiştir. Bununla birlikte, aktif olarak araç kullanan kadın sürücülerin trafikte var olabilmek için geliştirdikleri baş etme stratejileri kendi öznellikleri üzerinden incelenmiştir. Bu araştırmada veri toplama yöntemi olarak üçgenleme (nirengi) metodu kullanılmıştır. Çalışmanın nicel kısmında 118 kadın ve erkek katılımcı anket sorularına internet üzerinden cevap vermiş, nitel kısımda ise Ankara’da yaşayan, 35 ila 65 yaş aralığında orta ve orta üst sınıf 20 kadın sürücüyle yarı yapılandırılmış derinlemesine mülakatlar yapılmıştır. Çalışmanın bulgularına göre hem kadın hem de erkek sürücülerin kadın sürücülerle ilgili cinsiyet kalıpyargıları bulunmaktadır. Bununla birlikte, kadın sürücüle erilliği taklit ederek kendi aralarında bir hiyerarşi oluşturmakta, “kadın sürücü”

kalıpyargısını içselleřtirip, yeniden üreterek ataerkil yapıyı ve hegemonik erkeklik ideolojisini güçlendirmektedirler.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sürücülük, kadın sürücüler, kalıpyargılar, geleneksel erkeklik, baş etme stratejileri

To Ege,
To my beloved daughter without whom my life wouldn't be meaningful

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

When I was a child my best play was driving my imaginary car. I was holding the red colored glass bowl as the wheel and the roller as the gear of my car. We had a big American car which has a great motor sound but neither my big sister nor I could drive it because it was not “suitable” for us. Also, my mother could not drive our family car although she had a driver license because our car belonged to my father and he was in charge of driving activity in our family. I got my driver license when I was 22 years old but since I didn’t have my own car I couldn’t drive actively. Two years after my marriage we bought a modest, used car, but still I wasn’t reaching our car to drive because the car was being used by my husband and I was using the shuttle service to go to work and I needed to walk 15 minutes to come back home. When I was 26, I had a one-year old child and I decided to buy a car with my savings and the support of my father and I bought a car the Fiat 126 Bis that was the smallest car I had ever seen. In the beginning I was frightened to drive in active traffic because I thought that I forgot how to drive and I had no experience to drive in flowing traffic but with the self-courage I dived into the active traffic. Since then I have been driving and I still love to drive. But I cannot stop thinking that what if I was a son of my father in which way this story could be changed.

There is a common perception among people that women are “bad drivers” or in another words, women cannot drive as good as “men”. Although the number of female drivers is rapidly increasing in the active traffic in Turkey today, I wanted to understand why we are still being stigmatized with such a negative assertion because of our gender. Then I realized that not only men have this stereotyped perception about women drivers but also many women have the same thought about other women drivers. As we all know, female drivers are criticized for being incompetent, insufficient and incapable for driving compared to male drivers. When most of us actively drive in a flowing traffic and meet a vehicle which moves slower than

expected in the left lane, without seeing the person most people would automatically think that the driver should be a woman who is not able to drive properly and blocking the traffic.

The definition of a “good driver” can be defined as the person who obeys and follows the traffic rules and safety regulations in order not to put the passengers, other drivers, pedestrians and him/herself in to the dangerous positions while driving a motor vehicle. This definition may be valid in every country and traffic rules are universal for all drivers. But when we watch the traffic or driving in active traffic, what is really happening? How can we explain what is really happening among drivers while they are driving? Researchers in many different areas agree that driving is not a simple but is a very complex action which is related with the time, space, economy, psychology, culture, class and gender.

The concept of gender refers to the attitudes, activities, social norms and power relations of males and females that a society considers appropriate for one sex over another. According to Peterson and Runyan (1993), masculinity and femininity which indicate one’s gender involve a bunch of complex features and behaviours specified for a particular sex and the socialization process is the way of learning these features and behaviours. They also indicate that gender is a social construction with a system of power which put men/masculinity above women/femininity. This patriarchal system operates institutions and practices through male domination and/or represented by masculine characteristics. Sexuality and gender are both personal and social identities which actualize through our relationships with others and they have links with social recognition and social interaction. It can be said that individuals are bound by society and culture across history and experiences does differ in different societies therefore gender can be esteemed as fluid and flexible concept and related with the asymmetrical power relations. Asymmetrical power relations have negative consequences especially for women. Inequality is a kind of institutional violence which can be seen in social norms that prevent women’s authority and limit their independence. Women are generally more disadvantaged than men to reach information, to access resources, to become a decision maker and are less visible in public sphere.

When we talk about driving, we naturally consider traffic, cars and drivers. But these are not enough to understand or evaluate what is happening in the driver's seat. Driving is a complicated action that occupies social, cultural, behavioral features with the impact of various time and space. Although it seems just the same, driving activity can also be affected by different cultures in different countries. Generally, in every society automobile and related activities and features such as car races, spare parts, modified cars are masculine subjects and this area is related to masculine domination by men. Although women can drive, they are criticized by being insufficient, careless and bad drivers. Like all other areas which are dominated by men, women become subsidiary and feel sorry for their so called "incompetency". Thus, driving activity has a very close relation with gender roles and they both affect each other. Among men possessing a car or the brand of the car they possess can be a status symbol, but among women only having a driver license can be a status symbol by itself.

In some countries or societies, the brand comes forward to symbolize the status of the owner and in some other societies regardless of the brand having an automobile can provide a class and status privilege to the owner. Between 60's and early 80's although there were very few female drivers in Turkey, without driving actively only having a driver license was a very prestigious thing in itself among upper class women. According to Turkish General Directorate of Security the percentage of female drivers before 1980s was less than 13.5 %. But after 1980s the status indicator, driving itself became more functional action for middle- and upper-class women because women started to be more visible in the public space by entering the working life and began to earn money. I wonder how this social transformation affected different generations and shaped their self-experiences about being a female driver. The negative perception of "women driver" can be changed according to cultures and countries. For example, in United States becoming a driver is mostly related with the age and economic conditions of the person but in Saudi Arabia it is firstly related to gender. In Turkey, general perception about female drivers keeps some ideas that female drivers are incompetent, incapable, limiting the traffic and unable to understand the mechanic of the automobile and disrupting the order of the flowing traffic. Traffic is another area that dominated by masculinity and

in this patriarchal system women still struggle to exist. For this reason, female drivers consciously or unconsciously internalize these negative perceptions and develop some coping strategies in order to survive and prove their capability about driving. Furthermore, women's driving experiences are related to and being affected by class, age and social transformation. The relationship of these areas is shaping the subjectivity about driving of female drivers.

Today, the number of passenger cars is estimated more than 1 billion all around the world. According to Turkish Statistic Institution data, in Turkey the number of vehicles is more than 22 million and the number of passenger cars is over 12 million as of January 2018¹. These numbers indicate that, automobiles in traffic are rapidly increasing. Consequently, the number of female drivers in the active traffic are also increasing but the stereotyped perceptions about female drivers are still in charge.

So, what makes us to think that way? It seems that as female drivers internalize and reproduce traditional and negative gender perceptions and these perceptions affect their subjectivities by shaping their own experiences, beliefs and thoughts. Does “driving like a man” make women better drivers or make them to put themselves in an upper status than other female drivers, which makes women feel better and being survived in a male dominated area?

Thus, in this study firstly, I searched how men and women reproduce negative gender stereotypes through their perceptions in their daily life. In this context, I focused on the gender dimension and male and female drivers' reproduction of gender stereotypes about female drivers through their perceptions about driving features by examining whether men and women drivers have different approaches about being a “good and bad driver” and by asking how they define their driving features. Additionally, the comparisons in their answers between their self-driving perceptions among other sex and their same sex counterparts were investigated.

¹TurkStat, Road Motor Vehicles, January 2018, http://www.osd.org.tr/sites/1/upload/files/TUIK_Motorlu_Kara_Tasitlari_Tablolar_Mart_2018-4340.xls (03.04.2019)

Secondly, I examined the interaction among social variables and gender values, roles and expectations, patriarchal ideology and political discourse which creates the general stereotyped perceptions about female drivers and put them in a disadvantaged position because of their genders in urban traffic in Turkey by investigating how in urban Turkey highly educated middle upper-class female drivers internalize mentioned negative stereotyped perceptions and reproduce them constantly. And finally, by searching what kind of social and individual factors such as class, age and experience are effective in this internalization and reproduction process and why and how they enact within this constant reproduction.

1.1. The Main Objective and Research Question

The main objective of this study is to understand the factors of stereotypical perceptions about female drivers, and how it is internalized and reproduced by female drivers themselves in active traffic in relation to their disadvantaged position in traffic because of their genders. Additionally, this study tries to reveal the process of internalization and especially focus on how stereotyped perceptions are reproduced by women. Driving makes people free more than ever but as it can be seen in other areas women pay the price of their freedom by undergoing gender discrimination as a “woman driver”. Despite the claim that women and men have different driving behaviors, these differences are more related with social learning rather than biology. In this thesis I analyze the women drivers’ perceptions within the ages between 35 to 65 who live in Turkey, specifically in Ankara and actively drive in the city traffic more than 5 years. According to 2011 statistics of Turkish General Directorate of Security Ankara has the most female driver population with the number of 481,605. Although I chose and conducted my research in Ankara province because of the high female driver population the negative gender stereotyped perceptions can be still easily traced. Unlike many other countries, the number of women drivers are still very low and driving is still a male dominated area in Turkey. Moreover, culturally women are still not welcomed as a driver and they need to struggle with the stereotyped gender roles by developing different coping strategies. This study also searches the relation between coping strategies and the subjectivities of female drivers within traffic. Female drivers internalize and experience driving

activity different than male drivers because their relationship with automobiles evolves distinctly from the childhood and it becomes an ongoing process after become an active driver. Women intentionally or unintentionally internalize the stereotyped gender perceptions about “women drivers” and they either accept that they are incompetent in driving or they struggle in order to prove that they can be drivers as good as “men”. This study searched in what way women drivers internalized and reproduced the stereotypical perceptions produced by patriarchy about female drivers. Finally, within this ongoing process in what way age, class position and social transformation can be effective through the driving experiences of female drivers and how their subjectivities are shaped by these experiences as a minor invisible group in a male dominated area.

1.2. Methods

In this study, I used triangulation research method including online survey and semi-structured interviews. Firstly, I made an online survey with 181 male and female drivers. Secondly, I conducted in-depth interviews with 20 female drivers who live in Ankara and drive actively in the city traffic. With the online survey I collected the data that show the gender dimension and stereotyped perceptions of both sexes about female drivers. With these data I was able to compare the features of the stereotyped perceptions of both sexes about the opposite sex and their counterpart’s broader spectrum and helped me to understand and compare age, class and experience dimensions deeply. In-depth interviews with the female drivers in Ankara provided me to focus on the specificities and subjectivities of women drivers through their shared experiences and perceptions.

1.3. Significance and Contribution

Urban travel practices and especially extensive usage of automobiles have been examined by researchers through different theoretical frameworks within transportation, economics, urbanization, health, psychology, traffic psychology, marketing and other fields, because owning an automobile and driving have a significant influence on almost all aspects of human activities and travel behaviors of individuals. Moreover, feminist researchers mostly focused on women’s issues in

transportation, different patterns of mobilities and gender dimensions of challenges in transportation. However, studies about female drivers are not common in the field. Even though automobiles provided women freedom and emancipation from private sphere it has remained within the limits of men's domination. Both in developed and developing countries, women's driving activity has remained gender specific, dominated by traditional gender stereotypes and mostly determined by the social responsibilities such as gender-based roles and division of labor. Thus, structured asymmetrical power relations in patriarchal society reproduce domination and subordination through male and female driving behaviors and create gender stereotype and stereotype threat against female drivers.

The findings of this study will shed new light and contribute to following issues. There are many other areas where women internalize the stereotyped gender roles especially in some occupations dominated by men such as engineering, culinary chefs, pilots, upper management positions. I rather preferred to search female driving because this study helps us see the big picture of how women not only internalize stereotyped perceptions but also men, women can easily reproduce these perceptions while they are driving and in turn they get stigmatized by patriarchy.

Access to mobility can be a gender stereotypical issue in some cultures where women are discouraged to be in public sphere, but contrarily where women can be visible in public sphere, access to mobility, especially driving activity, has weaker links with stereotypical gender roles. In many countries, teenage drivers, old drivers, "drink and drive" can be major issues about driving and drivers. For example, in United States because of the easiness of possessing driver license and the low prices of gasoline and automobiles teenagers can easily access an automobile when they turn to 17. Accordingly, age becomes an important indicator for driving issues rather than gender. But in some other countries like Turkey driving is still related with gender because driving is a kind of activity which requires to be in public sphere and it is still a male dominated area. Consequently, in our society women are easily internalizing and reproducing stereotyped perceptions about women drivers and they try to mimic masculinity in order to "drive like a man". It is significant that this study adapts a literature that has not been studied before in the traffic literature which is supported with a field research. As it was mentioned above driving has significant

links with culture and this study contributes some value to understand how driving activity is defined through gender and gender stereotypes in different cultures and countries. Moreover, it will help to understand how traditional stereotypical perceptions have an unawaredly impact on women drivers and it will show that patriarchy is still valid in shaping people's perceptions.

Stereotyped perceptions can be transmitted from adults to children in the process of social learning. Perceptions about driving are not excluded from this statement. While children sit on the back seat of the car, they witness their parents' behaviours and thoughts about other drivers. Therefore, stereotypical gendered perception can be highly contagious and easily turn to a strong social perception which is very hard to convert. This study will contribute to the feminist knowledge about the reproduction and transmission of gendered stereotypes through not only male but also female driving activity.

Together with, in this study both qualitative and quantitative data collection methods were used to provide a more holistic picture of reality, and compare male and female perceptions about driving.

Finally, while searching literature about female driving and stereotyped perceptions, I realized that there are not many adequate numbers of studies in general. Specifically, it is more difficult to access related studies in Turkey. Few studies mostly focus on the existence of the gendered stereotypes in traffic or in driving activity in Turkey. This study will contribute to literature by focusing on the reasons of these perceptions and will provide valuable knowledge in feminist literature.

1.4. Theoretical Approach of the Thesis

Within the study, female drivers' driving activity is defined within the framework of experiences, beliefs and thoughts of women and it consists the actions and manners that subjects utilized as they engage in active traffic therefore, I believe that, within the feminist approach, feminist standpoint approach is the most suitable theory to analyze and to situate the representation of female drivers' experiences and the creation of stereotyped perceptions about other female drivers. Although gender relations and issues look similar around the world, the way of seeing and

understanding them are different according to individuals. Different people see the fact in their own understandings and produce their own logic differently because of their dissimilar standpoint of experiencing the fact. Feminist standpoint is also having a different point of view from the conventional way of research and it is important because it considers women's own life experiences and knowledges who are subordinated and oppressed by patriarchal systems and values. In this study different knowledge and experiences of women have been searched and revealed in the process of driving in active traffic.

Feminist standpoint theory does not only rely on women's lived experiences but it also focuses on women's emotions and knowledge of their bodies. Basically, this theory focuses on marginalized people's lives rather than dominant groups' views as a 'neutral' observer who produces 'general' knowledge (Harding, 2004). Feminist theorists such as Harding, Haraway and Hartsock define feminist standpoint theory by focusing on relatively oppressed, invisible and marginalized women and it is related with situated knowledge. According to Hartsock (1998), feminist standpoint helps to understand the world through women's point of view who are subordinated and oppressed in society. Harding (2004) mentions the relation between production of knowledge and practices of power regarding to feminist critical theory. In the light of these definitions, feminist standpoint theory can be understood as revealing the knowledge and experience of oppressed people, where the inequalities are placed in class and gender within social hierarchy and feminist standpoint theory has been developed to display the hidden knowledge from women's life experiences from their point of views and it criticizes the effects of power relations on the production of knowledge in order to have a better understanding of the world of women. (Alcoff & Potter, 1993). Thus, feminist standpoint theory materializes three important goals, based on the marginalized people's experiences, emotions and bodies it combines new information into social research, by focusing on subjectivity it develops new standards for collecting and evaluating data, finally with the research process it empowers marginalized groups by promoting participation. Women differently experience the activity of driving. On the one hand, they are exposed to the male drivers' harassment, on the other hand they try to prove their competency to

both themselves and to others and they have to find a place and a status in the active traffic as drivers which is dominated by men.

Knowledge can be significantly attained according to gender. Standpoint theory argues that there are social positions from which knowers keep privileged epistemic positions, against the knowers in other social positions (E. Anderson, 2015). Domain-specific knowledge is affected by gender and this creates a perception that females are less successful in the areas which require masculine skills such as driving. Men enjoy masculine privileges in traffic and male hegemony dominates the knowledge about driving. This traditional masculine bias and men's point of view devalue and push women's knowledge to the periphery and make it invisible. The dominant masculine knowledge imposes that driving requires masculine skills therefore women seem less skilled in this field. Being incompetent, slow, unstable, wary and careless are some negative stereotyped features that female drivers have to face with in active traffic.

This study has a feminist perspective and takes gendered stereotype behaviors, patriarchal power relations and situated knowledge on active traffic as its central theme. Furthermore, in this study, both male and female driver's experiences on traffic and their beliefs and thoughts about female drivers were analyzed and discussed to search the reasons of traditional patriarchal gender stereotypes perceptions against female drivers in relation to their age, class position and experience. Considering women drivers in active traffic from feminist standpoint, it is still dominated by patriarchal values in practice and valuing stereotypes, although there is a significant increase of women drivers, and women's differently experienced knowledge is not taken into consideration. Therefore, I argue that feminist standpoint is the most suitable theory to situate the representations of women who are actively driving in the urban traffic because it challenges the invisibility of their experiences and to analyze their coping strategies in order to survive in a male dominated area as a female driver. Feminist methodology is an opportunity to understand not only the power relations in driving activity between men and women but also it helps to understand the social transformation of women through age and class. Finally, in this specific case while analyzing and explaining some concepts such as women drivers' reproduction of stereotyped perceptions about

other women drivers, internalization of stereotypes theory will be used as complementary. Because this theory gives us the best explanation of how stigmatized behaviours are labeled by accumulated pressures which places at work, at home, at traffic and at media and how women develop low self-perceptions of their driving abilities which cause the internalization of stereotypes.

1.5. Operationalization of Main Concepts

In order to remove any potential ambiguities, it is necessary to explain the main concepts which are used in this study such as driving, female drivers, stereotyped perception, female subjectivity, coping strategies and social transformation. These concepts are important because in this study the reproduction of negative gender stereotypes was examined through the driving activity of male and female drivers and the negative perceptions that they reproduce in their daily lives.

Basically, the concept of driving can be defined as actively driving a vehicle in an urban city by people who have a registered driver license in order to go from one point to another. In this study I emphasize the driving activity which places in urban areas or cities in active traffic by using specifically a private or personal automobile. In connection with the driving activity, female drivers are operationalized by focusing on the women who live in an urban area, mostly in Ankara, have driver license and have at least 5 years driving experience in the active traffic. Although the women responders of the survey didn't mention the place they live, the interviewees were totally chosen from Ankara province in this thesis. Therefore, in the analysis part of the study female drivers indicate the middle and middle upper-class women who have their own automobile or can reach their family cars, live and drive in Ankara.

In this study my approach to female subjectivity is through the meanings from women's own experiences and values which attach to their driving practices and provide the situated knowledge through which a woman can put herself in relation to other male and female drivers. By exploring the production of their own history and knowledge I want to stress the effects of women's situated and subjective

experiences and perceptions about not only driving but also the thoughts and relationship with an automobile.

Gender stereotypes still exist about driving, despite the fact that participation of female drivers is rapidly increasing in the active traffic. This study focuses on a number of factors and their impacts upon stereotypical perceptions and attitudes toward female drivers. Stereotypical perceptions in driving are mostly defined through gender features of the driver. For example, while male drivers are generally defined by being aggressive, fast, determined and abusive, female drivers are mostly defined by being slow, clumsy, leery, comply with rules, undetermined when they are in the driver seat. In this study the answers about the gender features that both respondents of the survey and the interviewees are taken into account. The most common point was the belief that male and female drivers have different driving behaviors and features. The common definitions in the answers for male drivers were; self-confident, fast, determined and abusive and the common definitions for female drivers were; timid, slow and leery while driving in the active traffic.

In this study the concept of social transformation is handled with age and class features within driving activity. Researchers mention that holding a driver license is one of the common status indicators in complex societies because it shows that the owner of the license is legally qualified to drive and perform the function (Searle, 1995, Ludwig, 2017). In the 1970's without being an active driver only having a driver license is the sign of a class and a status position by itself for women in urban cities in Turkey. But beginning from the 1980's with the increase of labor force participation, the growth and the rural to urban transformation and changes in economic position in Turkey, transformed driving an automobile from a status symbol to a need and became a tool to be in public space for especially working women. In the research the interviewees who were older than the age of 40 describe to possess a driver license and driving itself as a kind of privilege and a status indicator, the younger interviewees mentioned that driving is a need and it helps them to solve their time management problems to catch up in the rush of their lives.

This study shows that regardless of age, female drivers develop some coping strategies to exist in traffic which is a male dominated area. According to the female respondents' and interviewees' answers the most common coping strategy they

develop emulating masculinity by indicating that they are driving the car “like a man”. Moreover, most of them mentioned that other female drivers other than themselves are “bad drivers” when comparing to men.

1.6. The Structure of The Thesis

This thesis consists of five chapters. The introduction chapter provides a brief overview with the objective, significance and the contribution of the study and mentions the structure of the research. Furthermore, it provides feminist standpoint as the theoretical approach and consist of the operationalization of the key concepts.

In the methodology chapter both qualitative and quantitative research methods were used as triangulation research method to collect data in this research. In the design of the study part the creation and the conduction of both the survey questionnaire and in-depth interview questions were explained. Additionally, the tables of demographic features of the participants were placed. Lastly, the methodological limitations of the study were mentioned in this chapter. Chapter 3 provides the literature review that focuses on historical framework of the relation between automobile and women. In the same chapter what follows is the explanation and the discussion of various approaches in different disciplines. This part of the chapter provides the information of the main approaches about gender stereotypes of driving behaviours in the literature within different disciplines. And in the last part of this chapter the evaluation of historical and theoretical knowledge of gendered driving behaviours were analysed and discussed within feminist perspective in order to explain the reasons of gender biases against female drivers.

In Chapter 4 the results of the research were analysed. This chapter consists of two main parts. In the first part of this chapter the focus point is the experiences of male and female participants from their point of views. Moreover, the perceptions of the male and female drivers’ driving features, female driving features, their own driving behaviours and the perceptions about the driving features of their same-sex counterparts and how their perceptions shaped by patriarchy. The last part of the chapter provides the comparison and the discussion of both analysis through feminist perspective. The fifth chapter of the study is the conclusion chapter that refers the arguments and the discussions of the thesis with the brief evaluation.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

2.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on the description of the research process and provides the information about the methods that used. In this chapter also various stages of the research can be found which includes the research method, the research approach, data collection methods, the process of the research, demographic features of the participants and the analysis type of the collected data. Additionally, theoretical approaches and practical methods are discussed. The chapter ends with the discussion of the research limitations of the study.

This study intends to explore the reproduction of negative gender stereotypes of daily lives of both men and women by focusing on driving activity in urban traffic. Additionally, presents the internalization process and the reasons of reproducing stereotypical perceptions by female drivers about other female counterparts in active traffic.

2.2. The Usage of Triangulation Research Method

In this study both quantitative and qualitative research methods have been used in order to collect data. In another words, mixed methods approached have been used to provide a broader perspective and a better understanding (Wisdom & Creswell, 2013). In mixed methods approach both quantitative and qualitative research methods can be used in one study by researcher. While the quantitative data are providing statistical analysis and results from close-ended questions such as questionnaire, the qualitative data provide more detail which are obtained from open ended questions in order to reveal and understand underlying reasons, opinions and experiences of the target group.

In this research, an online survey was conducted through the internet without any gender limitations. Both male and female participants who were driving in active

traffic answered both open and close ended questions in the survey. In one hand, these answers were provided rich useful quantitative data to understand and analyze both male and female stereotyped perceptions about female drivers and their opinions about positive and negative driving features which provides statistical data from both genders to proceed from particular to general statements. On the other hand, the in-depth interviews with female drivers provided the female subjectivity through their experiences, thoughts, feelings, beliefs and perceptions about driving activity to gain deeper understanding about how they reproduce stereotyped perceptions and what kind of coping strategies they use while driving in active traffic. Additionally, qualitative data provided to improve of the fact by obtaining information from female drivers on personal experiences and the incidents and beliefs about being a female driver that they share.

Some researchers discussed whether there is an added value of mixed methods or not. Although mixed research methods have some limitations such as requiring additional time and resource because of collection and analysis of two different data and increasing the complexity of data evaluation (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011), in their research Hurmertine-Peltomaki and Nummela (2006) found out that mixed methods add more value to the study and increase the correctness of the data. They claim that, by using mixed method approach studies may gain more broader and deeper understanding. O’Cathain, Murphy, & Nicholl (2010) claim another value of mixed methods named ‘integration component’. According to them, integration provides readers more certainty and a perception of fuller study. Despite the limitations of mixed research methods, well designed mixed methods study has some advantages. According to Wisdom and Creswell (2013), these methods provide a comparison of qualitative and quantitative data, also give rich and comprehensive data, it can be useful to understand the inconsistency between qualitative findings and quantitative results. Additionally, they claim that mixed methods reflect the point of view of the participants, the results of the study are based on participants’ experiences and together with, triangulation research method bring methodological flexibility.

In this research with the flexible methodology the male and female participants answered the survey by using their own time. Additionally, this method

provided an opportunity to prepare a semi-structured in-depth interview because the survey questions and the answers of participants provided a guidance while arranging the in-depth interview questions.

Although some variations exist in feminist arguments, in their research feminist researchers generally focus on the importance of gender as a main aspect of social life. They include subjectivity in their research and challenge the norm of objectivity. When considered from feminists' point of view, feminist researchers also argue about the usage of various research methods which are consistent with feminist values such as interviews, observations, life histories and surveys (Ishiyama, Miller & Simon, 2015). For example, while interview techniques are providing deeper insight of subjectivity, survey techniques can provide insights into a broader aspect of inequalities which can support each other.

It can be counted that my study a triangulation research method provided a satisfying result to understand women's position in driving. Combining the qualitative analysis of semi-structured interviews with the quantitative analysis of survey has created valuable scientific insight and information about understanding the reproduction of negative gender stereotypes of male and female drivers. While qualitative research provides an important insight about the subjective experience of driving, quantitative research provides a chance to collect valuable numerical data about perceptions of male and female drivers and supported to strengthen the qualitative and descriptive interpretations in the research.

2.3. Overview of Study Design

According to Creswell and Plano Clark, methodologically, both quantitative and qualitative research method is a kind of process which enriches and completes the research (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007). Consequently, mixed method approach was used in this study in order to enrich and complete the results. In the case of this research the quantitative part was conducted first in order to identify and design the suitable questions for the qualitative part of the research by revealing the gender dimension of stereotyped perceptions about driving features. The qualitative part of the research provided the insight of disadvantaged positions of female drivers because of their genders and their internalization and reproduction process of

negative stereotyped perception about female drivers. While analyzing the qualitative findings of the research, quantitative results supported the explanatory parts of the research. The design and the analysis of both quantitative and qualitative methods in this study were explained in below sections.

2.3.1. Design of the Quantitative Part

In the quantitative part of the study online survey was used. After taking the approval of Ethical permission from METU Human Subjects Ethics Committee, an online questionnaire was filled by participants which includes informed consent, 6 demographic questions, 2 open-ended and 5 multiple choice questions. Online survey questionnaire was distributed by e-mail and Facebook. Finally, collected data was exported to SPSS and analyzed. The results of open-ended questions were analyzed manually. The quantitative part of the thesis is designed and conducted at the Traffic Psychology course of the master period. A total of 225 people answered the online questionnaire but all of them were not valid. The valid answers were 181. Therefore, 181 participants (114 female, 67 male) answered the online questionnaire accurately. The age ranges are from 21 to 81. All participants have various levels of driving experiences. While preparing the multiple-choice questions in the survey, a list of driver's features (characteristics) was prepared with the reference of BSRI (Bem Sex Role Inventory) Turkish version was used in the multiple-choice questions of survey.

This survey was opened to both male and female drivers. Although there is a feminist point of view and concern in this study, in order to understand the patriarchal perceptions and stereotypical gender biases against women, male drivers' opinions and perceptions were also interrogated. Besides demographic questions, the questionnaire consisted of some questions which provide the different perceptions of male and female drivers such as whether they thought there was a difference in the driving features between men and women, the description of bad and good driving features and the description of their own driving features versus same-sex counterparts. These answers provided a valuable information about the distinction of men's and women's knowledge and perceptions and how female drivers define and separate themselves versus their same-sex counterparts. Therefore, survey method provided a deeper understanding of how traditional gender roles effect both male and

female drivers' perceptions in order to make better comparisons and reach more accurate results in this study. 63% of the respondents were female while 37% them were male in the survey. Demographic information of survey participants was mentioned below.

Table 1.
Education of Participants

Education and Sex Crosstabulation			
	<u>Sex of the participants</u>		Total (%)
	Female	Male	
High School	9	7	16 (8,8%)
University	68	41	109 (60,2%)
Master or PhD	37	18	55 (30,3%)
Other	0	1	1 (0,5%)
Total	114	67	181

Table 2
Age and Sex Distribution of Participants

Age and Sex Crosstabulation							
Age	21-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65	66 plus	Total
Female	17 (24,9%)	19 (16,7%)	27 (23,7%)	38 (33,3%)	11 (9,6%)	2 (1,8%)	114
Male	3 (4,5%)	11 (16,4%)	15 (22,4%)	21 (31,3%)	13 (19,4%)	4 (6,0%)	67
Total	20	30	42	59	24	6	181

As it can be seen from the table 1 the majority of survey respondents are female and the education level of respondents are quite high. The age interval is between 21 and 81 but because of the low number of the older participants, the age of 66 and upper ages are classified in one column. The most crowded age group in female and male participants are between 46 and 55, the second crowded age group in both male and female participants are between 36 and 45 in the survey which shows that these groups are experienced in driving more than other younger

participants. Online survey was conducted through the internet via sending e-mails and facebook. According to the age figures which can be seen on table 3 it can be said that as the participants age, their internet use decreases. That is to say, especially people over 60 participated less to the survey.

Table 3.
Age Groups and Sex Distribution According to Active Driving Years

Sex of the Participant -Age Groups-Active Driving Years Crosstabulation						
Active Driving Years/ Sex of the Participants	Age Groups				Total	
	21-25	26-35	36-60	61-81		
0-5 Years	Female	13	9	5	1	28
	Male	2	3	1	0	6
	Total	15 (44,1%)	12 (35,3%)	6 (17,6%)	1 (2,9%)	34 (100%)
6-10 Years	Female	3	4	7	1	15
	Male	1	5	2	0	8
	Total	4 (17,4%)	9 (39,1%)	9 (39,1%)	1 (4,3%)	23 (100%)
11-max. Years	Female	1	6	59	5	71
	Male	0	3	37	13	53
	Total	1 (0,8%)	9 (7,3%)	96 (77,4%)	18 (14,5%)	124 (100%)
Total Female		17	19	71	7	114
Total Male		3	11	40	13	67
Total Participants		20 (11%)	30 (16,6%)	111 (61,3%)	20 (11%)	181 (100%)

Table 3 shows the driving experiences of respondents in years according to their age and their sex. As it can be seen from the table the most experienced group both in male and female are naturally the age between 36 and 60. 59 of female respondents and 37 male respondents mentioned that they have been driving actively more than 10 years in the urban traffic. Thus, in the qualitative part of this study, in order to get the most intensive information, interviewees were chosen at the age of 35 and older.

2.3.2. Analysis of the Quantitative Part

In the scope of my study the analysis of the survey started by categorizing, participants according to their ages, education levels, active driving years, and their sexes. These data were analyzed with SPSS crosstabulation to reveal the demographic relations with their choices of the “good driving features” and the “bad

driving features” according to table that prepared from the Turkish version of BSRI. Subsequently, same demographic data were analyzed with the crosstabulation of the data which participants said “yes” to the question that if there is a difference between their own driving features and same-sex counterparts’ driving features. Lastly, participants’ descriptions of their own-driving features and descriptions of same-sex counterparts’ driving features were analyzed with the crosstabulation of demographic data of the participants.

The analyses were done to reveal the relation to four basic themes of the survey. The first theme is the differences between male and female drivers’ features according to participants. The second theme is the perceptions of “good driving features” and “bad driving features” according to participants. The third theme is their description of subjective date of driving features according to themselves. And the last theme is the description of the driving features of their same-sex counterparts. Then, questions related about these themes were asked to the female drivers who were participated to the in-depth interview in order to compare and analyze the answers of both groups. This comparison helped to understand not only the significance of age and gender variable but also the subjectivity of female drivers through their own experiences and to find out the differences and similarities between the data collected through mixed methods within the main themes.

2.3.3. Design of the Qualitative Part

In the qualitative part of the study in-depth interviews method were used. Semi structured in-depth interviews provided to overcome the limits of the survey method by reaching more detailed information that makes the research more efficient. The interview was carried out with 20 women participants with the age of 35 to 65 who are actively driving and have various levels of driving experiences in Ankara province. According the demographic data of the survey, the most experienced female drivers are between the age of 36 to 60. This finding led me to choose the interviewees from the mentioned age group in order to reach the most experienced group in the active traffic. In addition, Ankara is the province which occupies the most female drivers in Turkey that can represent majority. The chosen group’s class position and income levels are highly similar with each other which can

be described as upper-middle and upper class with a high level of income. With the in-depth interview method, I intended to learn women drivers' own perceptions, experiences and feelings as women drivers between the period of possession of a driver license and becoming an active driver in traffic. Further, with the open-ended questions the internalization and reproduction of negative gender stereotyped perceptions of female drivers are examined. While the answers of the survey demonstrated the internalization and reproduction of gender stereotypes about female drivers, the in-depth interview constituted to understanding how and in which ways, these perceptions are internalized and reproduced by female drivers. To reach the interviewees snowball sampling technique was used. In-depth interview was designed in three different categories with 32 questions.

2.3.3.1. Research Tools

In the semi structured in-depth interview, the first part consisted of demographic questions such as age, education, marital status, profession, the age of having driver license and active driving age. In the second part of the interview, driving experiences were questioned by asking from whom they first learnt driving, how often they drive, their feelings while sitting on the driving seat and most desperate situations and fears and the knowledge and the obedience of the traffic rules. In the last part, the interview focused on the core information which shows the perceptions of participants about male and female drivers. With the open-ended questions they have been asked to describe bad and good driving features and if there is a difference between male and female drivers with their description of the differences. Furthermore, their answers about the description of the difficulty of being a female driver provided the situated knowledge and experience. Last question provided the information of how female drivers internalized and reproduced traditional gender biases about female drivers. According to the interviewees answers related themes formed.

2.3.3.2. Data Collection Process

In this part snowball sampling method was used in order to reach the interviewees. Firstly, I reached two key persons who have been driving more than 15

years around me. And with the help of them I was able to have the interviews with other female drivers in Ankara. A pilot interview has been done with two female drivers who were younger than the targeted group in order to examine if the open-ended questions were clear and understandable for the interviewees. The pilot interview hasn't been considered in the analysis part because of the age inconvenience but the corrections and reorganizations of interview questions were done according to answers and commands of interviewees within the pilot interview process. Before starting interviews an ethical approval was taken from METU Human Subjects Ethics Committee. During the interviews, notes were taken and also a tape-recorder was used in order not to miss the important points mentioned by the interviewees. All interviews were done by the consent of the interviewees and the intent of the interview was explained with a brief information about the research.

2.3.3.3. Data Analysis Process

The qualitative part of the study started with the categorization of the collected data such as demographic features of the interviewees. Subsequently, their perceptions about "good and bad driving features" were categorized. Rather than using BSRI, interviewees used their own words to define the features but to make the comparisons easier with the quantitative data the BSRI table was used in order to categorization within the analysis process. For the analysis of the collected data same themes categorization of the quantitative part was used. Additionally, two different themes were added to the qualitative part such as the difficulties of being a female driver in traffic and the self-driving experiences of interviewees. After the transcription of the interviews, answers were categorized according to the related themes by using excel sheet and analyzed with the comparison of the data which came from the quantitative part with the supportive approaches from the literature review. The specificities and subjectivities of female drivers were highlighted and collected under the appropriate themes. The findings from the analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data were discussed in reference to how female drivers perceived and experienced driving and reproduced gender stereotyped perceptions with specific quotations from interviews. Before the analysis part of the research the demographic features of the interviewees are presented below.

Table 4.

Demographic Features of Interviewees

	Names	Age	Education	Profession	Marital Status	Working Status	Car Ownership	Driving Exp. (Years)
1	Başak 2.	35	Master	Psychologist	Married	Working	Driving her own car	8
2	Eda	38	Master	Chemistry Eng.	Single	Company Partner	Driving her company car	12
3	İrem	42	University	HR Coord.	Married	Working	Driving her own car	15
4	Fatma	57	University	Educator	Widow	Working	Driving her own car	15
5	Başak 1.	38	Master	Geology Engineer	Married	Working	Driving her own car	17
6	Atiye	50	PhD	Lecturer	Married	Retired	Driving her own car	19
7	Rüya	45	University	Architect	Divorced	No	Driving her own car	19
8	Fatma G.	52	University	Teacher	Married	Working	Driving her own car	20
9	Şebnem	47	University	Finance Expt.	Married	Retired	Driving her own car	21
10	Ebru	42	University	Architect/Company Owner	Single	Working	Driving her company car	23
11	Sema	50	Master	Opera Artist	Single	Working	Driving her own car	24
12	Perihan	53	Secondary School	Baby Sitter	Divorced	Part time	Driving her brother's car	27
13	Özlem	47	University	Economist/Company Owner	Married	Working	Driving her company car	29
14	Hülya	57	University	Housewife	Married	No	Driving her own car	30
15	Aslı	50	University	Lecturer	Divorced	Working	Driving her own car	30
16	Fatoş	65	University	Phycologist	Single	Retired	Driving her own car	30
17	Duygu	50	University	Pianist	Divorced	Working	Driving her own car	30
18	Gamze	47	Master	Architect	Married	Working	Driving her own car	30
19	Ülkü	54	Master	Economist	Married	Working	Driving her own car	33
20	Lale	57	University	Linguistic Expt.	Widow	Retired	Driving her own car	39

As it can be seen at the table 4, interviewees generally have a higher education, most of them are working, four of them are retired, three of them have

their own companies, half of them are married, four of them are divorced, four of them are single and two of them are widows. In Turkey, because of the high prices, taxes and gasoline costs, automobile is a kind of luxury commodity. Additionally, being a professional driver is still a very rare for women as a job. Therefore, mostly middle and upper middle-class women are able to reach and possess an automobile. Because of all these reasons women participants represent middle and upper middle class and their socio-economic statuses are similar except one participant. Three entrepreneur women prefer to drive cars which belong to their companies because of the tax benefits. One woman whose education level is apparently low from other interviewees doesn't have a car. Out of these four interviewees, other 16 of them have their own car and they are actively driving in traffic. According to the table, one of the respondents have less than 10 year's driving experience. 5 women have been active in traffic from 12 to 19 years and 12 women have been driving car between 20 and 39 years.

2.3.4. Methodological Limitations of the Study

Although this study has reached its aim, there were some limitations. The usage of the snowball sampling method to reach the respondents in the qualitative part of the research caused a limitation that all respondents had similar understanding and expectancy of life. Plus, all of them were living in Ankara for a long time, therefore their driving experiences are mostly limited with the conditions of Ankara traffic. In addition, Ankara occupies the majority of female driver population therefore the perceptions and experiences of female drivers can be different according to the other provinces in Turkey, which have less female driver population with different class positions. Moreover, because of the high population of female drivers in Ankara the female driver stereotypes can be less strict rather than other provinces where the female driver population is lower than urban areas. Therefore, similar researches can be done in different regions in Turkey to get more accurate and major results. Although the age of having a driver license and becoming an active driver in traffic is 18, it is preferred to conduct interviews with the female drivers whose ages between 35 to 65 because of their long duration of driving experience. In the quantitative part of the study 17 female drivers answered the

questionnaire, who were the age between 21 to 25. However, because of the time-consuming limitation of qualitative research, it became impossible to interview female drivers between the age of 18 to 35. Nevertheless, these younger female driver group is likely to have different experiences and thoughts about female driver stereotype. Therefore, the female drivers' experiences and thoughts who are younger than the age of 35 were limited in this study.

During the interviews sometimes, respondents departed from the subject and it was difficult to lead them to the core points. This situation causes to spend more time to get the core information within the irrelevant data from the interviewees. In the quantitative part of the research, the number of male respondents remained low rather than expected. Although it gives a meaningful result, the difference between the number of the male and female respondents couldn't get closer and the male drivers' perceptions may be presented low. Finally, this study conducted in an urban area that has a heavy traffic condition with male and female drivers. Therefore, it is suggested that in the future other related studies may consider that the findings can be different at different provinces and regions depend on the population of male and female drivers, their ages, education levels, class and the culture of the local society.

This chapter explained the methodology that was used in this research. An explanation of mixed research method for the data collection was mentioned. The design of the study, the tools for data collection, the analysis of the data, the demographic information of the respondents and the limitations of the study were also explained. In the next chapter the related literature will be reviewed.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to review related variety of theories and studies about key themes of this study such as, gender stereotypes, social transformation, driving, female drivers, female subjectivity and coping strategies. Actually, this study tries to find out an answer to overall question about the gender-based discrimination, production of gender- based stereotypes and the internalization and reproduction process of negative gender perceptions of women in their daily lives through driving activity in urban traffic. Although there are wide variety of literature to explain these theories, the discussion will be made through these theories by adapting them specifically on automobilization, driving activity and female drivers. To understand the social transformation of the societies and individuals, it is important to focus on the historical development of automobilization and how it shapes social inequalities. In this chapter history of automobilization was discussed specifically by focusing on the concepts of gender and women. The related concepts were reviewed through the comparison of international and Turkish literature. The first part of this chapter reviews the general literature about key concepts. The following part focuses on the early automobilization period through examining public and private spheres and gender roles in especially in the American and European societies. In the third part, mass production and mass consumption of automobiles are covered by focusing on asymmetrical power relations, patriarchal ideology and re-domestication of the gender roles of women. Effects of automobility from 1960's to the end of 20th century are evaluated in the fourth part by discussing the concepts of complex travel patterns and driving behaviors of women. The following part refers to stereotype threats and driving stereotypes in the modern societies at 21th century.

The development of automobile and social transformation are different among countries, societies and gender both historically and structurally. This study's research field based on the male and female drivers' perceptions who live in urban Turkey. Therefore, the last part of this chapter is reserved to the historical and structural development of automobility in Turkey. Moreover, the impact of automobilization is evaluated by comparing with the Western countries by expressing the similarities and differences of social transformation of women and how they have been shaped through automobility by patriarchal ideology in Turkey.

3.2. Construction of Traditional Masculinity and Stereotyped Gender Identities

Traditional masculinity can be traced through the history which makes men equivalent to human rationality and makes women equivalent with weakness and emotionality. From the ancient Greek, the relation between male and female is a natural relation of superior to inferior which means that men have superior intelligence and power to rule women (Parker, 2012). Within the historical development of human kind, the structural form of dominant masculinity has been continued and reconstituted by cultures, societies and institutions from ancient times to globalization. The idea of traditional masculinity is being used to institutionalize hegemonic gender identities.

Children learn gender norms in their culture from family, cultural teachings and various social institutions through socialization and imitation of gender parenting (Witt, 1997). Boys learn how to hide their feelings, how to be strong and how to use violence and their superiority over girls. This stereotyped socialization supports the idea of women's subordination from childhood to adulthood. In many countries and cultures, the process of male socialization has similar belief that men are first class citizens and women are in subsidiary status whose roles are generally defined as mothers, caretakers, housewives and not strong, powerful, intelligent and capable as men do. Stereotyped descriptions, such as incompetence, powerlessness and weakness, reproduce gender inequality and effect women through social internalization and make them believe that they are incompetent, weak and

powerless. Therefore, it can be said that societies decide the proper behaviours of men and women according to the stereotyped identities.

Gender norms as societal expectations are directly influenced by the perceptions of femininity and masculinity. Connell emphasizes that there is no one masculinity but there are masculinities in different levels which concern the position and practice of men and women in a gendered order. According to Connell (2000) these practices repeating themselves and they shape the distribution of resources and power over time and space and they effect the relationships of individuals, groups and societies and institutional structures. The “masculine” is accepted as the default human knowledge by social norms, those law and different social organizations. It can be said that masculinities gain benefits over femininities. For example, men generally have more freedom, paid better, better carrier and leadership opportunities than women. Hegemonic masculinity mostly described as a strong type of masculinity which is represented by middle or upper-middle class white, highly educated, heterosexual men. Men must demonstrate leadership, rationality, strength, dominance and suppression of feelings. According to Kimmel (2000), masculinities are reproduced through daily interactions of people within the institutions of societies.

Masculinities and male stereotypes are generally constructed through interplay within institutions and cultures such as media, education, business, military, health, economy and transportation systems. In many societies, men think that the power and privilege that they possess is natural and normal. They are the major beneficiaries of the resources and patriarchy as well as domination of economy. For example, generally paid work, commerce, industry and military are being dominated and done by men. Acker (1990) argues that hierarchical organizations are a significant place of male dominance therefore they are gendered and inseparable and intertwined process of class and gender relations. Acker also argues that class-based inequalities in monetary have power and control over resources. This authority recreates the routine actions of the control and this routine is accepted as natural and the necessary way of functioning and working of the socioeconomic system (Acker, 1988). Based on the Acker’s argument it can be said that gender and class reconstruct society as a whole by building various contexts of inequalities through the unequal

distribution of resources. Furthermore, social class and status are linked with patriarchal society because patriarchal codes of society help men to maintain their power over women in every social class.

Asymmetrical power relations have negative consequences especially for women. As a result of these gender-based stereotypes which leads to inequalitarian gender relations and inequalities. Inequality is a kind of institutional violence which can be seen in social norms that prevent women's authority and limit their independence. Women are generally become more disadvantaged than men to reach information, to access resources, to become a decision maker and have less visible in public sphere. For example, the map which was prepared by UN Women and Inter-Parliamentary Union and published in 2017 shows that the percentage of women in parliaments in all countries in the world is 23,4% and the percentage of women ministers is 18,3%. As it can be seen from the current rates of this mapping women's existence and power are still very low in political environment. Although it changes according to regions, portfolios held by female ministers are also differentiating from men across the world. In parliaments mostly the ministries of environment/natural resources/energy, social affairs family/children/youth/elderly/disabled and women's affairs/ gender equality are being relegated by women whereas the decision-making positions in national defense, economy/development, justice and transport are still exclusively male domain (UN,2017). It is obvious that female ministers mostly carry out the non-economic aspects of development while men hold the ministries which have the top priority aspects of the governments. Another statistic from International Labor Office at 2016 shows that all around the world over 60 percent of the employed women are working in the services sector (ILO, 2016). Furthermore, according to Grand Thornton International Business report globally the percentage of women in senior management positions is 25%. All these figures show us the lack of women in public sphere and management positions. Men's dominant presence and control of many areas such as politics, economy and culture make them an authority and decision maker on economic assets, give them political power to rule and determent cultural authority over women.

Women who want to be in male dominated areas or institutions mostly face traditional gender norms and hierarchies which exist both in family and society.

Many researches reveal that for women who continue their careers in male dominated work environments the most significant barrier is gender discrimination in the work place. In her study Sara Damaske found out that the reason of women's movement from male dominated to female dominated occupations is mostly the negative psychological experiences that they live in their work places such as gender stereotyping and gender discriminations (Damaske, 2011). Research indicate that women are likely to have feelings of low self-confidence and self-efficacy that can cause a lack of competence because of their own stereotypical gender perceptions about themselves. This prevents women from reach their real potential in male dominated occupations (Lewis-Enright et al., 2009). In male dominated work environments gender-biased management strategies, discriminatory policies and practices such as salary inequalities or gender segregated statuesque enforce women to develop some coping strategies who have persistence to take part in male-dominated occupations. In 2003 a study conducted in Turkey with the professional women in computer programming occupations revealed some coping strategies of these women in order not to lose their careers. In this study, these strategies come forward as; working hard to prove themselves in the work place mostly scarifying their own personal lives in order to compete with male colleagues, postponing their marriages or not to marry at all because it is likely that they don't want to sacrifice their career to set up a family which will dominate their lives through traditional gender roles (Ecevit, et al., 2003).

The family has a primary role in society and family consists of hierarchy between genders within different social classes through assigned various economic and social positions. Reproducing patriarchal gender relations and gender-based division of labor by defining (tacit definition of) the roles of husband and wife, women's freedom stays limited. For example, while using household transport resources such as family car women's access can be limited because it is assumed that family car belongs to male who is the breadwinner of the household. Car ownership is related with economic freedom in many societies. Researchers such as Hanson & Hanson point out that, travel patterns are differing according to the social class therefore it can be said that upper-middle and middle-class women can have an automobile rather than lower class women because of their economic position

Hanson & Hanson, 1980). As a patriarchal institution transportation is also dominating by men.

In the 20th century social transformation of women can be traced mostly in equalization of formal rights, increase in educational opportunities and participation to the working life. With the modernization, women's lives changed and these changes took place among generations. It is important to review the historical development of automobilization in order to understand the social transformation of both the society and the women through decades, centuries and generations.

3.3. Coping Strategies of Women in Male Dominated Areas Through Feminist Perspective

Many feminist theorists underline the contextual and performative perspectives of gender. Rather than considering masculinity and femininity as fixed traits, these theorists indicate that humans as more flexible and eager to present both "masculine" and "feminine" behaviours in different contexts (West & Zimmerman, 1987). The concept of "doing gender" point outs that gender is an ongoing activity and a routine performance in everyday life. It is also a way of interaction with other people. Moreover "doing gender" can produce social stratification, asymmetrical power relations and hierarchy (West & Zimmerman, 1987). In patriarchal societies typical gender roles are the major aspects of keeping the status quo. Because males have the dominant power in society, masculinity is attached with being strong, aggressive, competitive, active, and independent. On the other hand, femininity is defined with being passive, physically and/or emotionally weak, subservient, emotional, and dependent. Gender stereotypes are the mind-sets of societies which are exercised years after years. Men and women have specific gender roles according to these already set models. As a result of practicing these gender stereotypes over time, women are adjusted weaker position as compared to men. Gamble (2006) claims that the stereotype can be seen as an ideological discursive strategy, creates binary which functions to strengthen the dominant discourse. She argues that patriarchy mostly uses stereotypes in order to differentiate between the characteristics of women and men. Thus, patriarchy sets the definition of what is stereotypically feminine and masculine.

In time women have gained more place in public sphere by having better education, occupying more managerial positions and finding career opportunities in more male-dominated areas. But women are still experiencing challenges in their working life especially if they choose a male-dominated occupation because of their gender. In order to continue on their career paths, to overcome the gender discrimination and inequalities, they develop some coping strategies. If they cannot, mostly change their careers in favor of more female-dominated or gender-balanced occupations. The findings of some research point out that women mostly face with formal and hidden organizational practices such as glass ceiling which support gender discrimination and bias through patriarchal ideology (Raghuram, 2008; Martin & Barnard, 2013; Ergun & Karaduman, 2018). These negative experiences not only affect the integration of women in the male dominated fields but also affect the potential success in these professions. In some male dominated professions such as engineering, high management positions, women experience both negative emotions and physical and health related difficulties also.

For example a study conducted with volunteered women firefighters in Australia by Ainsworth, Batty and Burchielli reveals that while working in the field women firefighters deliberately restrict liquid taking in order to minimize their urination and having a risk of dehydration because it is considered embarrassing and not acceptable to urinate stripping off pants behind a truck or a bush by male counterparts (Ainsworth, et al., 2014). Many studies show similar results such as, in order to be permanent and successful in male dominated occupations women need to prove themselves by showing unnatural behaviours such as mimicking male behaviours. (Chowen, 2007; Barkhuizen & Du Plessis, 2012).

In hiring occupational processes, although there is an effort to assess women objectively, an unconscious bias is noted. For example, in her study Akingbade (2010) argues that, women who have poor behaves and manners that don't follow the culturally described gender roles are likely to experience gender discrimination in hiring situations. Therefore, they show aggressive male features and competitive communicational manners in their work environment and these unexpected manners put them in a disadvantaged position in their career. In male dominated occupations women have some strategies to be successful. One strategy is to behave as typical

masculine features such as aggressiveness, overconfidence, individualistic behavior. Adopting male characteristics may help them to fit better into male dominated environments. Contrary to this, another strategy is to adopt more participatory leadership manners such as caring, encouraging which is adjusted to their natural feminine tendency (Chowen, 2007; Davey, 2008). Davey points out this conflicted situation by saying that, “*women seem to be caught between resisting and accommodating masculine politics*”. It can be argued that women use these strategies in order to adjust, to cope and to keep their motivation in male dominated occupations. In their research, Martin and Barnard (2013) found out that women in male dominated occupations face with covert and formal gender-biased organizational culture and in order to remain their occupations they drift between two opposite behaviours such as using their femininity and adopting male characteristics. Martin and Barnard point out that adopting male characteristics is more common behavior among women as a coping strategy.

The results of another study conducted in Canada shows that women engineers develop some coping strategies in order to be accepted in the petroleum industry. Some of these strategies can be defined as acting like a man, accepting the gender discrimination, use the advantage against disadvantaged which can provide respectability to women in male dominated areas. Skeggs (1997) describes “respectability” by pointing out that it is not the concern of who keeps the position of normalized and do not have to prove it. But it concerns who is being positioned and need to be proved. Therefore “respectability” becomes a signifier of an achievement and it is related with class, gender and other indicators of social positions. In their article Fellows and Razack (1998) indicate that respectability is a descriptive word which shows how the dominant group assures their dominant position through the marginal ones. This can create hierarchies among women. Some women in order to construct their respectability as women tend to oppress other women and separate themselves from those women who are not like them. Therefore, it can be said that the desire of being respectable among male dominated areas may create hierarchal structures among women. Miller (2004) states that coping strategies are providing only short-term individual benefits and do not help to change the current male

domination, on the contrary they make the male domination permanent and strengthen the ideology of patriarchy.

Another study conducted by Beşpınar (2010) focused on “work-related strategies” of upper- and working-class women against existing patriarchal system within family and work place in Turkey. The results of this research show that, in the work place women use some strategies to avoid gender discrimination such as, working harder than men, need to look “professional” by minimizing feminine attitudes and appearance, developing “gender-neutral” behaviors by controlling their emotional expressions. According to Beşpınar, these strategies are important for the women from the middle and upper middle class in order not to lose their social and economic status and keep their social class position. But these individual strategic gains are contrarily feeding the existing patriarchal ideology and reproducing new forms of subordination in the long-term against women.

Studies concerning gender discrimination and women’s reactions in male-dominated areas are limited before 2000’s but in recent years feminist researches and studies were conducted particularly about women’s coping strategies in male dominated areas at working life in Turkey (Ecevit, et.al., 2003; Kadayıfçı, 2015; Ergun & Karaduman, 2018). In their studies, while Kadayıfçı (2015) claims that women engineers face stereotyped gender practices develop some coping strategies both in university education and in working life period. For example, ignoring or joining and laughing at gendered or sexual jokes and swearing of male colleagues, Ergun and Karaduman (2018) point out that women managers tend to internalize and reproduce patriarchal behaviors in their professional working lives in technology sector.

A study conducted by Gwyther and Holland (2014) in England, focus on feelings of vulnerability and effects on driving behavior. Study also examines the emotional responses to risk perception and the adaptation of coping strategies in driving. They point out that, the terms of self-regulation and avoidance is effective with the challenging circumstances such as heavy traffic, bad weather conditions and unfamiliar routes for drivers. Like some other studies this research shows that avoidance is especially common in anxious drivers, old drivers and unexperienced drivers (Charlton, et al., 2006, Baldock, et al., Gwyther & Holland, 2012). Young

female drivers' concerns were mostly break down of their cars and unfamiliar locations. In addition, the study reveals that older female drivers developed some restrictive practices as a coping strategy to reduce the feeling of vulnerability such as avoiding night driving. According to Charlton et al. (2006), there is a relation between the reduction of functional night vision with the drivers' avoidance of night driving. Moreover, this study provided some evidence that emotional responds for risks can limit drivers' driving behavior.

Although traffic and driving are male dominated areas and female drivers have to cope with patriarchal ideology daily life in Turkey, no studies were found about coping strategies of female drivers. Therefore, the importance of this research is to make a contribution to the existing literature which examines female driver stereotype in the context of traffic in Turkey by revealing the internalization mechanism and reproduction of stereotyped perceptions and what kind of coping strategies that female drivers develop to survive in a highly male dominated field. In this part of the chapter the history of automobilization will be examined within the context of gender and women.

3.4. The Early Stage of Automobility and Gender: Review between late 1800' and 1930's

The evolution of transportation technology has begun with the invention of the motor car at Britain and United States in the last part of eighteenth century and has continued with the invention of electric cars, railways and the modern automobile. Before the invention of motor cars, the physical distinction and distances between cities were compelling for the citizens. After the industrial revolution, with the development of transportation technology the distinction between private and public sphere became more visible because this technology made it possible for men to separate their public and private spheres physically. Public and private spheres represent different values, while public area is a symbol of men's wild and aggressive world, private sphere represents peace, protection and warmth (Wachs, 1996).

In the nineteenth century car was an expensive and luxury good and mostly owned by upper class. Within the cultural and economic realities of the early 1900's

automobility was limited to only upper- and middle-class families (Urry, 2004). The occurrence of the class about driving argued by Flink. He mentioned that “driving classes” were not only related with money or wealth but it was linked with “cultural capital”. Despite necessity, the beauty of the bodies and forms of automobiles makes them not only being used for transportation but also being used for leisure activities and it shows refined cultural tastes which is free from the concerns of mundane life for the bourgeoisie or upper class (Flink, 1970). The same reaction can be seen in the British society in the early period of automobilization which is linked with the class privilege, leisure and freedom (Shan, O’Connell, 1998). The effect of automobility in culture and creation of class distinction are consistent with Bourdieu’s theory of consumption as class fractions. According to Bourdieu, cultural objects convey socially constructed messages that can state to an individual’s class location (Bourdieu, 1984). Cultural capital demonstrates elegant tastes and builds the illusion that upper class owners are individually superior to others. Bourdieu explains that class is symbolized by culture but it causes a misrecognition of its actual basis in such way. On the contrary, Bourdieu points out that the mass production of cars was produced by a mundane concern for the working-class consumption which was characterized by the efficient, functional, simple and cheaper models (Gartman, 2004).

In the early stage of automobility, the quality of cars not only symbolized the inequality of class but the inequality of gender as well. The production and the usage of automobile were influenced by the separate spheres of gender ideology both in United States and Britain (Scharff, 1991, O’Connell, 1998). Because of the mobility that they provided in the public sphere and the mechanical features, automobiles generally characterized as masculine. In contrast, femininity defined in private and domestic sphere. Thus, the ownership and the operation of an automobile were regarded culturally appropriate primarily for men. Also types of cars were differed according to gender. Gasoline powered automobile was preferred by men because of its faster and noisy structure, needed more power but electric automobile was produced and marketed especially for women because it is slower, quieter and had limited range. The main limitation of electric cars was specifically short travel distance because of their battery charges. This limitation seemed proper for women

because it was inappropriate for them to stray far from their home. Upper class women were able to drive electric car mostly for amusement and for social gatherings. In her book, Virginia Scharff describes how American culture was shaped with the innovation of car and the meaning of women, gender, sexuality and class in the early twentieth century. She argues that, a car is not a neutral object, it is a product of masculine world, car has relation with class and gender and it has power to change the culture and social order. She points out that in the 1900s electric car was sold to women within the knowledge of women's specific gender roles because electric car provided only short-distance touring with low-speed driving (Scharff, 1991).

By the end of the 1920s, mass production of automobiles came to the scene in the United States which led to cheapening of cars and the expansion and improvement of highways. Between the years of 1918 and 1939 the number of private car ownership rose from 100,000 to over two million (O'Connell, 1998). Mass production of automobiles was also the beginning of the formation of urban cities (Sweezy, 2000). Easy access to automobile provided white, working middle class men a social dominance in the economic arena. While driving activity was giving men a chance to travel to distant places and ability to reach a wide range of goods and services, it also provided women freedom from domestic isolation and gave them a new political status (Seiler, 2008). This easy access provided citizens a geographical mobility which gives opportunities to reach new places in the land. The freedom that driving helped to develop social mobility with an enhanced social status. Not having a car became a sign of deprivation for many people in the society and automobile ownership became a symbol of progress and modernity (Jakle & Sculle, 2011; Walsh, 2004). United States had reached a mass production of automobilization by the end of the 1920s mass motorization became the reality of European countries in the 1960s. The reason was the efficient railway system, costs of car maintenance, registration and fuel taxes slowed down the diffusion of lower class automobilization (Mobility History Group, 2003).

At the beginning automobile was mostly a tool for pleasure but then it turned to be an essential asset for everyday life activities such as shopping and commuting especially in and around the cities. With the common usage of automobile big stores

started to open their branches in the suburbs which makes suburbs easier and attractive for Americans. Therefore, car usage affected the geographic settlement which had changed the social behavior of the society. In 1929 in their research Helen and Robert Lynd named “Middletown” claimed the symbolic relationship between automobiles and family lives. They pointed out that by affecting many social habits, car usage changed family dynamics such as social status, social and geographic mobility and freedom (Jakle & Sculle, 2011).

With the pervasiveness of the automobile although more women were able to drive cars, women’s class and social status position created difficulty for many women to access an automobile. Even though upper and upper-middle class women could own the car, it was used for domestic roles such as carrying household duties outside of the house by women. Therefore, it can be said that family car concept helped to sell cars to families by intensifying women’s stereotyped gender roles both in society and family.

3.5. The Irresistible Attraction of Automobile: Review of the automobile and gender relation between the 1940s to the 1960s

Until 1940’s the historical gendered perceptions about automobilization were shaped by mostly one-car per family that considers the “culture of domesticity” which is a set of belief that expresses the different spheres of genders and the place of woman coming from 19th century (Walsh, 2004). But the intervention of the United States to the Second World War was a turning point for women because of the liberation from their domestic ties. During the Second World War the numerous visual images were used by the U.S. and the British governments which were showing women as working at “men’s” jobs such as welders, riveters and driving automobiles. These publicized images and photographs provided women to validate their new roles, outside the home (Wosk, 2001).

As a cultural and social artefact, the automobile turned to a mass consumption item after the World War II. The automobile, based culture was supported by the direct and indirect intervention of the US government after the war. In the 1950s, planning transportation infrastructure gained importance. City planners, economists, engineers started to work on travel demand models in order to response to the

changing process of transportation system and changes in the features of people using the system. With the support of the government suburbanization became popular among American citizens and the new life in suburbs changed the lives and travel patterns of families. Almost every family had at least two cars and women's gender roles been re-domesticated in order to carry the household duties such as shopping, driving children to school while the husband was at work.

At the early 1950s while female driver percentage of American nation was 39%, by the late 60's the number marginally increased to 53% (Walsh, 2008). To carry out the domestic responsibilities, women became dependent on an automobile. Besides, with the increase of the female labor force after 40's the multi-tasked journeys and more complex travel patterns emerged for women. Consequently, the access to an automobile became easier to all classes, without gender differences automobile became a household vehicle and auto consumption turned to be a way of American life by the 1960s (Walsh, 2008).

Not only auto industry but other institutions in societies deliberately depicted traditional gender roles through the media, films and advertisements which showed woman to be a perfect housewife albeit the automobile through decades. Thus, the stereotype of female driver became one of the consistent myths of automobile culture. This was systematically strengthened the traditional gender stereotyped role of women by penetrating the societies. Michael Berger (1982) points out that the "female driver" stereotype shows the intention to limit women's freedom and keep them in their place in order to protect them from the bad influences in society by the patriarchal ideology. In time, spreading out of this intention portrayed women less self-confident, unstable and less proficient drivers. On the other side, a rise of solidarity feeling against the oppression and the discrimination of their social status among women started the second wave of feminist movement at 1960s. Although, patriarchal ideology used the "feminist" label to diminish, criticize and alienate women through media who were fighting against heterosexist norms in both 1960s and 1970s, couldn't obstruct the successful empowerment of women to gain greater equality (Newman, 2011).

3.6. The End of a Romantic Period; Review of the automobile and female driver relation from the 1970s to end of the 20th century.

With the effort of the feminist activism mostly white middle-class Euro-American women have gained access to equal educational and employment opportunities in 1970s and 1980s such as finding places in official and managerial positions. By the increase in the dual income families, women were able to afford their own vehicles. Also, since the 1970s the growing number of female-headed families contributed the increase in the number of female drivers in United States. For women longer work hours, transformed travel patterns, the engagements of personal, household or family needs changed female drivers' trips, made them more complicated and multi-tasked and their household and work life balance became more complex (Walsh, 2008). To understand and explain different travel patterns of people travel demand models were developed by many researchers. Travel demand models stand on two different conceptual approaches, starting with the trip-based model approach and continuing with the activity-based model approach. Trip-based model approach emerged with socio-economic concerns to develop sustainable strategies for capital intensive alternative transportation investments but this model created conceptual problem (Hall, 1999). During the 70's regardless the benefits and the necessity of automobility the environmental concerns, mass motorization, traffic accidents and deaths were more often mentioned by the organizations and pressure groups (Mobility History Group, 2003). With the fundamental changes in environment, energy and urban city policies in 1970s, plenty of behavioral theories, concepts, methodologies and scientific studies of travel behavior arose. Because of the requirement of more holistic approach that may contain daily travel behavior patterns, linked to different life styles and activities of individuals, activity-based approach was developed (Jones *et.al.*, 1990). The activity-based approach generally started as a natural development of research on human behavior, and particularly on travel behavior. The main principle of the activity-based approach is that decisions of travel are operated by a collection of many activities thus it is insufficient to analyze travel on an individual trip basis. The collection of activities performed with the relation to environment, individual's decision process, activity pattern of individual and behavioral rules constitutes complex travel behavior (McNally, 2000). In the

activity-based approach, activity pattern is taken as the basic unit of analysis which is characterized as the pattern of behavior demonstrated by activities and travel within a specific time period. These patterns are relevant to the activity patterns of household because individual activity patterns consist of a decision process. Some basic themes characterize activity-based approach such as;

- Travel is a derived demand.
- Series of behaviours are the unit of analysis.
- Travel behavior and activity is influenced by the social structures such as household.
- Travel and activity behavior are constrained by interpersonal interdependencies and temporal, spatial transportation.
- Scheduling of activities in time and space are reflected by activity-based approaches.

In this context many revealed activity-based analysis studies refers one or more of activity-based approach themes (McNally, 2000). Based on the theme which mentions that travel is a derived demand, it can be said that people do not travel only for the sake of traveling, but they travel because of their separated activities in time and space in order to take part in a broader series of activities which are spread to different areas within different time frames. Another perspective can be added to this assumption by claiming that, travel is involved with social roles of individuals and it is gender related. Women and men have different roles in society and their travel behaviours are determined by their social roles. Thus, men and women travel in different periodicity, at different time periods within altered modes (Wachs, 1987). Therefore, while travel is about individual sakes, it has also interactions with society, family and household and it has cultural, social and geographical reflexions within daily mobility according to gender and asymmetrical power relations.

Traffic and transport sciences broadly concern with the analysis, explanation, and estimation of all aspects of goods' and people's mobility (Michon, 1989). Traffic psychology has emerged to provide analysis and explanations of human behavior in traffic generally in order to reduce harmful effects of transportation system and involves the study of actions, feelings and thoughts of road user which consists of the

transaction between drivers, vehicles, physical and social environment. In other words, it is related to psychological process of the behavior of road users, as well as the relation between human and various aspects of traffic environment (Rothengatter, 1997) because driving is no longer considered as a simple activity to travel from one point to another. Rather, driving is a dynamic and constantly changing life event which can affect immediate and long term social, emotional and physical wellbeing (Hennessy, 2011). In this context it is unable to claim that traffic psychology has a single theory, or set of theories to explain road user behavior sufficiently.

In traffic psychology, behavior research mostly works on with topics like personality, habits, overconfidence, motivation, differences of skills, attention, violation of traffic rules and gender differences (Rothengatter & Groeger, 1998). While analyzing the topics many road user behavior models emerged and most of them focused on the private vehicle driver's behaviors and some of general psychology theories being used such as planned behavior theory. This theory developed by psychologist Icek Ajzen. The theory suggests that, the intention to perform a specific behavior is determined by subjective norms, that person's attitude and control of behavioral control (Ajzen, 1991). Subjective norms can be defined as the normative expectation of other people such as close relatives and parents, other family members and friends who have influence on the inspiration to adhere to their expectations. Within many studies of traffic safety and injury prevention, planned behaviour theory applied to observe and analyse the behavioural explanations such as high-speed tendency of drivers but neither planned behaviour model nor other models are not enough to explain human behaviour totally (Ketphat et al., 2013). Attempts to integrate the different types and levels of modelling have not succeed and produced a generally accepted driver model (Rothengatter, 1997).

3.7. Driving in 21th Century; Reproduction of gender identities by automobile

Beginning from the 1990s to recent years the institution of "automobility" has also recognized to understand the complexity and interconnections with the related set of practices such as socio-techno-political practices (Rajan, 1996; Shove, 1998; Urry, 2000; Featherstone et al., 2004).

In studies of driving behaviour, sex was one of the most frequently measured variables but sex differences were rarely taken into consideration. Hence, gender and gender differences that refer social and cultural construct were mostly ignored. Around the 1980s, the issue of women and transport included in research. Depending on many empirical studies, now it can be said that there is considerable evidence for gender differences in travel behaviour. For example, in their study, Simon and Corbett (1996) explain gender role differences in driving, being passive, non-competitive and non-risky for the role of feminine, and the role for masculine is being risky, competitive, aggressive and non-compliant. In a different study, Özkan and Lajunen (2006) reported that, “being a good and skilful driver” is seen as a masculine feature and “being a safe driver” is rather seen as feminine feature. The results of their study support the idea that drivers’ gender variable is also effective as much as sex variable in describing their general driving style. In this case, it can be said that the driving activity is gender specific and dominated by traditional gender stereotypes. In the UK, the study of the Social Issues Research Centre (SIRC) in 2004, marked that the Department of Gender and Women’s Health at the World Health Organization published a report which emphasized some differences between male and female drivers in order to recognize of gender differentiated policies in related fields such as traffic insurance claims.

Recently, psychologists Steele and Aronson (1995) proposed a model of stereotype threat which indicates that when people are worried about being the object of demeaning stereotypes, their performance can be affected negatively in stereotype-relevant spheres. A broad variety of studies have revealed that stereotype threat typically disrupts the performance of the person being stereotyped and many researches have demonstrated that stereotype threat can cause a weaker performance on intellectual tasks such as quantitative and also verbal exams (Yeung & Von Hippel, 2007). All around the world people from many different life styles and from different countries commonly have proficient driving abilities with a valid license. However different types of driver stereotypes are also common. For example, women drivers are widely labelled with poor driving skills (Berger, 1982). Yeung and Von Hippel’s, (2007) stereotype research revealed that “women are poor drivers stereotype leads women to perform poorly behind the wheel when the stereotype is

made accessible, independent of their actual driving ability”. In the study, they used a driving simulator to evaluate female drivers’ driving performance in emergency situations when they faced with stereotype threat. They found out that potential performance decrements seen and caused by the threat of stereotype while female drivers were facing with emergency situations. They argued that not only emergency situations, but also parallel parking, driving in rush hours, reversing and other similar situations are likely making female drivers irritable or sensitive to stereotype threat. Another study conducted by Granić and Papafava (2011) demonstrated that, gender stereotypes are related to driving behaviour which can begin from the age of 10 and the negative image of female drivers increase with the age to 16. This study indicates that children are aware of and adopt negative stereotyped gender roles about driving in a very early ages and their behaviours affected from these stereotypes. They gain more importance when children become adults because driving activity is perceived as a masculine activity and men are considered to have natural driving skills while women seem less capable of driving naturally. Aggressive driving use of cars to promote their self-image, and failure to obey traffic rules are frequent perceptions of male drivers. In contrary, female drivers are mostly perceived as being bad drivers, followers of traffic rules and experiencing either more or less traffic accidents.

3.8. Automobile and Driving History in Turkey

The first automobile appeared in the streets of İstanbul in the year of 1883 at the Ottoman Empire period. Just like the other recencies the wealthy upper-class families were brought the automobile in İstanbul. In the period of Ottoman Empire, a few years later automobile races became a fashion among rich people and the daughters or wives of rich families were interested in driving at the races and had some successful results. Samiye Cahid Hanım was the first known Turkish female driver and after she got her driver license, she had attended to the traditional automobile race which was organized by Turing Club in 1922 and she had won the race. But ironically, as a result of the objections from the other male racers she was counted as the second winner (Mahmutoğlu et.al, 2012). In the first years of the Turkish republic while the number of motorized vehicles in Turkey was almost 1500, in the year of 1926 the number of the vehicles increased to almost 5000 that 3200-

3300 of them were automobiles and in 1939 the number of automobiles increased to 4795 within the total vehicle number of 10,684 (Durgun, 2006). In 1928 the company of Koçzade Ahmet Vehbi opened a retail of Ford vehicles in Ankara. The automobile demands of upper class were met from the American brands such as Chevrolet and Ford Between 1927 and 1960 was the period of the birth efforts of the Turkish automotive industry. The development of Turkish automotive industry was important to decrease the import dependency of both cars and spare parts and to increase the production (Başer, 2018).

With the end of 1960s the first Organized Industrial Zone was established in Bursa and the production of automobiles started in 1971. Both the reproduction and the facilitation of import permits of foreign automobile brands provided rapid increase of the number of automobiles in the roads of Turkey. In 1998 the total number of automobiles was 3.838.631 and in 2018 according to TÜİK statistics the number jumped to 12.106.678 (TÜİK, 2018). If it is compared to United States, in 1965 the number of the registered cars was 73.3 million. The figures given on the web site of U.S. Department of Transportation² in 2012 is 109,834,272 for the automobiles both private and commercial. In 2016, the total number of registered passenger cars in Germany was over 45 million, in United Kingdom was more than 31 million and the total number of registered passenger cars in Europe included Turkey was stood at 259.5 million units according to the statistics of Statista web site³. These figures can be a good example to understand that automobilization in Turkey is not a very old culture and although the registered numbers of automobiles are rapidly increasing every year, the effects of automobile are differencing from other Western cultures.

In United States automobilization attained this development after the 1960s and automobile became an unseparated part of the American families as it was mentioned above. Moreover, the feminist movement in the 1960s and the 1970s supported the gender equality, with the economic boost and the influence of

² .US Department of Transportation, 2012
<https://www.fhwa.dot.gov/policyinformation/statistics/2012/mv1.cfm> (04.04.2019)

³ Statista, 2019
<https://www.statista.com/statistics/452449/european-countries-number-of-registered-passenger-cars/> (04.04.2019)

consumerism automobile became an essential need for families. The dual-income and female headed families were increased and modern American lifestyle started to be described with mass personal automobility regardless of gender (Walsh, 2008). But in Turkey although automobility was included deeply in daily life of Turkish society at the beginning of 90's it is not possible to mention that mass personal automobility is regardless of gender in 21th century. According to the TÜİK statistics the sex differentiation of drivers in 2017 actualized as overwhelmingly majority of male drivers with the percentage of 74.9% of total drivers. Furthermore, statistics and studies show that the decision of buying an automobile is still belong to men in the family because of his gender role in Turkey (PIAR, 1989; Karaman, 2003; Bişkin, 2004)

Through the past decades, the rates of women who are holding license increased in many countries but the figures may show the historical, cultural and class differences according to countries. For example, according to Australian Bureau of Statistics, in 1986 54% of women in South Australia had a motor car license and in 1999 it increased to 62.7%. In UK, comparing with 1975/76 statistics which shows that 29% of women held driving license, Department for Transport statistics show the rapid increase that 67% of women hold a driving license in 2014 in Great Britain. According to World Health Organization, world's highest figures of road accidents and deaths belong to Saudi Arabia, although Saudi women were being banned from driving until 2018. They needed their male relatives to be driven (Abojaradeh et al., 2015).

In Turkey, Security General Directorate statistics reveal that in the 1980s while women driver percentage was lower than 13%, it increased to 16,7% in 2007 and it became 24.1% in 2016. As it can be seen from the figures, women driver percentages are changing according to years and cultures of the societies. In Turkey the province that has the highest number of women who have the driver license is Ankara then İzmir and İstanbul follows. According to the EGM statistics of 2015 the total number of populations that possess a driver license is 27.481.703. While 76,2% of this number is male, 23,8% of is female figure (egm.gov.tr, 2016). The ratio between men and women is 3,2. As these figures clearly show, men are at least 3 times mobile than women in traffic as drivers. This mobility rate can be higher in

favor of men because although many women have their driver license, they have never been driving and they use the license as an identity card only. The 2011 and 2014 research results of Turkish Road Association support this status. According to the 2011 results in Turkey the percentage of women who had the driver license without driving was 20,2% and 2014 results show that this number increased to 23,6% while the male percentage was 6,2% (YTMK, 2011; YTMK, 2014). As it can be seen from these figures driving activity is still a male dominated area and it is a significant way to be seen and exist in a public sphere for women in Turkey.

Although the majority of drivers are male, the number of female drivers is continuously and rapidly increasing in Turkey in the recent decades. One of the reasons of this major unbalanced situation is the economic powerlessness and dependence of women. According to the World Economic Forum's 2018 Global Gender Gap Report, Turkey ranks 130th in the gender gap index within 149 countries. Unfortunately like many other countries Turkey offers an unfavorable picture about gender equality. Report reveals that women's participation in politics and education has been declined since 2017 in Turkey. Participation in paid employment for women accelerated till the 1950s. But after the 1950s, with the migration to urban centers from rural areas, the labor force participation of women started to diminish. Women who came from rural areas mostly stayed as a housewife or worked in unregistered works. In the upper-middle and middle-class families although women were better educated with the help of the positive economic conditions, they mostly kept their traditional gender roles at home as a housewife (Kocacık & Gökkaya, 2005). Within many factors of this decrease, some of them can be counted as; patriarchal ideology against women's participation to labor market, the lack of education of women and the economic dependence. While patriarchal ideology kept women in the private sphere and limited women's participation to the workforce, it supported the economic dependence and exploitation of women. According to TÜİK's statistics in 2016 the total employment of the age of 15 years old individual's ratio is 46,3% and the female employment remained 28% of within the total percentage. By 2018, female employment stayed in the same percentage and the participation to the labor force was 33,3%. (TÜİK, 2018).

Another significant factor that affects female participation to the work force is the level of education. TÜİK's figures show that when women's labor force participation is examined according to the educational condition, it has a positive correlation between the level of education and the participation in the labor force. While the percentage rate of participation in the labor force of women whose education is under high school remains 27,2%, the percentage of university level graduates increases to 71,3% (TÜİK 2018). In Turkey women who have a higher education are better employed than some other countries such as in Canada with the rate of 63%, in United Kingdom with the rate of 69,7% and in Switzerland with 67,5% (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1999). But Turkish women are paid lower than the pay of Turkish men (Ecevit, 1999). Although middle-upper class women have better employment conditions and have stable income they mostly cannot decide to buy a car themselves. According to the 2013 Turkish Family Structure Survey (TAYA), in 2006 the ownership of a private car of women in Turkey was 2,2 % and it increases to 9,3% in 2011. Poor labor force participation and higher economic dependency of women merges with prevalence of patriarchal gender roles, keeping even working women distant to reach the automobile.

A study conducted in Kocaeli province examined the car ownership with the logit model and the results show that the increase of the variables such as income, education and driver license owner in the household also increases the possibility of owning one, two or more automobiles. In the study the target scenarios point out that in 2035 the half of the population who doesn't have a car will be the owner of at least one automobile (Erden, 2015). This study shows that although women's automobile ownership is still very low in Turkey, education and income level are effective on the decision of having an automobile and it can be said that higher number of middle-class women will be in the active traffic in the near future. Rather than United States and many other European countries, in Turkey public transportation is convenient and accessible by the public. In addition, automobile ownership is difficult not only for lower middle class and lower-class women but also for middle-upper class women. Therefore, unlike other Western countries the main point is to reach an automobile itself for women rather than the preference according to the brands of the cars which is the indicator of the status and class.

The cultural effects of automobilization in Turkey can be seen firstly in the Turkish literature through novels, narratives and films which were the reflections of the change in social life of society (Uğurlu, 2009). According to Engin (2000), the relationship between Turkish people and automobile can be examined in three periods. The first period was between 1935-1950 that the automobile pointed the upper-class, especially American cars were the indicator of status symbol. In many of Turkish films American cars indicated the richness and power. Beginning with this period exceptionally female driver concept could be seen in the films and novels who were reach the car because of the wealthiness of their families or ironically became a taxi or dolmuş driver with a macho character. In the second period 1960 to 1980 with the result of the license agreements about the production of automobiles in Turkey, the prices of the automobiles were dropped thus automobile itself seemed to lose its upper-class status symbol indicator and especially the prices of nationally produced automobiles became more accessible in this period. After 1980's automobiles became more reachable for almost every class of society because of the improvement of national automotive industry and the simplification of the import procedures for the foreign brands which consist of the last period of the Turkish automobile history. In 90's automobile was an inseparable part of the daily life and automobile's indication of status was transformed to the upper segments of automobile models and brands. (Güneş, 2012).

Like every society in the world Turkey has its own traffic culture and it can be said that this culture created by the overwhelming majority of male drivers who grown within the patriarchal culture of family and society. Within the traffic culture there are some unwritten rules according to the societies. For example, in United States not driving under the speed limits, leaving a note if you damaged a car, not lingering in front of the pump, not to block the traffic when picking up somebody some of unwritten rules but there are almost no unwritten rules about female drivers. On the other hand, in Turkish society the unwritten rules of the traffic consist of some different examples. Mostly small cars leave the lane to the bigger cars, the cars who carry the plate number of different provinces give the right of using the way to the cars which belong to that province, female drivers leave the left lane to male drivers and pedestrians give the right of way to every kind of vehicle at the roads

(Aycan & Aycan, 2014). In many automobile advertisements in TV channels the driver is mostly a man and women are usually described as a passenger who sit in the right seat or at the outside of the automobile and look to the male driver with admiration. According to Cengiz (2009), this description shows that automobile is an ideal spouse for a man and that's why mostly men use "my girl" or "bride" ascriptions for their cars. Ünsal (2000) claims that both automobile and the parts of it frequently used in Turkish slang to imply sexual connotations and the automobile and related concepts mostly connected with female body.

After the 1970s till today through the economic developments and fluctuations many studies were carried out focusing on especially economic dimensions, production and marketing effects and consumer tendencies of automobilization. But significantly after the 1990s with the positive trend of traffic psychology around the world new researches started to be released in Turkey. Traffic accidents are still one of the major issues of Turkish society. Therefore, most of the research and studies focus on the social and political environments, urban traffic and traffic safety issues (Kalyoncuoğlu, 1999; Sümer N., 2002; Sungur, et al., 2014). In the following period, drivers' behaviors, skills, personal characteristics and psychological indications of drivers came forward and gained importance within the researches in the field (Özkan & Sümer, 2002; Özkan & Lajunen, 2006). Driving behaviors were started to examined through sex and gender also and according to many studies and international researches, general driving style in Turkey is related to not only age and sex but also related to the drivers' traditional gender roles (Özkan, Sümer, Ayvaşık, Er, 2002; Özkan & Lajunen, 2006; Eşiyok et al., 2007). Another study of Özkan & Lajunen in 2005 claimed that being a skillful driver may be assumed as a masculine feature by masculine drivers while feminine drivers may not consider driving activity as a part of their identity. The results of the study that conducted in Ankara by Özkan and his colleagues in 2002 shows that although the driving style develops with the experience within the years, it doesn't mean that it will be become more secure and reliable. Practice may increase the driving skills but may create an overconfidence on the drivers and can cause more risky driving. Research also indicate that male drivers are involved traffic accidents more than female drivers. Because male drivers display more aggressive, independent,

competitive behaviors which prepare the baseline of the potential accidents (Aycan & Aycan, 2014). Eşiyok and colleagues (2007) conducted another study about anger in Ankara, Samsun and İstanbul with the drivers who were actively driving in traffic at least one year and they found out that there is a positive relation between male drivers and expression of anger through body and car. Contrarily, in recent years the studies on female drivers in Western countries associated driving performances of older women with their self-confidence (D'Ambrosio, et al.,2008).

Like international feminist researches national feminist studies mostly focus on women's public transportation issues both in rural and urban areas rather than driving issues of women because driving activity is seen mostly the travel activity of upper and upper-middle class women. According to Köse (2014), automobiles (and other transportation vehicles) are functionally gendered. For example, ships are metaphorically female. Moreover, automobiles also contribute the reproduction of gender identities by reflecting semiotic references to the universe of symbolic gender identification. In traditional Turkish culture the well-known discourse "horse, women and gun" can be another semiotic reference to symbolic gender identification and property while the automobile takes the place of horse now. Car stickers and slogans are another example which are considered a kind of communication tool by social psychology and generally named as automobile folklore in popular culture (Yılmaz, 2018). Although they can be in any subject the slogans which call for women mostly consist stereotyped expressions which shows the male power in Turkish popular car folklore culture.

Although there are very limited studies about issues related to female driving experiences in Turkey, in recent years there are some noteworthy researches come up with terms of feminist perspective and critique. A study conducted about gender stereotypes about automobile advertisements in Turkey can be a good example of how traditional gender stereotyped roles are being reproduced through media. In the study the chosen adverts reveal the reproduction of dichotomy and the distinction of about public and private sphere. Automobile adverts mostly stick to the gender stereotypes, give specific messages and create some kind of images that women are unexperienced, hesitant, without controlling the power of automobile and far from the rational decisions while driving (Yüksel, 2006). In their article Aycan & Aycan

(2014) indicate the results of the research done by the national insurance company in 21 province which shows that, while 2% of women drive more than 5 hours per day, the ratio goes up to 16,3% for men, women drivers are more sensitive to seat belt (67,6%), 46,5 % of female drivers do not prefer to drive in the snowy weather and finally abstraction and fatigue are the higher flaws among female drivers with the rate of 85,7% but the violation of traffic rules is low with the 14,5%. In the same research among 732 female drivers 35% of them declared that they were exposed to male driver harassment at least five times and 65% of them said that they were exposed to the male driver harassment at least once. Because of the harassment some female drivers panicked and had a traffic accident and some of them mentioned that they didn't drive for a period of time.

Traditional gender stereotypes and asymmetrical power relations in urban-public spheres can be easily traced in roads and transportation vehicles. Driver seat belongs to man and the right seat mostly the place of woman who symbolizes both a sexual object or protection. It is salient that although the perception of automobile is related with male the symbolization is being realized through female (Kayın, 2013). In Turkey, driving is a new fact for the women and they have relatively unexperienced in accordance with men. Consequently, there is a general stereotyped perception which stigmatizes women as a "bad drivers". Many drivers indicate that they can guess the sex of the drivers in the vehicle in front of them by the driving style of the driver and they admit that they can use the stereotyped perception about the driver by saying "This driver is certainly a woman". According to collective mind-set of the society automobile is seen as a property of man and women drivers sometimes face with harassment and sometimes, they come across with unnecessary help offers from men.

The general argument can be defined through the perception of gender stereotyped driving behaviours of different sexes such as men drive confidently, taking risks, fast, without obeying rules and aggressive, women drive slowly, without confidence, careful, calm, timid and obeying rules (Ünal, et al., 2017). According to Ünal and her colleagues, there is not enough evidence which can show the positive or negative relation between the "female drivers" driving features with the traffic accidents which are obviously arrogated to all women drivers such as being passive,

slow and timid. Although male drivers are more experienced, they mostly take unnecessary risks and feel over-confidence while driving therefore they get more traffic penalties and involve more accidents. On the contrary although female drivers are less experienced, they have better attitudes while driving (Ünal, et al., 2017). Therefore, being more active, taking risks or driving fast cannot be the equivalent of being a good driver or, driving slowly and timidly can also be a reason of accidents in different conditions. It is important to dispense gender-based stereotypes about driving in order to improve road safety. Over all the stereotype of a female driver makes it harder for women to be a reliable driver and create difficulties to possess the car.

Alkan's study in Ankara (2005) reveals that the ownership of an automobile mostly belongs to the husband or to the father and the driving activity is taken up by them in the family. Therefore, women generally use the public transportation and the ones who can drive actively usually fulfil the household responsibilities. Another study conducted in Trabzon examines the meaning of being a female driver in Trabzon province from a feminist perspective. In the study female drivers' experiences about driving were examined and the results show that the reason of the higher number of female drivers in Trabzon is related with high income levels and the specific features of Trabzon women such as confidence, bravery and love of pomposity. Trabzon women generally obtain their license in their 20's and they have problems with dolmuş drivers and the rude male drivers in traffic. And interestingly more than the half of participants agreed the stereotyped perception of female driver about other female drivers by saying that they use the "This driver is certainly women" (Hacısalıhoğlu, 2017). A very recent research in Gaziantep conducted by Gül in 2019 about gender stereotypes of female drivers reveals similar results. In the study at least one-year experienced male and female drivers' opinions were collected about female drivers' behaviours in Gaziantep. According to results, both male and female participants had similar stereotypes about female drivers' driving features as "careful", "obeying the rules", "slow", "timid" and "panic". Male participants explained the reasons of their stereotyped perceptions by pointing out women's responsibilities and traditional gender roles in society, the pressure of being in male dominated area on female drivers, the fear of having an accident, not able to think as

fast as male drivers. Additionally, female participants' explanations about their negative perceptions about female drivers was like that. Women drivers don't want to have an accident, they hesitate to drive fast, have no self-confidence, unexperienced and the fear of getting a scold from their husbands. Study also points out that although being a careful driver and obeying the rules seems a positive stereotype, sometimes they are perceived as a negative stereotype especially by male drivers because these actions can be the reasons of blocking the traffic. In this context, mobility patterns of men and women are mostly determined by the social responsibilities based on patriarchal division of labour and gender roles and patriarchy uses stereotypes in order to differentiate between the assumed characteristics of women and men in traffic behaviour.

Overall, this chapter firstly elaborated the basic literature of the related concepts of this study such as traditional masculinity and the construction of stereotyped gender identities. Moreover, gender-based distribution of resources and asymmetrical power relations were discussed in order to understand how patriarchal codes help male domination maintain power over women in every social class and status and especially over female drivers in traffic. Secondly, this chapter reviewed both national and international researches which demonstrated various coping strategies of women in male dominated fields that women mostly face with formal or hidden discrimination practices in order to survive and to feel the success within the traditional gender hierarchies through patriarchy. Thirdly, the literature of automobilization development, the culture of automobility, the relation among automobile, gender and class, occurrence of the female driver stereotype through patriarchal ideology and reproduction of gender identities by automobile were reviewed through the historical perspective. Finally, in the last part of the chapter both the development of automobility and the automobile culture were examined through related literature. Moreover, with the above literature the effects of economic dependence, education levels and class position of female drivers within traffic which is a patriarchal and male dominated area in Turkey were reviewed from the feminist perspective. In the following chapter the findings of the study will be analyzed and discussed in the light of the above literature review.

CHAPTER 4

EXPERIENCES, PERCEPTIONS AND COPING STRATEGIES OF WOMEN DRIVERS

In this chapter the findings from survey and structured in-depth interview will be analyzed according to main research questions and focus points of this study which are stereotypical perceptions about female drivers, internalization and reproduction of these perceptions by female drivers in active traffic. Moreover, women's own experiences, values and perceptions about their driving practices will be analyzed to explore their subjectivities and coping strategies that they develop to struggle with gender stereotyped perceptions. The analysis of the results was discussed in two main parts. The first part focuses on the experiences and the perceptions of survey and interview participants. Beginning with survey results, the answers of respondents about their driving experiences and their perceptions about female drivers were analyzed and compared through the related concepts and literature. In the second section, the coping strategies of female drivers were analyzed according to their answers and comments within the in-depth interview.

4.1. Experiences and Perceptions of Driving Features

In this part the experiences and perceptions of survey and in-depth participants were analyzed according to their answers and comments. While the survey results express the general idea, interviewees' answers and comments specifically gave the subjective experience, opinion and emotions about driving and being a driver. This section begins with the experience of driving according to years and it has been asked both survey and interview participants. Then the differences of experiences were analyzed through the gender roles and gender stereotypes by focusing on the interviewees detailed answers.

4.1.1. Driving Experience

Driving automobile in active traffic legally begins with possessing a driver license but having a driver license does not always mean that person is actively driving in traffic. Both in survey and in-depth interviews participants answered if there is a lap between having a driver license and active driving. Table 5 shows the relation between the gender and the lap of having a license and being an active driver according to the years.

Table 5.
Years Between Having Driver License and Beginning Active Driving

Gender Groups	Valid Answers	0 year	1-year lap	2 years lap	More than 2 years lap
Total	176				
Male	70	50 (71,4%)	5 (7,1%)	2 (2,9%)	13 (18,6%)
Female	106	44 (41,5%)	8 (7,5%)	6 (5,7%)	48 (45,3%)

In the survey 176 respondents answered this question and five respondents did not answer. According to the valid answers of 176 survey participants there is a significant difference between male and female participants being an active driver after having driver license. While 45,3% of women were becoming an active driver at least 3 years after possessing their driver license, 71,4% of men became an active driver with the same year that they got their driver license. When we look at the 20 answers according to age group of 21-25, 41,2 % of women, with the age group of 26-35, 43,7% of women within the 25 answers, with the age group of 36-60, 46,3% of women within the 114 valid answers and finally with the age group of 61-81, 50% of women within the 17 answers waited to be an active driver more than 2 years after they got their driving license. These figures are consistent with the Turkish Road Association research results which shows that the percentage of women who had the driver license without driving was 23,6% in 2014 in Turkey and men are at least 3 time more mobile than women in the active traffic as drivers. Based on these results it is clear that most male drivers are more experienced than female drivers. In Turkey

the legal age to have a driver license is 18. Although women got their driver license, they cannot be an active driver immediately.

When we look at the in-depth interview results, we trace the same patterns of the survey findings. The survey findings show that in every age group more than 40% of female drivers waited at least 2 years to become an active driver. Moreover, the ratio of female respondents in the older age groups were increased to almost 50% which were the same age range with the interview participants. 6 of interviewees declared that they began to drive actively in traffic after they got their license immediately. But consistent with the survey results, 14 of 20 interviewees mentioned that they did not become an active driver when they obtained their license. While the shortest time interval was 6 months, the longest one was 7 years. Majority of interviewees mentioned that they waited to have their own cars to drive actively in traffic. One interviewee stated that after obtaining her driver license at the age of 18 she did not become an active driver for 2 years. She mentioned that she used her father's car only in holidays and she became an active driver when she had her own car. It shows that it is difficult to reach parents or family car for women at younger ages. A widow interviewee told that she became an active driver after her husband's death because the only car that the family got being driven by her husband. One of divorced interviewee mentioned a similar reason for not being an active driver while she was married. She told that;

When I was married, we had a single car and my husband was driving. When I sat to the driver's seat he was beginning to shout and reprimanding me. So, I preferred not to drive until I got divorced. After the divorce I owned a car and began to drive actively.

It can be said that even though they achieve to get a driver's license, they were able to become an active driver after having their economic and/or social independence. My findings are consistent with the study conducted by in Ankara which was revealed in the car owning families the property of car mostly belongs to men and used by them (Alkan, 2005). Unequal power relationships maintain the stereotyped division of labor, which values men's gender role and devaluates women. This situation which is consistent with the results of this study also reproduces and maintains unequal access to and control of resources such as property ownership favoring man over woman (Mukhopadhyay M., 2001). Moreover, the

answers of the interviewees show that although women legally seem to have equal rights about property ownership, legal provisions have limited effect to alter unequal gender power relations within both families and societies. The study done by J. Toungara (1986) shows that although family laws improved for the benefit of women's social position, husband's head of household role undisputedly remained and his in charge of property position stabled. In other words, controlling property by husband stayed as a norm which makes women dependent to their husbands or fathers. As it can be traced with the survey results of the research the percentage of male drivers who can access a car and begin active driving in the same year of having driver license was 71,4%. This may show that male drivers can reach an automobile and begin to drive in a very short period after getting their driver license. Based on above statistics and the majority of the similar answers of interviewees it can be said that although almost all interviewees are highly educated and belong to upper-middle class women, financial and social dependence is one of the main reasons which detained women from driving. Additionally, gender stereotypes determine the automobility patterns of female drivers which have strong links to patriarchal society. Hence many interviewees mentioned that they couldn't become an active driver immediately when they obtain their driver license 19 of them told that now they are driving their own cars. This might indicate that many women may have been constricted about driving while there was a single car in family but they intended to learn how to drive and grabbed the opportunities whenever came up.

While the data from the survey show that women have experienced difficulties to become an active driver immediately after getting their driver license, the answers from the interviews can explain their feelings, motivations and relations with the automobile through their own experiences. When the motivation of having a driver license of interviewees examined, the age differences come forward. Although two main subjects seem to shape the motivation of having a driver license such as desire and necessity, these subjects do not have correlations with working status of interviewees. While older women explain their intention with prestige and status, relatively younger women are pointing at need and necessity. Almost half of the interviewees described the decision of having a driver's license as a desire to drive a car. They mostly mentioned love or/and desire. Another major reason to decide on

having a driver's license among 20 interviewees is the necessity. 9 out of 20 women expressed the necessity of having a driver's license. But only 3 of them are over 50 years old. 6 of them are between the ages of 42 to 35. In this group some of the interviewees predicated their decisions not only necessity but also need. 2 out of 20 interviewees responded the question by saying that having a driver's license made them free and independent. One interviewee, who is 38 years old, answered the same question stating that having a driver's license is a kind of prestige. In my interview it can be seen that according to the answers women who are over the age of 50 mentioned more class and status related terms to describe having a driver license such as desire/prestige. The ages of all 8 women are above 50 and they have been actively driving between 39 and 15 years. For example, Fatma who is 57 years old described her motivation to have a driver license in the following sentence;

At that time, it was a real desire to have a driver's license in the 1980s when I was a student in university. It was very cool to have it as an identity card.

As it can be seen in the above quotation, having a driver license seemed more important rather than driving a car. Similar to Searle (1995) and Ludwig's (2017) findings, it can be said that obtaining a driver license is also the sign of class and status indicators in this study. According to the 2013 Turkish Family Structure Survey (TAYA) shows that in 2006 the ownership of a private car of women in Turkey was 2,2 % and it increases to 9,3% in 2011. This information shows us driving activity is a male-dominated area and puts driving activity distinctively in public sphere. When poor labor force participation and higher economic dependency of women merges with prevalence of patriarchal gender roles, driving as status indicator rather than a necessity. At the same time driving seems not a necessary action in their lives. Furthermore, having a driver license seems a privilege that gives a kind of status among other middle and upper-middle class women. The privilege and exclusivity of having a driver license provides the status to these women that they desire to have. This result is linked with cultural capital, driving classes, class privilege and leisure arguments of Flink (1970), Bourdieu (1984), Urry (2004) and Shan & O'Connell (1998). Having a driver license separates these women from others and provides them a class privilege among other women. Even though they weren't an active driver, with the possession of the driver license they could

accumulate cultural capital by representing it as an identity card. This may be due to stereotypical implications of being a driver. While driving is seen as a part of men's identity, it is not defined in women's identity (Burkhardt, Berger And McGavock, 1996), woman's role was more likely to be driven. It might show us that women who have a driver license think that they have the key to enter a male dominated area but it is obvious that still patriarchal gender roles act as a barrier to drive in.

Another major motivation to decide having a driver's license among 20 interviewees is the necessity. 9 of 20 women expressed their motivation with a practical reason by pointing the necessity of having a driver's license. But only 3 of them are over 50 years old. 6 of them are between the ages of 42 to 35. Atiye who is 50 years old described her reason by saying that;

Having a driver's license is a necessity of contemporary life style and is a necessity if you are living in a metropolis. I think it is a need that's why I possessed the driver license naturally in order to have a car in the future and to become mobile comfortably.

As we can see from the quotation above the motivation of these women changes to necessity from status who are relatively younger than the previous group of interviewees. This interviewee mentions two remarkable concepts which are "living in metropolis" and "comfortable mobilization". These results point out the effect of social transformation on women's reasons by gaining more place in public sphere. Jakle & Sculle (2011), Walsh (2004), Seiler (2008) argued social mobility and modernity. Consistently with their arguments, mobility with an automobile gives women freedom and a new political status in the public area and driving becomes a symbol of modernity according to these women. Automobility is the most significant object of individual consumption after housing which gives prestige and status to the owner or user through the values such as success, freedom, safety and masculinity (Sheller & Urry, 2000). Şebnem who is 47 years old said that;

I definitely wanted to drive a car. I wanted to drive a car independently in the future and wanted to obtain that freedom.

The action of driving, which is to be linked with the freedom of being mobile independently, can have a significant meaning in the battle of gender equality. Additionally, driving stands for an emancipation from the stereotyped gender roles of

enforced inferiority for women. In his book Jerry Passon (1995) describes the meaning of automobility for women in the sense that, women do not only reclaim female identities through automobility by physical independence and freedom but also regain the control of their own bodies by the means of vehicles that men have presumed to be the tools for their egocentric individuality and subjectivity. As it can be understood from the interviewee's above explanation, she combines driving with independency clearly and expresses her motivation with freedom. That might show us that the intention of learning to drive and automobility become a part of life expectations and satisfaction.

Beginning from the late 1980s although the female labor force participation was dropping in the rural areas, in urban cities it had a consistent upward trend in Turkey (Korkmaz, Korkut, 2012). 2013 Turkish family structure survey revealed that female car ownership is changing according to regions and the largeness of cities. Figures show that in 2011 female car ownership in İstanbul was 11,6% and 14,3 % in west Anatolia including the capital city of Turkey. In this case it can be said that by increasing female participation of labor force in big cities and increasing of dual-income families seem an important motivation to change their point of view about obtaining a driver license from prestige to necessity. Furthermore, besides home-based duties women become more involved in public sphere and their travel patterns get more complicated because of their multitasked trips to carry out their domestic responsibilities. Besides income, another decisive point is education level of participants. A total of 19 of the interviewees had higher education levels. This indicator is totally consistent with the study of Erden (2015) which mentions that education and income level of women are effective on the decision of having an automobile among middle and upper-middle class women in Turkey. That might show us the frequent changes in urban city life relatively narrowed the gender gap in obtaining driver license and access to cars for upper and middle-class women.

When the driving frequency and patterns being asked to the 20 interviewees, 16 interviewees mentioned that they are driving every day. 10 of them especially emphasized that they drive to work and for daily needs such as shopping. 2 of them who have younger children mentioned that besides driving to work every day, they also take children to school and courses at week days and weekends also. These

findings have similar points with the scholars' claims such as Wachs (1996) and Pickup (1988) who emphasize that, women's work trips are generally shorter than men, women have more trips for the reasons of supporting or serving another person's needs and women's car availability related with the impact of family roles.

In order to understand interviewees subjective driving experiences deeply, their feelings about driving, the conditions that they prefer not to drive and lastly desperate conditions that they faced about driving were asked. Interviewees gave some conditional answers to the question of how they felt while driving. 15 interviewees said that they felt joy when they were driving but at the same time 3 of them mentioned that in busy traffic it turns to obligation. 2 of 15 interviewees pointed out the age factor by saying that while they were young driving was enjoyable but when they got old it turned to a necessity. 10 interviewees also said that it is a kind of obligation and necessity. 3 interviewees mentioned their feelings with boring and mandatory. Only two of them expressed freedom. These answers may show that being experienced in active traffic give self-confidence and relief to the female drivers. One of interviewee whose name was Perihan expressed her feelings in the following;

When I sit in front of the wheel, I feel that I am the boss. The only place that I feel free is driving seat. While driving the car I can control everything. So, I can do anything I want.

According to the study of Stradling and colleagues (2001) about the expressive dimensions of car use among drivers in England, feelings about driving can vary by class, age and gender. Female drivers who are over 40 got the highest score on the independence factor. But the above statement of the interviewee cannot be explained only by independence factor. Like Seiler's (2008) argument, women gained freedom with the driving activity from private sphere and gained a new political status in a male dominated area which increases the feeling of "being like a boss" or "being like a man" who dominates and controls the conditions.

The answers of interviewees about their not to drive preferences and feeling desperate in some conditions showed that within the all age groups related with negative gender stereotyped experiences. 9 interviewees don't want to drive in snowy weather and if they drive, they feel desperate in snowy or icy roads.

4 interviewees mentioned that they feel desperate when their car is broken in the middle of the road or face with flat tire. 2 interviewees stated that they feel hopeless and anxious when they lost their ways or if they drive at unfamiliar routes. 2 other interviewees said that they feel anxious and nervous according to the locality. Atiye added that she doesn't want to drive evenings alone.

When I take my son to the tennis club for the practice at Ulus, taxi and dolmuş drivers block and jam. Same things happen at the similar districts and I feel distressed because I don't feel safe. Also, I don't prefer to drive late night especially deserted roads because I feel uncomfortable about my safety.

The results of Gwyther and Holland's (2014) study shows that bad weather conditions, breaking down and unfamiliar routes create avoidance over the drivers, especially over young female drivers and emotional responses to risky situations constrain driving behaviors. It can be seen that in this study female drivers' emotional responses also limit their driving behaviour but in contrary to Gwyther and Holland's study, relatively older and experienced female drivers also avoid unfamiliar routes, poor weather conditions or break down of their cars in my study. This distinction may be explained with the differences of the Turkish and English societies according to their dominated patriarchal ideologies and with the gap in the number of female drivers in two countries. For example, the avoidance of night driving of female drivers in Turkey is barely related with the reduction of functional night vision as Charlton's (2006) argument. Rather, it is mostly related with the fear of being alone at night as a female driver. Therefore, it can be said that in Turkey stereotypical gender roles are highly effective on women's behavior regardless of age. Rüya who was another interviewee mentioned her own feelings and experience as in the below quotation;

I feel desperate and anxious when I lose my way while driving and it happens often. I feel this way because it is not under my control. I think that if I had known the roads, I could have managed the process and I wouldn't fear. But if I don't know the road or if I lose the way I will be frightened, I don't feel safe and can be panic. This situation depends on the district that I am lost in Ankara. For example, if I will be lost in suburbs such as Çin Çin, I never want to lose my way in these places because I certainly feel myself in danger.

As it can be seen from the answers women's feelings about driving are differing according their own-experiences. From the feminist standpoint,

interviewees produced their own logic according to their individual experiences of driving. Like feminist theorist Harding's (2004) argument, these findings may show that not only lived experiences but also women's emotions have to be counted and they are important to understand women's driving experiences with their situated knowledge. In addition, West & Zimmerman's (1987) description of typical gender roles in patriarchal societies and the interaction of "doing gender" can be traced within the interviewees statements that they internalized such stereotypical gender roles for example being emotional, avoiding, weak and dependent while some driving situations and their driving behaviors are constrained because of stereotyped gender norms.

The majority of interviewees described the difficulty of being a female driver through their experiences with the harassment and abuse of male drivers in traffic. 15 interviewees told that the basic difficulty is being abused by male drivers through verbal or physical acts while driving such as swearing or pushing and squeezing from the lane. TUIK's 2019 statistics show that 74.9% of total drivers were male, thus driving is obviously a male dominated area. As Kimmel (2000) described the hegemonic masculinity through the reproduction of daily interactions, it can be said that the majority of interviewees experience the hegemonic masculinity by being abused in active traffic through male drivers who think that women drivers are not competent and skilled drivers as men are. In the research interviewees answered the question about the learning process of driving. 11 of them learnt to drive from their father or from a male relative or their husband. 4 interviewees went to the driving course and 5 of them were both went to the course and learnt from their fathers or took private lessons from male drivers. 50 years old Atiye mentioned how she was affected from her father through the learning period of driving;

I think this a common situation among women. It is very difficult to learn to drive from father or brother or husband or drive with them because they are so impatient and they don't trust us. At that time driving lessons were always finishing with the words that I cannot drive or control the car through discussions or fights. I gained my self-confidence only when I began to drive by myself with my own car in the active traffic. I have been driving for a long time but I am still feeling uncomfortable while my father or my husband sit in the car.

Aslı was another 50 years old interviewee who shared her experience about the learning process of driving.

I learnt how to drive from my fiancé and it was affected me negatively. We had a lot of fight because he was very impatient, he was continuously warning me about to drive faster or careful and he had an anger management problem. After years I didn't let him to teach my daughter how to drive. She learnt to drive from the private trainer.

As it can be understood from the experiences of interviewees asymmetrical power relations can be negative consequences while they were trying to learn how to drive from a male relative. Gamble's (2006) argument is consistent with these findings which points out that patriarchal discursive strategy strengthens stereotypical identity. Most interviewees faced with implicit or explicit biased behaviours from their male relatives or male trainers because of the patriarchal gender norms.

4.1.2 Perceptions of Driving Features

Analysis of the perceptions about positive and negative driving features, female drivers' driving features and self-driving perceptions about themselves and same-sex counterparts of the survey respondents and the interviewees were presented in this part. Analysis was done according to contrast and similarities of perceptions.

4.1.2.1. Positive and negative driving features according to participants

In the research I examined the positive and negative driving features of respondents of both in survey and interview to understand their perceptions about drivers. In this part in order to see the broad picture firstly the survey results were analyzed. In the survey participants chose good and bad driving features according to their opinion. For this purpose, a driving features table were created from the BSRI and wanted them to choose their choices from that table. Survey allowed them to choose more than one feature at the same time.

Table 6.
Driving Features Table Created from BSRI

Driving Features		
Self-Confident	Leery	Calm
Angry	Skilled	Passionate
Successful	Tensed	Respectful
Quick Decision Making	Impatient	Indulgent
Sentimental	Superior	Risk Taker
Controlling Emotions	Reassuring	Slow
Complying with Rules	Amateur/Unexperienced	Fast
Strong	Patient	Conscious

Driving features table consists of 24 features. Some can be regarded as positive some can be regarded as negative and some can be regarded as neutral features. Angry, impatient, risk taker, superior can be counted as negative features. Complying with rules, patient, conscious, respectful, reassuring and calm can be counted as positive features while driving. Others such as successful, skilled, quick decision making, leery, unexperienced can be counted as neutral. Participants asked to use this table while they were choosing good and bad driving features according their opinion. Table 7 shows participants' choices about positive features.

Table 7.
Table of "Good Driving Features" According to Survey Results

Chosen Features for Good Driving	# of Female	%	# of Male	%	Total Person %
Complying with Rules	101	68,2	47	31,8	148 (81,8%)
Leery	86	66,2	44	33,8	130 (71,8%)
Respectful	86	66,7	43	33,3	129 (71,3%)
Calm	82	65,1	44	34,9	126 (69,6%)
Conscious	87	69,6	38	30,4	125 (69,1%)
Self-Confident	76	67,3	8	7,1	113 (62,4%)
Indulgent	71	64,0	40	36,0	111 (61,3%)
Reassuring	76	68,5	35	31,5	111 (61,3%)
Quick Decision Maker	72	67,3	35	32,7	107 (59,1%)
Controlling Emotions	68	66,0	35	34,0	103 (56,9%)
Patient	58	56,9	44	43,1	102 (56,4%)
Skilled	64	68,8	29	31,2	93 (51,4%)
Successful	39	70,9	16	29,1	55 (30,4%)
Strong	11	55,0	9	45,0	20 (11%)

Table 7. (Continued)

Slow	7	53,8	6	46,2	13 (7,2%)
Fast	5	71,4	2	28,6	7 (3,9%)
Passionate	2	40,0	3	60,0	5 (2,8%)

In this table participants mostly chose “complying with rules”, “leery”, “respectful”, “calm” and “conscious” as being a good driver. Being “self-confident” was mostly chosen by female participants. Both sexes mostly chose similar features while defining good driving features according to their opinion. When we focus on the sex and the age groups of the participants, the age group of 36-61 of both sexes are coming forward. Female participants of this group describe good driving features by choosing highly “complying with rules, respectful, leery, conscious and self-confident” mostly while the same age male group chose “complying with rules, calm and respectful” definitions for being a good driver. It can be practical to point out that “complying with rules” and being “respectful” choices are holding closer meanings. In the table complying with rules meant to be complying with traffic rules and respectful was expressed respect to other drivers, pedestrians, etc.

Table 8 shows the answers of interview participants about the “good driving features”. Within the interview BSRI table was not presented to them. Therefore, every participant described positive driving features with her own words.

Table 8.

Table of “Good Driving Features” According to the Interview Results

Mentioned Features for Good Driving	Answers of Interviewees
Complying with Rules	9
Indulgent	7
Respectful	6
Cautious/Leery	3
Conscious	3
Patient	2
Quick Decision Maker	1

Table 8. (Continued)

Fast	1
Calm	1
Not Being Old	1
Periodic Maintenance of Car	1

Like the survey results “complying with rules”, “respectful”, “cautious/leery” and “conscious” were the most intensifying features for the female drivers also. These results show that both male and female drivers define “good driving features” almost with the same distinguishing characteristics. Contrary to Sümer’s (2001) and Ünal and her colleagues’ (2017) arguments that emphasize “good driver” prototype definition characterized with controlling vehicle and the skills of maneuvering in Turkey which are highly masculine features, in my study both survey and interview respondents described “good driving” features mostly with “complying with rules and “respectful”. This finding may show that while making general definitions both male and female drivers know and understand the accurate rules of being a “good driver” but while they define the good driving features about themselves their opinions and definitions affected from their gender and stereotyped perceptions. The reasons of this contradiction can be the high participation of male respondents.

While examining the “bad driver features” similar situation can be seen from the survey and the interview results. Table 9 shows the choices of the survey participants about “bad driving features” from the BSRI table.

Table 9.

Table of “Bad Driving Features” According to Survey Results

Chosen Features for Good Driving	% of Answers	# of Female	# of Male	Total Person
Angry	86,7	100	57	157
Impatient	84	96	56	152
Tense	74	92	42	134
Risk Taker	63	73	41	114

Table 9. (Continued)

Fast	53,6	64	33	97
Amateur	39,8	52	20	72
Superior	34,8	46	17	63
Slow	32	46	12	58
Passionate	14,4	15	11	26
Quick Decision Maker	8,3	11	4	15
Self-Confident	6,6	7	5	12

Being angry, impatient, tensed and risky driving are the most repeated answers of the participants for the bad driving features. While 46 female participants think that driving slowly is a bad driver's feature, only 12 male participants choose slow driving.

Table 10.

Table of "Bad Driving Features" According to Interview Results

Mentioned Features For Bad Driving	Answers of Interviewees
Disrespectfulness	10
Not Complying with Rules	9
Traffic Lane Violation	8
Amateur	5
Slow driving	4
Fast driving	2
Angry	2
Self-confidence	2
Driving with alcohol	2
Remiss	2
Ignorance	2
Impatient	1

The most common answers for bad driving features are “disrespectfulness”, “not complying with rules”, “violation of traffic lane”, “being unexperienced” and “slow driving” according to interviewees. Comparing with survey results, it can be said that being angry, impatient, tensed are very close to disrespectfulness. Risky driving is a kind of not complying traffic rules. Thus, these answers are overlapping within survey and interview results. Additionally, 25% of female interviewees and 79% of female participants of survey claim that slow driving is also a bad driving feature while only 21% of male participants of survey say so. Ünal and her colleagues (2017) argue that, general perception of gender stereotyped driving behaviours can be defined as men drive confidently, risky and fast, women drive slowly, without confidence, timid and obeying the rules. The salient finding in my study was the majority of female driver participants mentioned that driving slowly was a bad driving feature. This may show that female drivers can have gender stereotyped perceptions about other female drivers.

4.1.2.2. Gender differences of driving features according to participants

In the survey, 151 of 181 participants think that there is a difference between male and female driving features and 30 participants think otherwise. Within 181 participants 83,43% of participants declared that they see difference between male and female drivers according to their driving features. The percentage of the female participants who said “no” to this question was 12,7% while the male participants’ percentage was 3,87%. The percentage of the female participants who said yes to this question was 50,28% while the male participants’ percentage was 33,15%. 16,58% of participants mentioned that there was no gender difference according to driving features.

In almost every age group the amount of people who said yes to the question is the higher part of the participants. Among the age groups the female and male participants who are the age of between 36-60 the highest group who think that there is a difference between male and female drivers according to their driving features with the female percentage of 67% and male percentage of 58,3%.

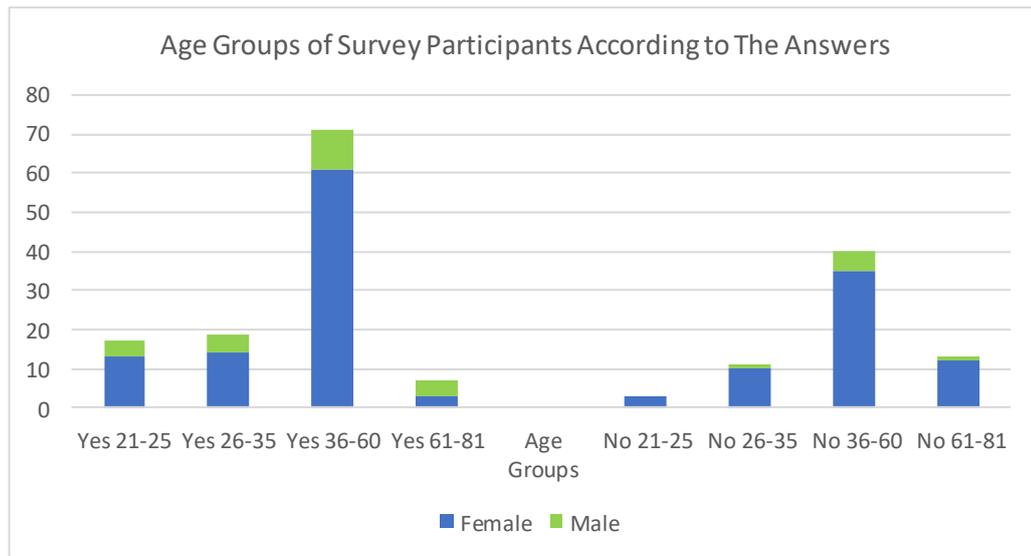


Figure 1: *Answers of survey participants of gendered driving features according to their ages*

Total figures show that that while both sexes think there is a gender difference of driving feature, men have a higher perception with the percentage of 89,6% in accordance with women’s perception with the percentage of 79,8% that male and female drivers have different driving features.

When the same question asked to the 20 female interviewees, 90% (18 women) of them said “yes” by mentioning there are differences between men and women’s driving features and only 10% of women said no as an answer to this question. When the age interval of interviewees taken into account which is between 35 to 65 the survey and the interview results about this question is consistent. Both in survey and in interview this age group has mostly at least 5 years active driving experience in traffic. Although many studies such as Simon and Corbett (1996) and Özkan and Lajunen’s (2006) show that there are gender differences in driving behaviours, these differences cannot be categorized as good or bad driving behaviours according to gender. Unless, like Berger (1982) points out that with the help of deliberate efforts of many institutions like media and automobile industry the stereotype of female driver became a consistent perception through societies which was fed from patriarchal ideology. Eventually, women were portrayed as less self-confident and less proficient drivers. Through the past decades while the number of female drivers has seriously increased in many countries, this fact is not actualized in

Turkey yet. The figures of EGM clearly show that men are at least 3 times more mobile than women in traffic as drivers therefore patriarchal ideology and male dominance are still very effected on the perceptions about female drivers in this country which can be also traced with the further findings of this study.

4.1.2.3. Perceptions about female drivers' driving features

In the table below the features of female drivers which were collected from the survey participants listed. These features were mentioned by the participants themselves.

Table 11.

Driving Features of Female Drivers According to Survey Participants

Features	Total number of participants	% of female participants	% of male participants
Careful	34	64,7%	35,3%
Complying with rules	26	76,9%	23,1%
Perturbed	24	50%	50%
Slow	23	73,9%	26,1%
Timid	22	72,7%	27,3%
Cautious	20	70%	30%
Inexperienced	14	57,1%	42,9%
Careless	11	45,5%	54,5%
Panic	11	36,4%	63,6%

Within the answers the two features “cautious” and “complying with rules” were the most mentioned features by female participants. But also “slow”, “timid” and “careful” were declared by female participants more than male participants. While “perturbed” was mentioned equally by both sexes, “careless” and “panic” features were chosen mostly by male participants to describe women’s driving features. Within the female age groups the age of 36-60 is the highest group that think female drivers are careful, complying with rules but also slow, perturbed and timid. At the same age group of male participants think that female drivers are

careful, slow and perturbed. When male participants ages were getting older negative driving features about women drivers were increasing such as timid and perturbed.

Table 12.

Driving Features of Female Drivers According to Interviewees

Driving Features of Female Drivers	Total number of answers
Timid/Panic/Perturbed	9
Cautious	5
Careful/Complying with rules	4
Inexperienced	4
Slow	3
Affected by negative stereotype of “female driver”	3
Blocking the flow of traffic by complying with rules	3
Careless	2
Reckless	2
Aggressive/Fast	2
Untalented by genetic factors	2

As it can be seen from table 12 interviewees mostly mentioned negative driving features rather than positive while describing female driving features. The most mentioned feature was timid/panic/perturbed. Only two positive driving features were mentioned which were cautious, careful/complying with rules by 9 interviewees. Complying with rules was both mentioned positively and negatively. Female drivers were mostly accused of blocking traffic flow because of complying with rules in Turkey because complying with rules is not counted as one of male driving feature (Özkan & Lajunen, 2006). Another salient point is 3 interviewees mentioned that female drivers were being affected from the negative “female driver” stereotype perception and this perception makes them bad drivers. These results are very consistent with the study which was conducted in Gaziantep at 2019 by Gül which reveals that not only male drivers but also female drivers were have stereotypes about female driving features by expressing “timid”, “panic”, “slow”,

“careful” and “complying with rules” for female drivers. Additionally, being slow and complying with rules were mostly perceived as negative features by male drivers. These results may be explicated with also the Yeung and Von Hippel’s (2007) study results which show that stereotype threat leads women to perform poorly behind the wheel. Both survey and interview results show that there is a gender dimension and gender variables of driving features and consistent with other studies which point out that women drivers are widely labelled with poor driving skills. Moreover, the study shows that female drivers are mostly perceived as being bad drivers and mostly obeying with traffic rules. Since Granié and Papafaya’s (2011) study shows that gender stereotypes about driving behaviour and the negative image of women as poor drivers begin from very early ages as parallel with this study’s results, it can be said that the perceptions about female drivers are gender stereotyped and not only male participants but also female participants mostly define female driving features negatively.

4.1.2.4. Perceptions of self-driving features and same-sex counterparts’ driving features

79,55% of total survey participants declared that they see a difference between their own driving features and same-sex counterparts. The percentage of the female participants who said yes to this question is 47,51% while the male participants’ percentage was 33,04%. 20,44% of participants mentioned that there was no difference according to same sex driving features. The percentage of the female participants who said no to this question was 15,47% while the male participants’ percentage was 4,97%. %85 of interviewees think that there is a difference between their own driving features and their same-sex counterparts. Only 15% of interviewees said no to this question.

The participants who said yes to the above question in the survey were directed to the open-ended question which asked them to define the differences with their own words. According to results, men saw the difference highly in complying with traffic rules. They described the difference by emphasizing their positive behaviour but also, they mentioned that many other male drivers do not comply with traffic rules. Within the same question female participants described themselves

highly as fast, less stressed, experienced, determined, reliable drivers and they saw their same-sex counterparts as slow, highly stressed, undetermined, unreliable and unexperienced drivers. According to the age groups of survey female participants, 21 to 25 age group mostly described their same-sex counterparts as unexperienced, panic and lack of self-confidence. However, they defined themselves as with self-confident and calm drivers. Female respondents with the age of 26 to 35 were identifying themselves mostly fast, determined and brave drivers, they mentioned slow and timid for their same-sex counterparts. Female participants in the survey with the age between 36 to 60 were the group who used the most negative definitions for the same-sex counterparts such as slow, lack of the maneuver skills, careful, careless, timid. Although “careful” can be a positive driving feature, some of participants defined “careful” as a negative feature while driving because they claimed that being careful make women drivers drive more slowly and cause to block the flow of the traffic. However, they defined their own driving features mostly with the opposite definitions that they used for their same-sex counterparts. They mentioned that they drive fast but respectfully, their maneuver skills and parking skills are high, they are experienced and driving mannish. At the below table the answers of two open ended questions were given in order to reveal the comparison between the perceptions of other female drivers and their own driving features of female participants in the survey.

Table 13.

The Comparison Between Male and Female Driving Differences and Own-driving Features of Female Survey Participants

Age	The Definition of the differences between male and female driving features (open-ended question 1 in the survey)	The Definition of the self-driving features (open-ended question 2 in the survey)
36	<i>Many women don't know the polite manners in traffic, they cannot park, they have low maneuver skills. Men have polite manners; they have good parking and maneuver skills and have good technic information. But they biased and unrespectful against women drivers.</i>	<i>I have good parking skills and have a good maneuver ability but I have poor technic info about automobiles.</i>

Table 13. (Continued)

37	<i>Both the two group are selfish. Female drivers are mostly regardless and they block the traffic. They don't care about using signals and mirrors. Men are driving very good but they have bias against women drivers and they insult women in traffic.</i>	<i>I drive very speedy, never block a lane, always check the mirrors, I don't push the brake suddenly while driving and I can park very accurate and successfully.</i>
37	<i>Women drive timid and they don't speed up.</i>	<i>I drive fast and speedy.</i>
37	<i>Men drive more aggressive and faster.</i>	<i>I drive leery, comfortable but fast.</i>
37	<i>Women drive timid, slow and they give late reactions.</i>	<i>I drive 6 hours a day. I almost become a taxi driver. I drive faster and aggressive.</i>
44	<i>Men drive more active but I see myself in this category.</i>	<i>Rather than other female drivers, I drive without the behaviours which make other drivers to think that "this one is surely a woman driver"</i>
50	<i>Women obey the traffic rules, usually block the traffic, they have parking issues and have some trouble in the snowy weather and they don't understand the technic parts of the automobile. Men drive fast, younger ones don't obey traffic rules, they park perfectly.</i>	<i>I drive fast and park accurately, I can drive back for a long time. I can stop and drive on the ramp. I rather not to drive in snowy weather. Although not as much as men, I can understand the problem of my car.</i>
51	<i>Women mostly drive leery but timid. Men drive faster.</i>	<i>I drive more mannish</i>
52	<i>Women drive slow and selfish, Men drive unrespectful and aggressive.</i>	<i>I drive fast and aggressive.</i>

Most female drivers in every age category have stereotyped perceptions about other female drivers and describe their own driving features closer to male driving features rather than good driving features such as obeying traffic rules, being respectful and being conscious. In traffic psychology road users behaviour models try to explain the private vehicle driver's behaviours. According to Ajzen's theory (1991), specific driving behaviours are determined by subjective norms which can be defined as the normative expectations that can confirm gender stereotypes as it can be seen from the stereotyped comparisons of driving features.

Analysis of the interviewees' answers show almost the same results with the survey participants. 17 interviewees agreed that they are driving different than same-

sex counterparts in the traffic. Only 3 of them disagreed and said no to this question but while they were sharing their experiences in the traffic, they also criticize female drivers' driving features also. Therefore, all 20 interviewees have negative stereotyped perceptions about other female drivers. Within the 17 interviewees who said yes to the question described their driving features mostly mannish and masculine. 57 years old Lale was describing her driving style and differences between other female drivers as below;

Women drivers don't care anybody while driving. They have overconfidence but in traffic it is not like that. You cannot do everything right. Especially in Ankara traffic. If you obey the rules very much it will block the traffic because men don't obey the rules accurately. Therefore, women should drive like a man in order not to cause traffic accidents! I think that I am driving like a man. Because when I began to drive at that time mostly men were driving cars and I learnt to drive from my father so it affected me. Women don't leave the lane to anybody. While male drivers doing the same thing, I don't find it strange because I never thought about it, men are automatically having this right but women should give the right of way because I think that women must be polite and elegant and they have to be a good example to others.

As it can be understood from the quotation even it doesn't proper, male driving style was the correct one for Lale and she described her driving features as being mannish and the gender stereotyping perceptions can easily be traced. Another 42 years old interviewee whose name was İrem described the differences by saying;

Driving is not in our nature. Women's driving is just like men's baby care. I mean it is not coming with our genes. We learn to drive later. Men are very successful about driving. Women drivers think that they are superior in traffic because of their gender. They think that everybody must give the right of the way. They don't like using signals, many of them drive very slow in the left lane because they think that this is their right. I am not a timid driver like other female drivers, I have courage and this is related with experience but I discovered something. I apologize a lot in traffic. When you apologize from the people, they agree with you. Even if it's a woman if I made a mistake, she forgives me quickly. But many of my same-sex counterparts opened the window and swore me. I have never been this kind of driver in my life. I think these women feel so.

Another good example that shows the gender stereotype of interviewees. İrem built the relation of stereotyped female driving with the nature of women. But in this instance, she didn't match herself with the female drivers that she described. Although, she described herself as encouraged and experienced driver, she also has a

submissive position against other drivers in order to survive in the traffic. 38 years old interviewee Başak who was shared her thoughts below.

I think there is a difference between me and other female drivers. When I was younger it was a kind of pride for me to drive unlike a woman. I didn't want anybody to call me as "female driver". That's why I drove over speed, did some problematic actions with the car while driving, competed with men because in university I had a lot of male friends because of my faculty and I didn't want to be seemed like a loser at that time but I am not driving dangerously now. Although these actions helped to improve my driving skills. And I am a good driver and can park very successfully. But my husband drives very leery as female drivers just opposite to me.

Başak was another example how female drivers can be affected from gender stereotypes. She was an engineer and because of the environment she lived and studied in it can be said that she developed a kind of coping strategy by acting like a male driver in order to be accepted both in her university environment and in traffic which were both mostly male dominated fields.

Examples from the survey and the interview of female participants may show that most female participants ascribed the positive driving features to themselves or they described their driving features mostly with positive features. Although male survey participants had the same tendency, they mostly described their own driving features with complying with rules and being respectful and accused other male drivers not complying with rules and being unrespectful in traffic. They didn't use detailed descriptions about their own driving features that female drivers did such as mentioning maneuver skills or good parking ability. It may indicate that male drivers have more self-confidence and they see themselves naturally better drivers. On the other hand, female participants needed to explain their improved skills about driving especially on the specific features that was believed that women cannot achieve such as maneuver capability, good parking skills, being fast and speedy which are mostly related with male driving features. It can be said that women drivers have less self-confidence that's why they need to mention their capability of driving in a very detailed way by expressing more masculine driving behaviours and separating themselves from other female drivers. The results of the study in Trabzon conducted by Hacısalıhoğlu at 2017 were consistent with my results which displayed that more than half of the female drivers in Trabzon province who attended to the research agreed that they develop stereotyped perceptions about their same-sex counterparts

in traffic. In the following part of the chapter female drivers' the reasons of their stereotyped perceptions about same-sex counterparts and their survival strategies will be analyzed.

4.2. Coping Strategies of Female Drivers

In male dominated areas women have some strategies to survive and to be successful. Traffic is one of the males dominated field and female drivers consciously or unconsciously develop some strategies. Five out of nine married interviewees declared that their husbands take care of the car maintenance duties and in case of an emergency situation such as flat tire, or breakdown of the car they said that they call their husbands first. One married woman who was the owner of the company told that company workers care about her car. Other three married women told that they take care of the maintenance duties but in case of emergency situations they contact their husbands. As a matter of fact, taking care of the problems about automobile is mostly expected from men in society. At least two married interviewees explicitly mentioned that this should be their husbands' duty because they are male. Within single, divorced or widow 11 interviewees, eight of them mentioned that they take care the maintenance duties themselves by contacting with the mechanics and in the emergency situations they call directly the roadside assistance of car companies or the auto-repairman that they know. Hence being married seems to be an advantage for female drivers to cope with emergency situations and not to be responsible of car maintenance duties. 65 years old Fatoş who is single indicated her negotiation below.

When it is the maintenance time comes of my car, my auto-repair man comes, takes it and after doing all the service needs, he brings it back to me. We had a deal like that in the beginning because this a man's job and I don't want to be in it. Because I live alone. I carry all the burden of the life on my shoulder and at least I can get away from this duty.

As it can be seen from the figures and answers of the interviewees both married or single women adapted various strategies to cope with the situations that they feel incompetent. Another problematic situation that interviewees mentioned in the traffic was the harassment and abuse of male drivers. Although the thoughts and experiences of some interviewees were shared in the driving experience part of the chapter, interviewees' vulnerabilities and coping strategies were not mentioned. Most

of the interviewees pointed out that harassment can be higher at outskirts of the city, late night and intercity roads. Fatma stated that;

They (male drivers) jammed me several times. I assume that they think women shouldn't drive outskirts of the city like Sincan and if women drive so they have to bear this jam but this is obviously harassment. I don't want to drive at these places.

Besides the worry of harassment, interviewees also mentioned the concerns about driving by expressing driving in bad weather conditions, facing with flat tire or breakdown of the car, driving at unfamiliar roads, driving late night and uncrowded roads. Most of these concerns can be counted as normal driving conditions but female drivers mostly choose restrict their driving to avoid from these situations. Depending on their subjective experiences, interviewees worry about these concerns in traffic and become vulnerable and this vulnerability constraints their driving abilities and decisions which are derived from their gender. These findings are consistent with the Gwyther and Holland's study (2014) which shows that self-regulation and avoidance can be traced within the drivers when challenging circumstances occur such as heavy traffic, bad weather conditions and unfamiliar routes. But contrary to my findings the avoidance behaviour is seen mostly anxious, old and unexperienced drivers. In my research these avoidance behaviour mostly seen amongst experienced, middle age females and they mostly describe themselves as good drivers. Therefore, these avoidance behaviours may be seen amongst female drivers because of the negative gender stereotypes of the society. Thus, it can be said stereotyped gender norms are effective on female drivers' avoidance behaviours and their emotional responses transform to a coping strategy for female drivers in order to survive in traffic as a driver.

In the research 83 of 114 female respondents answered open-ended question and described the differences between own driving features and same-sex counterparts. 37% of them explicitly described their own driving features with more masculine driving features such as being fast, aggressive, good parking and maneuver skills, determined, mannish and calm and most of them used the opposite/negative driving features to their same-sex counterparts. 17 of 20 interviewees were also responded same question with the similar descriptions but clarifying more saliently that they are driving like a "man" which shows that these

female drivers think that they are being good drivers by emulating masculine driving features. 47 years old interviewee Özlem who is a businesswoman described her difference as a driver below.

I lived with a lot of men. I always drove in industry and building sites, that's why I adapted to their world and I am driving like a man.

Another interviewee Gamze who was 47 years old also mentioned a similar explanation about her driving style by saying;

I agree that there is a big difference between my driving features and other female drivers. I think because of being together with too many men in my working life I drive like a man.

These descriptions are significant because they indicate the reasons of why some female drivers are reproducing female gender stereotypes for other female drivers. According to Martin and Barnard (2013) adopting male characteristics is common behavior among women as a coping strategy in male dominated areas. Many other studies' (Chowen, 2007; Raghuram, 2008; Beşpınar, 2010; Ainstworth et al., 2014; Ergun and Karaduman, 2018) results are consistent with the finding of this study by pointing out that in order to survive in patriarchal and gender biased fields women develop some coping and survival strategies mostly by minimizing female attitudes, show some aggressive male features and mimic masculine behaviours in order to adjust and to be accepted in the related fields. Although it carries negative consequences, emulating some male driving features and excessively criticizing and separating same-sex counterparts from themselves make experienced female drivers feel as "good and respectable drivers". These results are consistent with Fellows and Razack's (1998) arguments which point out that there is a hierarchy among women which oppresses other women in order to be respectable in their social positions. By humiliating and disfavoring younger and less experienced same-sex counterparts, women drivers may create hierarchical structures and develop an alternative way of respectability for themselves in a highly male dominated area. This may show within the patriarchal ideology and society negative gender stereotypes can be easily internalized and being reproduced by female drivers through various coping strategies in order to adjust themselves in a respectable position in a highly male dominated sphere.

In this chapter experiences, perceptions and coping strategies of women drivers were analyzed through the received data from survey and in-dept interviews. The analysis of results was firstly discussed on focusing to the experiences and the perceptions of the participants by comparing the findings which were coming from survey and in-dept interviews. Then, coping strategies of female drivers were analyzed. In the driving experiences part of the chapter firstly the time gap between possessing a driver license and being an active driver interrogated through gender and with the in-depth interviews the subjective driving experiences of female drivers were discussed. The perceptions of driving features were analyzed in four sub-categories. In the first sub-section the perceptions about positive and negative driving features of survey and interview participants were investigated. In the second section gender differences of driving features according to participants and stereotyped perceptions were examined. The third sub- section was focused on the perceptions about female drivers driving features of both male and female participants in order to understand the internalization of negative gender stereotypes about female drivers. And in the final sub-section the definitions and explanations about self-driving perceptions and same-sex counterparts' driving features of participants were analyzed from the perspective of feminist standpoint theory by comparing the data collected from survey and in-depth interviews. In the last part of this chapter in relation with the above analysis coping strategies of female drivers in traffic were evaluated. Within this evaluation and analysis, reproduction of negative gender stereotypes about female drivers through same-sex counterparts were discussed in the light of the related feminist literature. In the further chapter, with the brief summary of the findings, the contributions of this study will be shared and suggestions for the further studies will be allocated.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The aim of this study was to find out the factors of stereotyped perceptions about female drivers, which in a disadvantaged position because of their gender in urban traffic. In addition, to discuss how female drivers are internalized and reproduced “female driver” stereotype. Furthermore, this study also searched the effects of age and social transformation of middle and upper-middle female drivers through their subjective driving experiences, and their coping strategies to survive as a minor group in a male dominated area.

To collect data, the triangulation research method including both online survey and semi-structured in-depth interviews was used. Online survey was carried out with totally 181 male and female respondents with the age group between 21 to 81. In-depth interviews were carried out with 20 female drivers between the age of 35 to 65 who lives in Ankara. Using triangulation method did not only provide a broader spectrum about the features of the stereotyped perceptions of both sex, age and experience dimensions but also rendered female drivers’ specificities and subjectivities on driving activity through their detailed individual experiences and perceptions. The international and national literature of patriarchal power relations, gender stereotypes, coping strategies of women and automobilization history were reviewed from the gender perspective through the feminist standpoint theory. Then, the data was categorized according to the main themes which were classified as driving experiences and perceptions about driving features of male and female drivers, internalization processes of gender inequality and coping strategies of female drivers. Findings were analyzed and discussed by connecting with the comprehensive literature. The main findings of this study are listed below;

The majority of men become an active driver immediately after possessing their driver license, most women wait for years to become an active driver. For women drivers there is a time gap between having a driver license and being an

active driver. Majority of these women become an active driver after getting their own car. The family ownership of the car does not result in the active driving process of women. Furthermore, many women mentioned that it was difficult and problematic to learn how to drive especially from their male relatives such as fathers and husbands. Unbalanced power relationships and unequal access and control of properties in family can be the most significant reason behind this experience. Although all these women are from upper-middle and middle classes, they explored that their limited social and financial independence is the most important factor behind this time gap. This situation makes women less experienced in the active urban traffic compared to men. However, women are highly motivated to learn driving and get their license and when they find the financial opportunity, they can have their own cars and start to drive actively in traffic.

Age variable comes forward among women's motivation for having a driver license in the first place. While older women mostly mentioned class, status and prestige for the motivation, younger women rather chose to mention necessity, need and freedom. This difference shows the social transformation of women through generations. Driver license regarded as the main tool to provide the exclusivity and class privilege but for the young ones need, necessity and freedom comes forward. This result is related with women's increasing participation in public sphere, including the labor force and complexity of multitasked domestic responsibilities. Education is another indicator. When women's education level is increased, they are more likely to have positive decision of having an automobile. This study shows that age, social class and education are the factors that shape the social transformation and narrow the gender gap about accessing automobile and being an active driver in urban traffic.

From women's in-depth interviews I found that, self-confidence and being experienced in driving affect female drivers positively. They feel joyful while driving. Although they enjoy the feeling of freedom and independence, they also expressed that they experienced negative gender stereotyped behaviours and attitudes from others. These negative experiences constrain their driving behaviours. Age does not play a significant role contrary to some international literature. Patriarchal ideology which is based on the belief about the superiority of men over women have

negative consequences on female drivers' feelings about themselves, their capability, their behaviours and experiences about driving.

Both survey and interviews demonstrated that men and women have generally common understanding of positive and negative driving features such as “complying with rules”, “respectful”, “cautious/leery” and “conscious” as good driving features and defining negative driving features with “not complying with rules” and “disrespectfulness”. This result shows a general understanding of “being a good or bad driver” is developed both by male and female drivers. However, according to the majority of female participants “slow driving” is a feature of bad driving. Regardless of their age groups the majority of both men and women think that driving features show diversity according to gender. But the definitions of driving features of female drivers show that both male and female participants have “traditional gender stereotyped perceptions” about female drivers. In the survey, male participants described female driving features as “perturbed”, “inexperienced” and “careless”. Older male participants had more negative perceptions about female drivers such as “panic” and “unskilled”. Female participants described female driving features by mostly expressing “complying with rules”, “slow”, “cautious”, “timid”, “careful”, “inexperienced” and “perturbed”. The majority of interviewees described female driving features more negative than female respondents at the survey. They mostly used “timid”, “panic”, “perturbed” and “complying with rules”. While qualitative research gives the opportunity to interview women longer and face to face with the open-ended questions, women express more negative driving features about female drivers explicitly. The driving feature of “complying with rules” is an indication of both negative and positive perceptions. Because, although it is generally a positive attitude, “complying with rules” is not counted as one of male driving features and it is mostly assumed that complying with rules while driving can block the traffic in Turkish context. According to the results, the study shows that female driving features were mostly labelled with poor driving skills both by male and female drivers which may show that female drivers have also gender stereotypes about female driving features and female drivers.

The study also demonstrates that female drivers are developing some coping strategies in order to survive in traffic which is highly male dominated area. Female

drivers mostly feel incompetent related about maintenance and mechanic needs of their automobiles. Married women drivers expect their husbands to take care of these duties which shows another aspect of traditional division of gender roles in household duties. Single, divorced or widow female participants have to take care of these duties by themselves. Negotiation with car mechanic that they know and trust or roadside assistant services of car companies are the main strategies for them.

The most serious problem of being a female driver in this society is regarded as the risk of harassment and abusive behaviours of male drivers in traffic. It is obvious that the fear of gender-based harassment limits female drivers' driving behaviours and hegemonic masculinity have negative impact on their self-esteem in traffic as drivers.

Because of male drivers' harassment and abusive behaviors in traffic, female drivers are developing some coping strategies by not driving at late night or outskirts of the city. This may indicate that the fear of being abused makes women feel vulnerable. It also limits them by avoiding from driving.

The majority of both survey and interview participants think that there is a difference between their own driving features and same-counterpart's driving features. Although both sexes had the same thought, the comparisons about driving features were differing according to gender. While male participants emphasized their positive behaviours in traffic and mostly mentioned that they comply with the rules and respectfulness, they evaluated same-sex counterparts as being not obeying traffic rules and disrespectful. However female participants underlined their positive driving features more detailed than male participants by mentioning that they are fast, less stressed, determined, experienced and reliable drivers but they labeled same-sex counterparts mostly being slow, careful, highly stressed, undetermined, unreliable, timid, lack of maneuver and parking skills and unexperienced drivers. Detailed description of driving features may demonstrate the lack of self-confidence of female drivers. They need to prove that they are as good as male drivers by stressing their positive driving features in detailed way. These results may indicate that the notion of gender normativity affects not only male drivers but also female drivers and they consciously or unconsciously reproduce negative "female driver" stereotype in their daily lives through driving. According to these findings female

drivers reproduce the norm of “good” driving features from the perspective of hegemonic masculinity. In other word, willing to drive like a “man” makes them “good and respectable” drivers. This reality shows that for women the hegemonic male norms are still highly decisive to be a good driver in traffic. Therefore, driving like a “man” is a kind of emulating masculinity and a coping way of surviving in a male dominated area. The majority of female participants were identifying themselves with masculine driving features. They also separating themselves from other female drivers by ascribing negative driving features on other women drivers in order to be accepted in and to find a place in a highly masculine area. This separation causes a hierarchy among female drivers for the impairment of unexperienced and younger female drivers and make them more vulnerable. Thus, as a coping strategy emulating masculinity and disfavoring same-sex counterparts prevent the solidarity among women drivers and strengthening the ideology of patriarchy.

This research may contribute to the existing gender sensitive driving literature through the deeper insight about the relation of women drivers and driving behaviour in Turkey. Usage of triangulation research method in this study allowed more clarification of the findings and provided a richer understanding of results which is a significant contribution of this study.

Within the masculine culture of automobile, many studies mostly focus on marketing, consumption and production and totally ignore women’s experiences, thoughts and perceptions about driving. Although traffic psychology literature concerns with the driver’s behaviour, it does not take gender perspective and especially stereotyped norms and perceptions in to consideration. This study brings female subjectivity to these fields. Moreover, this study demonstrates that in the patriarchal society women actively internalize and reproduce patriarchal norms and gender stereotypes in their daily lives to find a “good place” in the gender hierarchy. In this way they subordinate other women to show that they are competent. This is a defense mechanism in order to survive and to protect their positions in male dominated areas. Therefore, this study provides an insight to the feminist literature and gender studies by presenting substantial information about coping strategies of women in other male dominated areas and occupations such as engineering, piloting,

professional driving, senior management positions, academic positions and many others.

This study may be a good example to show how women develop bargaining strategies with patriarchal gender norms and within this process how traditional stereotypical perceptions have an unawaredly impact on women's subjectivities. Moreover, patriarchy is a strong ideology in shaping people's perceptions. Consequently, when most women drive without complying with male norms, they are accused of being submissive. Stigmatization as being submissive, makes women vulnerable in driving and traffic. In order to demonstrate that they are not submissive and incompetent women tend to drive by more masculine driving features. This can be possible through the internalization of gender stereotype and becoming more aggressive and impatient against other female drivers. These results in the reproduction of the gender stereotypes in driving make the novice female drivers more vulnerable. Remembering Kandiyoti's (1988) argument about "Bargaining with Patriarchy" is important since it shows that women develop some strategies to bargain with patriarchy and these strategies have power to shape women's subjectivities. Female drivers give consent to the continuation of patriarchal ideology and construction of masculinity by underestimating other women's driving features and create a hierarchical position within same-sex counterparts. Consequently, they are not only depressed by patriarchal masculinity, they also agree, internalize and reproduce the patriarchal order.

To understand this internalization and reproduction of female driver stereotype further research can be conducted on this subject. The future studies could include the qualitative and comparative research with both male and female drivers to examine their stereotyped perceptions and the actualized reasons. Moreover, age variables and regional differences can be searched about driving behaviours of women. Studies on women's survival tactics or coping strategies in other male dominated fields has the potential to provide significant insights of internalization and reproduction of gender stereotypes.

One of the main obstacles for women to access to public sphere is the stereotypical perceptions about female driving that is being nourished from patriarchal codes. Displaying this factor is the main social contribution of this study.

Also, this study carries the potential of altering disadvantaged, unsafe and vulnerable positions of women drivers in traffic which is one of the significant dimensions of public sphere.

This study may also shed light on to the women's civil society activities a problematic area to work on. Because in our society patriarchal ideology about female drivers still sharp and effective. While in many countries female drivers can be seen in different occupations of transportation field, there are almost no women drivers in transportation sector in Turkey. Occupations involving automobile driving are filled with male drivers. Therefore, in order to reduce the "female driver" stereotype it is significant for women to be located in transportation related fields and occupations not only some driver positions but also other occupations such as gasoline station attendant, car mechanic, automotive technician and car designer. To support female drivers' integration and inclusion to transportation related occupations, to help the normalization and to support gender equality in this field, civil society needs to be more active and develop extensive awareness campaigns. Patriarchal stereotypes and social hierarchies about women drivers are being reproduced not only in the transportation sector but also in the representation of female drivers through commercials, films and discourses. Through the contribution of future studies, the "submissiveness" of female drivers can be reduced and patriarchal stereotypes about female drivers can be dissolved in Turkey.

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APPENDICES

A. APPROVAL LETTER FROM METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER



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18 MAYIS 2016

Sayı: 28620816 /230

Konu: Etik Onay

Gönderilen: Doç.Dr. Fatma Umut BEŞPINAR

Sosyoloji

Gönderen: Prof. Dr. Canan SÜMER

İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başkanı

İlgi: Etik Onayı

Sayın Doç.Dr. Fatma Umut BEŞPINAR'ın danışmanlığını yaptığı yüksek lisans öğrencisi Hatice Funda DAĞDELEN'in " Trafikte kadın sürücü algısının toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri ile ilgili kalıp yargılarla bağlantısının araştırılması" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülerek gerekli onay **2016-SOS-105** protokol numarası ile **25.05.2016-30.07.2016** tarihleri arasında geçerli olmak üzere verilmiştir.

Bilgilerinize saygılarımla sunarım.

Prof. Dr. Canan SÜMER

İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başkanı

B. SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE / ANKET SORULARI

1. Cinsiyet: Kadın Erkek
2. Yaş:
3. Eğitim durumu:
4. Ehliyet alım tarihi:
5. Trafikte aktif olarak araç kullanma süresi:
6. Kullandığınız araç tipi ve markası:
7. Sizce kadın ve erkek sürücüler arasında araç kullanma beceri ve davranışları açısından fark var mıdır?
Evet Hayır
8. Cevabınız evet bu farkların nedeni sizce neler olabilir?
9. Kendi araç kullanma tarzınızla hemcinsleriniz arasında fark görür müsünüz?
Evet Hayır
10. Cevabınız evet ise farklılıkları nasıl tanımlarsınız?

Kendine güvenen	Temkinli	Sakin
Öfkeli	Becerikli	Tutkulu
Başarılı	Gergin	Saygılı
Hızlı karar veren	Aceleci	Anlayışlı
Duygusal	Baskın/Üstün	Risk alan
Yavaş	Güven veren	Duygularına hâkim
Hızlı	Amatör	Kurallara uyan
Güçlü	Sabırlı	Bilinçli

11. Araç kullanmakla ilgili olarak kendinizi yukarıda (yanda) yer alan sıfatlardan hangileri ile tanımlarsınız?
1. Size göre “iyi” sürücülerin özelliklerini yukarıda yer alan sıfatlardan hangileri ile tanımlarsınız?
13. Size göre “kötü” sürücülerin özelliklerini yukarıda yer alan sıfatlardan hangileri ile tanımlarsınız?

C. IN DEPTH INTERVIEW QUESTIONS / MÜLAKAT SORULARI

Trafikte Kadın Sürücülerin Cinsiyet Kalıpyargılarını İçselleştirmeleri ve Yeniden Üretmelerinin Analizi İle İlgili 35-65 Yaş Arası Kadın Sürücülerle Yapılacak Derinlemesine Mülakat Soruları

Demografik Bilgiler

1. Yaşınız?
2. Eğitim durumunuz nedir?
3. Mesleğiniz?
4. Medeni durumunuz nedir?
5. Yaşadığınız şehir/semte neresidir?
6. Çalışıyor musunuz?

Kendi Sürücülük Denevimi / Ehliyet

7. Ehliyetinizi ne zaman aldınız ve aktif olarak ne zamandır trafikte araç kullanıyorsunuz?
8. Ehliyet almaya nasıl karar verdiniz ve nasıl ihtiyaç duydunuz?
9. Ehliyet alma tarihinizle aktif araç kullanmaya başlamanız arasında belirli bir süre var mı? Evetse nedeni nedir?

Kendi Sürücülük Denevimi / Araç

10. Kullandığınız araç kendinizin mi? Değilse kimin aracı?
11. Kullandığınız aracın marka ve modeli nedir?
12. Kullandığınız araç sizin değilse bu durum sürücülüğünüzü etkiler mi ve nasıl etkiler?
13. Araç kullanmayı nasıl ve kimden öğrendiniz? Araç kimin aracıydı? Aile fertlerinden herhangi birinden araç kullanma konusunda eğitim ve/veya destek aldınız mı?

14. Cevabınız evet ise, aile fertlerinden birinden araba kullanmayı öğrenmek sizi nasıl etkiledi? Bu sürecin araç kullanımınızda olumlu veya olumsuz bir etkisi oldu mu? Olduğunu düşünüyorsanız ne gibi bir etkisi oldu?
15. Aracın sigorta, vergi gibi sabit ödemelerini siz mi yaparsınız? Siz yapmıyorsanız bu durum sizi etkiliyor mu? Etkiliyorsa nasıl etkiliyor? (Daha dikkatli, temkinli gibi)
16. Şehir içinde aracınızı ne sıklıkta kullanırsınız ve hangi işler için yoğun olarak araç kullanırsınız?
17. Trafikte araç kullanmak size ne hissettirir, zorunluluk mu, keyif/zevk mi alırsınız?
18. Aracınızı trafikte herhangi bir durumda kullanmamayı tercih ettiğiniz olur mu? (Ör. paralel park etmek, aracı yokuşta kaldırmak, lastik değiştirmek gibi) Bu durumlarda genellikle kimden/kimlerden yardım talep edersiniz ve/veya ilk kimi ararsınız? Neden?
19. Araç kullanırken kendinizi en çaresiz hissettiğiniz zaman, durum, yer vs. nedir? Neden böyle hissedersiniz?
20. Kullandığınız araçla ilgili olarak teknik bilginizin yeterli olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz? (Motor bilgisi, lastik değiştirme, bakım zamanları gibi) Cevabınız hayır ise, bu bilgiye sizce nasıl sahip olunur?
21. Aracınızı bakıma ve/veya tamire siz mi götürürsünüz? Evet ise neden?, Hayır ise neden?
22. Trafik kurallarını tam olarak bildiğinizi düşünüyor musunuz? Uyduğunuzu düşünüyor musunuz?

Kadın ve Erkek Sürücülere İlişkin Görüşü

23. Sizce sürücülerin hangi özellikleri trafiğin aksamasına neden oluyor?
24. Sizce sürücülerin hangi özellikleri trafiği daha iyi hale gelmesini sağlayabilir? İyi bir trafik düzeni için sürücüler açısından tercih edeceğiniz olumlu özellikler neler olabilir?
25. Sizce kadın ve erkek sürücülerin araç kullanmaları arasında fark var mıdır?
26. Cevabınız evet ise bu farklar nelerdir ve bu farkları nasıl açıklarsınız?

27. Sizce kadın ve erkek sürücüler arasındaki bu farklar diğer ülkelerde de var mıdır?
28. Sizce trafikte kadın sürücü olmanın kendine özgü zorlukları var mıdır? Varsa bunlar neden kaynaklanıyor?
29. Sizce trafikte erkek sürücü olmanın kendine özgü zorlukları var mıdır? Varsa bunlar neden kaynaklanıyor?
30. Kendi araç kullanma tarzınızla hemcinslerinizin araç kullanma tarzı arasında fark olduğunu düşünür müsünüz? Evetse bu farklar nelerdir?
31. Bu farkların nedeni ne olabilir ve bunları nasıl açıklarsınız?
32. Trafikte sürücü olarak hemcinslerinizle yaşadığınız kişisel deneyimlerinizden olumlu ve/veya olumsuz bir ya da birkaç örnek verebilir misiniz?

D. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Trafikte Cinsiyet Kalıpyargılarının Kadın Sürücüler Tarafından İçselleştirilmesi ve Yeniden Üretilmesinin Analizi

Günümüzde dünyada 1 milyardan fazla sayıda araba olduğu tahmin edilmektedir. Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu Ocak 2018 verilerine göre Türkiye'deki araç sayısı 22 milyon iken bu rakam içindeki otomobil sayısı ise 12 milyonun üzerindedir. Bu verilere göre trafikteki araç sayısının her geçen gün arttığı görülmektedir. Ülkelerdeki kadın sürücü oranlarına bakıldığında ise 1999 yılında Güney Avustralya'da ehliyet sahibi kadın sürücü oranı %62 civarındayken, 2014 yılında İngiltere'deki kadın sürücü oranı %67dir. Türkiye'de ise 1980 öncesinde sürücü ehliyeti sahibi olan kadın oranı %13'den daha az olmasına rağmen, bu oran 2016 yılında %24,1'e kadar yükselmiştir. Bu bağlamda hem dünyada hem ülkemizde kadın sürücü sayısının hızla artmasına rağmen kadınların "kötü sürücü" olduklarına ya da bir başka deyişle erkek sürücüler kadar "iyi" sürücü olmadıklarına ilişkin yaygın kanının hala var olduğu görülmektedir. Bu yaygın kanı sadece erkekler tarafından değil aynı zamanda kadınlar tarafından da benimsenmektedir. Erkek sürücülerle karşılaştırıldığında kadın sürücüler genel olarak erkek sürücülere göre daha yetersiz ve yeteneksiz sürücüler olarak değerlendirilmekte ve çoğunlukla trafiği bloke ettikleri düşünülmektedir.

"İyi sürücü" kavramının tanımı, kendini, diğer sürücüleri, yolcuları ve yayaları tehlikeye atmadan trafik kurallarına ve yol güvenliğine uygun biçimde araç kullanan kişi olarak yapılabilir. Ancak bu evrensel tanımın yanı sıra yapılan araştırmalara göre araç kullanmanın basit bir aktivitenin çok ötesinde karmaşık bir yapıda olduğu ve ekonomik, psikolojik, zamansal, uzamsal, kültürel, sınıfsal ve toplumsal cinsiyet kavramları ile ilişkisel olduğu kabul edilmektedir (Wachs, 1996; Jones et.al., 1990; Bhat & Misra, 2000).

Sürücülük aynı zamanda farklı kültürler ve ülkelere göre de değişiklik gösterir. Genel olarak her toplumda araba kültürü ve araba ile ilgili aktiviteler

erkekler ve erkeklikle bağdaştırılır ve bu alan çoğunlukla erkekler tarafından domine edilir. Kadınlar da otomobil kullanmalarına rağmen genellikle kötü, dikkatsiz ve yetersiz sürücüler olmakla eleştirilirler. Erkeklerin domine ettiği diğer alanlarda olduğu gibi sürücülükte de kadınlar ikincil pozisyonda konumlanmakta ve kendileri de cinsiyetlerinden dolayı kendi sürücülüklerinin “yetersiz” olduğunu düşünmektedirler. Bu nedenle sürücülük davranışı ve özellikleri ile toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri arasında yakın bir ilişki ve birbirlerini etkileme güçleri olduğu görülmektedir. Bu çalışma kadın sürücülerle ilgili kalıpyargısal algıları oluşturan faktörleri anlamayı ve bu algıların kadın sürücüler tarafından trafikte nasıl içselleştirildiği ve yeniden üretildiğini incelemeyi amaçlamıştır.

Bu çalışmada kadın sürücülerin sürüş aktiviteleri kendi deneyimleri, inançları ve düşünceleri çerçevesinde tanımlanmıştır. Bu çalışmanın teorik çerçevesini oluşturan feminist duruş teorisi de geleneksel araştırmaların bakış açısından farklı olarak ataerkil sistem içinde baskılanan ve ikincilleştirilen kadınların kendi hayat deneyimlerini, bilgilerini ve öznelliklerini dikkate alır. Dolayısıyla bu araştırmada kadın sürücülerin aktif trafikte yaşadıkları kendilerine ait deneyimleri ve ürettikleri bilgi kendi öznellikleri kapsamında feminist bakış açısı kuramı ile incelenmiştir. Harding, Hartsock ve Haraway gibi teorisyenler feminist duruş teorisini görece baskılanmış, görünmez ve marjinal kadınlarla ve konumlanmış bilgiyle ilişkilendirirler. Hartsock'a (1998) göre feminist duruş kuramı dünyayı toplumda ikincilleştirilen kadının bakış açısından anlamaya yardımcı olur. Harding (2004) ise bilginin üretimi ve erkin pratikleri arasındaki ilişkiyi feminist teori üzerinden ilişkilendirir. Bu tanımlar ışığında feminist duruş kuramı güç ilişkileri ve bilginin üretimi arasındaki ilişkiye eleştirel bir bakış açısı getirerek, kadınların dünyasını daha iyi anlamak üzere gizlenmiş bilgiyi kadınların hayat deneyimleri ve kendi bakış açılarıyla anlamaya çalışır (Alcoff & Potter, 1993). Kadınlar sürücülük aktivitesini farklı deneyimlerler. Bir tarafta erkek sürücülerin tacizlerine maruz kalırken, diğer tarafta ise sürücü olarak kendi yetkinliklerini diğerlerine ispatlama zorunluluğu ile baş etmektedirler ve hayli erkek egemen bir alan olan trafikte kendilerine yer ve statü oluşturmaya çabalamak durumunda kalırlar. Alana özel (domain-specific) bilgi toplumsal cinsiyet kavramından etkilenir ve sürücülük gibi eril beceriler gerektirdiğine inanılan alanlarda kadınların daha az başarılı oldukları algısı oluşur

(Anderson, 2015). Bu nedenle erkekler eril ayrıcalıkları nedeniyle trafikte olmaktan keyif alırlar ve erkek hegemonyası sürücülükle ilgili bilgi üretimini domine eder. Geleneksel eril önyargılar ve bakış açısı kadın sürücülerin deneyimlerini ve ürettikleri bilgiyi değersizleştirerek, dışlar ve görünmez kılar. Dominant bilgi bu alanda eril becerinin talebini empoze eder ve bundan dolayı kadınlar sürücülük konusunda daha düşük beceri sahibi gibi görünürler. Kadın sürücüler aktif trafikte yetersiz, yavaş, kararsız, dikkatsiz gibi olumsuz kalıpyargısal özelliklerle yüzleşmek zorunda kalmaktadırlar. Bu nedenle bu çalışmanın feminist bir perspektifi bulunmaktadır ve trafikteki sürücülükte toplumsal cinsiyetle ilgili kalıp yargıları ve davranışları, ataerkil güç ilişkilerini ve konumlanmış bilgiyi merkezine alır. Feminist teori aynı zamanda sürücülük bağlamında kadınların yaş ve sınıf ile ilişkili sosyal dönüşümlerini de anlamaya fırsat tanır. Tüm bu nedenlerin yanı sıra, büyük şehirlerde aktif trafikte otomobil kullanan kadın sürücülerin görünmeyen deneyimlerini ortaya çıkartmak ve erkek egemen alanda geliştirdikleri baş etme stratejilerini analiz etmek açısından feminist duruş kuramının bu çalışma için en uygun teori olduğu düşünülmüştür.

Toplumsal cinsiyet kavramı, cinsler arasında bir toplumun benimsediği ve uygun gördüğü davranışlar, beklentiler, sosyal normlar ve güç ilişkilerine atıfta bulunur. Peterson ve Runyan'a göre (1993) erillik ve dişillik bir kişinin cinsiyeti ile ilgili olarak birçok kompleks özellik ve davranışlarla açıklanabilir ve bu özellik ve davranışların öğrenilmesi kişilerin sosyalizasyon süreci içinde gerçekleşir. Ayrıca, toplumsal cinsiyet bir güç sistemi ve sosyal inşa olarak erilliği/erkekliliği dişilliğin/kadınlığın üzerinde tasarlar. Bu ataerkil sistem, kurumları ve pratikleri eril tahakküm ve/veya eril karakterler üzerinden tanımlar. Asimetrik güç ilişkilerinin özellikle kadınlar üzerinde olumsuz sonuçları bulunmaktadır. Eşitsizlik bir biçimiyle kurumsal bir şiddet olarak karşımıza çıkar ve sosyal normlar kadınların kendi otoritelerini ve özgürlüklerini kısıtlar. Kadınlar genel olarak erkeklere göre bilgiye ve kaynaklara ulaşmada, karar verici konumda ve kamusal alanda var olmada daha dezavantajlı durumda kalmaktadırlar. Toplumsal cinsiyet normları çocukluktan itibaren aile, okul gibi çeşitli sosyal yapılar ve aile üyelerini taklit etme gibi sosyalizasyon yoluyla öğrenilir (Witt, 1997). Böylece oğlan çocukları duygularını gizlemeyi, güçlü olmayı, şiddet kullanmayı ve kız çocuklarından üstün olmayı

öğrenirler. Sosyalleşme yoluyla çocukluktan yetişkinliğe kadar öğrenilen bu kalıpyargılar kadınların ikincilleştirilmesini destekler. Connell (2000) “erkeklikleri” sosyal normlara, hukuka ve çeşitli sosyal yapılara göre varsayılan temel insanlık bilgisi olarak tanımlar. Bu nedenle erkekler kadınlara göre genel olarak daha özgür, daha iyi kazanan, daha fazla kariyer sahibi olan ve liderlik şansları daha yüksek durumdadırlar. Kimmel (2000) ise erkekliklerin toplumdaki çeşitli yapılar ve insanlar tarafından her gün yeniden üretildiğine dikkat çeker. Hiyerarşik yapıların da eril tahakkümü konusunda önemli bir yeri bulunmaktadır ve sınıf ve toplumsal cinsiyetle yakından ilişkilidir (Acker, 1998). Buna göre sınıf ve toplumsal cinsiyet ilişkisi kaynakların dağıtılmasındaki eşitsizlikler üzerinden toplumu yeniden inşa eder. Ataerkil toplumlarda geleneksel toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri statükoyu korumak üzere şekillenmektedir. Toplumda erkeklerin sahip olduğu dominant gücün yanında güçlü, agresif, rekabetçi, aktif ve özgür gibi kavramlar erillikle bağdaştırılırken, dişillik daha çok pasif, fiziksel ve duygusal olarak zayıf, ikincil ve bağımlı olarak addedilmektedir.

Kadınlar zaman içinde kamusal alanda daha fazla yer alsalar da erkeklerin domine ettiği alanlarda ya da yapılarda çoğunlukla geleneksel toplumsal cinsiyet normları ve hiyerarşileri ile yüz yüze gelmektedirler. Aile içinde eşlerin ilişkileri ataerkil toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri üzerinden yeniden üretilirken toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı iş bölümü kadının özgürlüğünü kısıtlar. Örnek olarak kadının aileye ait ulaşım kaynağı olan arabaya ulaşması sınırlı olabilir çünkü aile arabasının genel olarak erkeğe ait olduğu düşünülür. Araba sahipliği pek çok toplumda ekonomik özgürlükle yakından ilişkilidir ve ulaşım modelleri sosyal sınıflara göre değişkenlik gösterir. Örneğin orta-üst ve üst-sınıf kadınların alt sosyal sınıftaki kadınlara göre otomobil sahipliği oranları ekonomik pozisyonlarından dolayı daha yüksektir (Hanson & Hanson, 1980). Pek çok araştırma erkek egemen iş alanlarında kariyer yapan kadınların cinsiyet ayrımcılığına uğradıklarını göstermektedir. Bu nedenle kadınlar da kendileri ile ilgili negatif toplumsal cinsiyet kalıpyargıları geliştirerek, kendilerine güven konusunda yetersizlik ve eksiklik hissi geliştirmektedirler (Lewis-Enright vd., 2009). Pek çok çalışmaya göre erkek egemen alanlarda çalışan kadınların başarılı olmak ve kendilerini ispatlamak üzere eril davranışları taklit etmek gibi doğal olmayan davranışlar gösterdikleri belirtilmiştir (Chowen, 2007; Barkhuizen & Du

Plessis, 2012). Erkek egemen alanlarda kariyerlerine devam etmek isteyen kadınlar cinsiyet ayrımcılığı ve eşitsizliklerle mücadele etmek üzere çeşitli baş etme stratejileri geliştirmektedirler. Bu stratejilerden biri, agresiflik, aşırı özgüven gibi tipik maskülen davranışlar geliştirmek olduğu gibi, bir diğer strateji ise tam tersine anaçlık, sadakat gibi feminen olarak algılanan davranışlar ortaya koymaktır. (Chowen, 2007; Davey, 2008). Martin ve Barnard da (2013) kadınların daha çok eril karakteristik özellikleri kullanmaya eğilimli olduklarını belirtmektedirler. Bu sonuçlara göre, kadınlar geliştirdikleri farklı stratejileri erkek egemen alanlarda var olabilmek, bu alanlara uyum sağlayabilmek ve maruz kaldıkları zorluklarla baş edebilmek için kullanmaktadırlar. Beşpınar'ın (2010) çalışmasında da kadınların iş yerlerinde cinsiyet ayrımcılığından kaçınmak amacıyla çeşitli stratejiler geliştirdikleri vurgulanmıştır. Çalışmada bu stratejiler erkeklerden daha uzun saatler çalışma, daha profesyonel görünmek için feminen davranış ve tutumlarını minimize etme veya duygusal ifadelerini kontrol ederek "cinsiyetsiz" davranışlar sergileme olarak tanımlanmıştır. Skeggs (1997) ise "saygınlık" kavramına dikkat çeker ve saygınlığın başarı ile ilgili bir göstere olduğuna ve sosyal sınıf, toplumsal cinsiyet ve sosyal pozisyonların diğer göstergeleri ile ilişkili olduğuna vurgu yapar. Saygınlık, dominant grupların marjinal olanlara göre kendi pozisyonlarını domine ettikleri bir kavram olarak karşımıza çıkar. Bu nedenle kadınlar kendi saygınlıklarını inşa edebilmek için diğer kadınlarla aralarında bir hiyerarşi oluşturabilmekte ve kendilerini diğer kadınlardan ayırmaktadırlar. Bu bağlamda erkek egemen alanda saygın olabilmek için kadınlar kendi aralarında hiyerarşik yapılar geliştirirler. Ancak kadınlar tarafından geliştirilen stratejiler kendilerine kısa dönemli avantajlar sağlamakta, buna rağmen var olan eril tahakkümün değişimine katkı sağlamamaktadır. Aksine bu tarz stratejiler eril tahakkümü güçlendirmekte ve ataerkil ideolojiyi kalıcı kılmaktadırlar. (Miller, 2004; Beşpınar, 2010).

İngiltere'de Gwyther ve Holland (2014) tarafından yapılan bir çalışmada "kırılganlık" hissinin sürücülük davranışları üzerindeki etkisi, sürücülükte risk algısına karşı duygusal tepkiler ve baş etme stratejilerinin adaptasyonları araştırılmıştır. Bu araştırmanın sonuçlarına göre kötü hava koşulları ve aşına olunmayan trafik rotalarında araba kullanmak gibi zorlayıcı şartlarla baş etmek üzere sürücülerde kendini kontrol etme ve kaçınma davranışları ön plana çıkmaktadır.

Özellikle kaçınma davranışının daha çok tedirgin sürücüler, yaşlı sürücüler ve deneyimsiz sürücüler tarafından sergilendiği gözlenmiştir. Genç ve deneyimsiz kadın sürücülerin ise daha çok araçlarının arızalanmasından ve bilmedikleri rotalarda araç kullanmaktan kaçındıkları belirlenmiştir. Bu çalışma aynı zamanda potansiyel risklere karşı verilen duygusal tepkilerin sürücülerin sürücülük davranışlarını kısıtladığına ilişkin deliller sunmaktadır.

Türkiye’de trafik erkek egemen bir alandır ve kadın sürücüler ataerkil ideoloji ile baş edebilmek ve bu alanda var olabilmek için her gün çeşitli stratejiler geliştirmektedirler. Ancak literatürde kadın sürücülerin geliştirdikleri baş etme stratejileri ile ilgili herhangi bir çalışmaya rastlanmamıştır. Bununla birlikte özellikle kadın sürücülerle ilgili negatif toplumsal cinsiyet kalıp yargıların yeniden üretilmesi konusunda çok yeni çalışmalar yapılmaktadır. Bu bağlamda otomobil ve sürücülük konusunda tarihsel literatüre baktığımızda 18. yüzyılın sonlarında İngiltere ve Amerika’da otomobilin icadıyla başlayan bir süreç karşımıza çıkmaktadır.19. yüzyılda otomobil üst sınıfın sahip olabildiği bir statü, ayrıcalık ve özgürlük sembolü olarak görünür (Urry, 2004). Otomobilin kültür üzerindeki etkisi sadece zenginlikle değil sınıfsal tabakalaşma ve kültürel sermaye ile de yakından ilişkilidir. Bourdieu’ya (1984) göre kültürel objelerin sağladığı sosyal olarak yapılandırılmış mesajlar kişilerin sınıf pozisyonları hakkında mesajlar taşır. Kültürel sermaye üst sınıfa ait seçkin bir zevki gösterirken diğer sosyal sınıflardan daha üstün oldukları illüzyonunu yaratır. Otomobilleşmenin erken dönemleri sınıfsal eşitsizliğin yanında cinsiyet eşitsizliğini de sembolize eder. Çünkü otomobil erkek egemen olan kamusal alanda bulunmasından dolayı eril olarak karakterize edilmektedir. Bu nedenle otomobile sahip olma ve onu kullanma kültürel olarak erkeklere ait olmuştur (Scharff, 1991). 1930’lu yıllardan itibaren başlayan süreçte otomobilin seri üretimi kentleşmenin de başlangıcı olacaktır ve orta sınıf, çalışan beyaz erkeğe ekonomik arenada hakimiyet sağlayacaktır. Kadınlarsa domestik izolasyondan nispeten kurtularak, özgürlük ve yeni bir politik statü elde edeceklerdir (Sweezy, 2000; Seiler, 2008). İkinci Dünya Savaşı’ndan sonra 1950’li yıllarda %39 olan kadın sürücü sayısı 1960’larda %53’e kadar yükselir. Kadınlar otomobili özellikle evle ve çocuklarla ilgili görevlerin yerine getirilmesinde kullanmışlar ve bu süreçte çalışma hayatına da katılımlarının artmasıyla seyahat modelleri çoklu görevleri yerine getirmeye uygun şekilde ve daha

karmaşık hale gelmiştir. Böylece Amerikan toplumunda otomobil her sınıftan insanın kolayca ulaşabileceği ve aileye ait olan bir tüketim aracı haline dönüşmüştür (Walsh, 2008). Ancak otomobil endüstrisinin yanı sıra, toplumun diğer kurumları da medya, filmler, diziler ve kitaplarla kasıtlı olarak kadının geleneksel toplumsal cinsiyet rolünü vurgulayarak otomobil kullanmasını kusursuz bir ev kadını ve anne rolleriyle pekiştirmiştir. Bu çaba yıllar içinde sistematik olarak kadının geleneksel toplumsal cinsiyet rolünün toplumlar içinde yerleşmesine ve güçlenmesine olanak vermiştir. Berger (1982) “kadın sürücü” kalıpyargısının ataerkil ideoloji tarafından kullanılarak kadınların özgürlüklerinin kısıtlanması ve onları kamusal alandan uzak tutmak amacıyla kullanıldığına dikkat çekmektedir.

1970’lerden sonra feminist hareketin de etkisiyle kadınların eğitim ve iş olanaklarına daha kolay ulaşmaları kendi otomobillerine sahip olmalarını da sağlamıştır. Aynı zamanda otomobilleşmenin çevreye, enerjiye ve kentleşmeye olan olumsuz etkilerinin giderilmesi, insanların seyahat modellerinin anlaşılması ve daha iyi çözümler üretilmesi amacıyla çeşitli sivil toplum ve baskı gruplarının çabalarıyla çeşitli teoriler, kavramlar ve metodolojiler geliştirilmiştir. Bu kapsamda 1980’lerin sonunda Trafik Psikolojisi alanı ortaya çıkmış ve trafikte insan duygu, davranış, tutum ve düşüncelerinin, etkileri araştırılmaya başlanmıştır (Rothengatter, 1997). Bu alanda yapılan pek çok çalışmada toplumsal cinsiyet rollerindeki farklılıkların kadın ve erkeklerin sürücülüklerini etkilediklerini ortaya koymaktadır. Örneğin Simon ve Corbett (1996) yaptığı çalışmada pasiflik, rekabetçi olmama, risk almama gibi davranışların daha çok kadınların sürücülük davranışları ile bağdaştırıldığını, aksine risk alma, rekabetçi olma, agresiflik ve kurallara uymama gibi davranışlarınsa erkeklerin sürücülük davranışlarıyla bağdaştırıldığını vurgulamaktadır. Bir başka çalışmada Özkan ve Lajunen (2006) “iyi ve yetenekli sürücü” olmanın erkeğe özgü bir özellik olarak görüldüğünü, “güvenli sürücü” olmanın ise daha çok kadına özgü bir özellik olarak algılandığını göstermektedir. Bu çalışmalara bakarak sürücülüğün toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri ile yakından ilişkili olduğu ve geleneksel kalıpyargılar tarafından domine edildiği söylenebilir. Son yıllarda yapılan çalışmalarda psikologlar tarafından geliştirilen “kalıpyargı tehdidi” modeli kalıpyargıya maruz kalan kişilerin o kalıpyargı ile ilgili performanslarında düşüş yaşadıklarını ortaya çıkartmıştır. Bu modelden yola çıkarak Yeung & Von Hippel (2007) tarafından kadın sürücülerle

yapılan çalışmada kadınların kötü sürücü oldukları kalıpyargısının kadın sürücülerin otomobil kullanma performanslarını olumsuz etkilediğini göstermiştir. Çocukların çok küçük yaşlardan itibaren kadın sürücülerle ilgili olumsuz kalıpyargıları farkına vardıkları, içselleştirdikleri ve davranışlarının bu kalıpyargılardan etkilendiği yapılan çalışmalarla gözlenmiştir. Çocuklar yetişkin olduklarında içselleştirdikleri kalıpyargılar nedeniyle sürücülüğün doğal olarak erkeklerin yeteneklerine daha uygun olduğunu ve kadınların sürücülük konusunda doğal olarak yetersiz olduklarını düşünmektedirler (Granie ve Papafava, 2011).

Otomobilleşme ile ilgili Türkiye literatüründe bilinen ilk Türk kadın sürücü Osmanlı döneminde Samiye Cahid Hanım'dır ve 1922 yılında Turing Kulübünün araba yarışlarına katılarak birinci olmuştur ancak diğer erkek yarışmacıların itirazı nedeniyle ikinci ilan edilmiştir (Mahmutoğlu vd., 2012). Cumhuriyet döneminde 1926 yılında Türkiye'deki araç sayısı 5000 civarındayken bu araçlar içinde 3200-3300 adedi otomobildir. 1939 yılında otomobil sayısı 4795'e yükselmiştir (Durgun, 2006). Türkiye'de de bu yıllarda otomobil üst sınıfın talebi olan ve Amerikan markaları tarafından karşılanan bir araç olmuştur. 1927 ve 1960 yılları arasında Türk otomotiv endüstrisine yapılan yatırımlar ve 1970'lerin başında ilk organize sanayi bölgesinin kurulmasıyla birlikte ithalat mevzuatındaki kolaylaştırmalar sonucunda otomobil sayısında hızlı bir artış meydana gelmiştir. 1998 yılında toplam otomobil sayısı 3.838.631 iken TÜİK istatistiklerine göre 2018 yılında bu rakam 12.106.678'e yükselmiştir. Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde 2012 yılındaki araç sayısının 110 milyon civarında olduğu ve Türkiye dahil Avrupa'daki araç sayısının 260 milyon civarında olduğu göz önüne alındığında Türkiye'de otomobil kültürünün çok eski olmadığı ve bu kültürün Batılı ülkelere göre farklılık gösterdiği söylenebilir. Otomobilin Türkiye'de gündelik hayatın bir parçası olması 1990'lara denk gelse de günümüzde Türk toplumunda otomobil kültürünün toplumsal cinsiyet kalıp yargularından arındığını söylemek mümkün değildir. TÜİK verilerine göre 2017 yılında ehliyet sahibi sürücülerin %74,9'unun erkek olduğu görülmektedir. Ayrıca Türkiye'de aile içinde araba satın alma konusundaki kararın hala erkeklere ait olduğu gözlenmektedir (PIAR, 1989; Karaman, 2003; Bişkin, 2004). YTMK'nın 2014 verilerine göre ise ehliyet sahibi olan ancak aktif trafikte araç kullanmayan kadınların oranı %23,6'yken bu oran erkeklerde %6,2 kadar inmektedir. İstatistiklere

bakıldığında Türkiye’de aktif araç kullanmanın erkekler tarafından domine edilen bir alan olduğu açıkça görülmektedir.

Trafikte sürücülerin çoğunluğunun erkek olmasına rağmen Türkiye’de kadın sürücü sayısı her geçen gün hızla artmaktadır. Ancak bu yoğun dengesizliğin sebeplerine göz atmak gerekirse kadınların ekonomik güçsüzlüğü ve bağımlılığı en önce gelmektedir. Ayrıca, kadınların eğitime ve çalışma hayatına katılımları ile ilgili düşük oranlar diğer nedenler arasında yer almaktadır. Ataerkil ideoloji kadınların özel alanda kalarak, kamusal alanda işgücüne katılımlarını engellerken, ekonomik açıdan bağımlılıklarını ve sömürmelerini desteklemektedir. 2018 yılı TÜİK verilerine göre istihdama katılan kadın sayısı %33,3 civarındadır. Böylece işgücüne sınırlı katılım ve yüksek ekonomik bağımlılık çalışmakta olan kadınları dahi otomobile ulaşılmaktan alıkoymaktadır. Erden (2015) tarafından Kocaeli’nde yapılan bir çalışmada kadınlarda otomobil sahipliğinin eğitim ve gelir seviyeleri ile yakından ilişkili olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Türkiye’de otomobil kültürü de ataerkil ideolojiden ve geleneksel kalıpyargılardan etkilenmektedir. Reklamlarda çoğunlukla sürücü koltuğunun bir erkeğe ait olduğu, kadınsa yolcu koltuğunda oturduğu görülmekte, ayrıca sokak jargonunda otomobilin erkekler tarafından “kız gibi” ya da “gelin gibi” tanımlandığı ve seksüel göndermelerle kadın vücudu ile bağdaştırıldığı gözlenmektedir (Ünsal, 2000; Cengiz, 2009). Özkan ve arkadaşlarının (2002) Ankara’da yaptığı bir araştırmada deneyimin sürücülük becerilerini geliştirdiği ancak deneyim kazanmanın güvenli ve güvenilir sürücülüğü arttırdığı anlamına gelmediğini ve aynı zamanda aşırı özgüvene neden olduğu gözlenmiştir. Araştırmalar aynı zamanda erkek sürücülerin kadın sürücülerden daha fazla trafik kazalarına karıştıklarını göstermiştir. Çünkü erkek sürücüler daha agresif, rekabetçi ve aşırı özgüvenli davranışlar sergilemekte ve kazalara zemin hazırlamaktadırlar (Özkan vd., 2002; Eşiyok vd., 2007; Aycan & Aycan, 2014; Ünal vd., 2017). Türkiye’de kadın sürücülerle ilgili feminist araştırmalar çok az olmakla birlikte son yıllarda kayda değer çalışmalar yapılmaktadır. 2107 yılında Trabzon’daki kadın sürücülerle yapılan çalışmada kadın sürücülerin dolmuş sürücüleri ve kaba erkek sürücülerle problem yaşadıkları ve diğer kadın sürücülerle ilgili kalıpyargılara sahip oldukları görülmüştür (Hacısalihoğlu, 2017). 2019 yılında Gaziantep’te yaşayan kadın ve erkek sürücülerle yapılan bir başka çalışmada ise hem kadın hem erkek sürücülerin

kadın sürücülerle ilgili “dikkatli”, “kurallara uyan”, “yavaş”, “tedirgin” ve “panik” gibi kalıpyargılar geliştirdikleri ortaya çıkmıştır. Erkek sürücüler bunun sebebini kadınların geleneksel toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri ve ev içi sorumluluklarının yüksek olmasına bağlarken kadın sürücülerse, diğer kadınların kaza yapmaktan korktukları için tedirgin özgüveni düşük şekilde araba kullandıklarını, deneyimsiz olduklarını ve kocalarından azar işitmekten korktuklarını belirtmişlerdir. Bununla birlikte, erkek sürücüler kadınlara attıkları “dikkatli” ve “kurallara uygun” araç kullanmak gibi olumlu görünen özellikleri trafiği bloke ettiği gerekçesiyle olumsuz olarak algılayabilmektedirler (Gül, 2019). Bu bağlamda kadınlar ve erkeklerin sürücülük deneyimleri, algıları ve davranışları ataerkil ideolojiden etkilenmekte ve negatif kalıpyargılar yoluyla ayrışmaktadır.

Yukarıda bahsi geçen teorik çerçeve kapsamında bu araştırmanın temel amacı trafikte kadın sürücülerle ilgili toplumsal cinsiyet rollerinden kaynaklanan olumsuz kalıpyargı ve algıların kadın sürücüler tarafından içselleştirilmesi ve yeniden üretilmesi sürecinde yer alan faktörlerin analiz edilmesi ve anlaşılmasıdır. Ayrıca bu araştırma kadın sürücülerin öznellikleri ile geliştirdikleri baş etme stratejileri arasındaki ilişkiyi de incelemektedir. Bu çalışmanın amacına ulaşması için aşağıda yer alan soruların cevapları aranmıştır.

1. Kadınlar ve erkekler gündelik hayat içinde negatif toplumsal cinsiyet kalıpyargıları nasıl üretmektedirler? Bu kapsamda kadın ve erkek sürücülerin “iyi ve kötü sürücü” özelliklerini tanımlamaları istenmiş ve cinsiyete göre farklılaşan toplumsal cinsiyet kalıpyargıları incelenmiştir. Bununla birlikte araştırmaya katılan kadın ve erkek sürücülerin kendi sürücülük özellikleri ile hemcinslerinin sürücülük özelliklerini tanımlamaları istenmiş ve verdikleri cevaplar toplumsal cinsiyet kalıpyargıları bağlamında karşılaştırılmıştır.

2. Türkiye’de büyük şehirlerde yaşayan ve aktif olarak otomobil kullanan orta-üst ve üst-sınıfa mensup eğitim düzeyi yüksek kadınlar ataerkil ideoloji ve politik söylem yoluyla kendilerini dezavantajlı pozisyonda bırakan “kadın sürücü” kalıpyargısını neden ve nasıl içselleştirmekte ve sürekli olarak yeniden üretmektedirler? Bu kapsamda toplumdaki sosyal değişkenler, toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri, değerleri, beklentileri ile ataerkil ideoloji ve politikalar arasındaki etkileşim analiz edilmiştir.

3. Kadın sürücülerin “kadın sürücü” kalıpyargısını içselleştirme ve yeniden üretme sürecinde yaş, sınıf ve deneyim gibi sosyal ve kişisel faktörlerin nasıl ve ne boyutta etkisi bulunmaktadır?

Yukarıda belirtilen soruların cevaplarına ulaşmak için bu araştırmada veri toplama yöntemi olarak üçgenleme (nirengi) metodu kullanılmıştır. Çalışmada hem nicel hem nitel araştırma yöntemleri yer almaktadır. Çalışmanın nicel kısmında 118 (114 kadın, 67 erkek) katılımcı anket sorularına internet üzerinden cevap vermiş, nitel kısımda ise Ankara’da yaşayan, 35 ila 65 yaş aralığında orta ve orta üst sınıf, eğitim düzeyi yüksek ve en az beş yıldır aktif olarak araba kullanmakta olan 20 kadın sürücüyle yarı yapılandırılmış derinlemesine mülakatlar yapılmıştır. Anket yoluyla toplanan nicel veri çalışmaya daha geniş bir perspektif, istatistiksel sonuç ve analiz imkânı sağlarken, yarı-yapılandırılmış derinlemesine mülakat ile toplanan nitel veri ise görüşler, inançlar, deneyimler ve öznellikleri inceleme olanağı sağlamıştır. Anket içinde yer alan çoktan seçmeli soruların cevapları için Bem Cinsiyet Rolü Envanterinin Türkçe versiyonundan yararlanılmış ve çeşitli sürücü özelliklerini içeren bir tablo oluşturulmuştur. Elde edilen veriler SBSS programında analiz edilmiştir. Yarı yapılandırılmış derinlemesine mülakatlar katılımcıların izniyle ses kaydına alınmış ve daha sonra deşifre edilmiştir. Elde edilen tüm veriler üç ana tema altında analiz edilmiştir. Bu temalar sürücülükle ilgili deneyimler, sürücülükle ilgili algılar ve kadın sürücülerin baş etme stratejileri şeklinde belirlenmiştir. Elde edilen bulgulara göre, sürücülük deneyiminde erkek sürücülerin çoğunun ehliyet aldıktan hemen sonra aktif olarak trafikte araba kullandıkları, buna karşılık kadınların ehliyet aldıkları zamanla aktif sürücü oldukları zaman arasında boşluk olduğu gözlenmiştir. Kadınlar ailede kullanılan arabaya ulaşmada sorun yaşamakta ve genellikle kendi araçlarına sahip olduklarında aktif olarak trafiğe çıkmaktadırlar. Bu durum çalışmaya katılan kadınların çoğunun orta-üst ve üst sosyal sınıfa mensup olmalarına rağmen sosyal ve finansal kaynaklara erişimlerinin kısıtlı olduğunu göstermektedir. Ayrıca bu durum onların erkeklere göre trafikte daha az deneyime sahip olmalarına neden olmaktadır. Bununla birlikte kadınlar araba kullanmayı genellikle ya ailedeki bir erkekten ya da sürücü kurslarındaki erkek eğitmenlerden öğrendiklerini belirtmişlerdir. Özellikle aile içinde baba, koca veya erkek kardeştan araç kullanmayı öğrenmenin zorluğundan bahsedilmiştir. Bu deneyimlerin arkasında

genel olarak dengesiz güç ilişkileri ve aileye ait mülklere ulaşımındaki eşit olmayan cinsiyet dağılımı yer almaktadır.

Kadınların ehliyet sahibi olma motivasyonları yaş değişkeni ile ilişkili bulunmuştur. Yaşça daha büyük olan kadınlar sürücü ehliyeti sahibi olmayı sosyal sınıf, statü ve prestij göstergesi olarak ifade ederken, daha genç yaşta olan kadınlar ehliyet sahibi olmanın ihtiyaç veya gereklilik olduğunu belirtmişlerdir. Bu sonuçlara göre kadınların iş yaşamına katılımlarının artması ve kamusal alanda daha fazla yer almaları araç kullanmalarını bir ihtiyaç ve gereksinim haline getirmiştir. Kadınların eğitim seviyeleri arttıkça araç sahibi olma durumlarında da artış görülmüştür. Bu bağlamda sosyal sınıf pozisyonu, eğitim ve yaş faktörleri sosyal transformasyonu şekillendirmekte ve cinsiyetler arasındaki otomobile ulaşma uçurumunu azaltarak kadın sürücülerin sayısını arttırmaktadır.

Kadınların sürücülük deneyimleri içindeki en önemli sorunların başında erkek sürücülerin tacizkâr davranışlarına maruz kalma gelmektedir. Bu durum kadın sürücülerin sürücülük davranışlarını olumsuz etkilemekte geleneksel erkeklik normları kadınların kendilerine olan güvenlerini azaltmaktadır.

Anket ve yüz yüze görüşmelerde elde edilen sonuçlara göre kadın ve erkek sürücülerin “iyi” ve “kötü” sürücülük özellikleri ile ilgili tanımları örtüşmektedir. İyi sürücülük özellikleri “kurallara uyma”, saygılı olma”, “dikkatli/tedbirli olma” ve “bilinçli” olarak tanımlanırken, kötü sürücülük özellikleri ise “kurallara uymama” ve “saygısızlık” olarak tanımlanmıştır. Bununla birlikte kadın katılımcıların çoğu “yavaş” araç kullanmayı ise kötü sürücülük özelliği olarak belirtmişlerdir. Neredeyse tüm katılımcılar kadın ve erkeklerin farklı araç kullanma özellikleri olduğunu düşünmektedirler ancak katılımcıların kadın sürücülük özellikleri ile ilgili algılarının toplumsal cinsiyet kalıpyargılarından etkilendiği görülmektedir. Çıkan sonuçlara göre kadın sürücülerin sürücülük özellikleri hem kadınlar hem erkekler tarafından çoğunlukla “zayıf sürücülük özellikleri” olarak etiketlenmektedir. Bu durum erkekler kadar kadınların da kadın sürücüler hakkında negatif kalıpyargılarının olduğunu göstermektedir. Araştırmada yapılan anket ve yüz yüze mülakatlara katılan kadın ve erkeklerin büyük bölümü kendi sürücülük özellikleri ile hemcinslerinin sürücülük özellikleri arasında fark olduğunu düşünmektedir. Erkek katılımcılar genel olarak kurallara uygun araç kullandıklarını ve diğerlerine saygılı davrandıklarını ifade

ederken diğerk erkek sürücülerin kurallara uymadıklarını ve sayısız araç kullandıklarını belirtmişlerdir. Kadın katılımcılarsa erkek katılımcılar gibi kendilerinin pozitif özelliklerini öne çıkartmışlar ancak özelliklerini aşırı biçimde detaylandırmışlardır. Örneğin, kendi sürücülük özelliklerini tanımlarken çoğunlukla “hızlı”, “stresiz”, “kararlı”, “deneyimli”, “güvenilir”, “iyi park edebilen”, “yokuşta araç kaydırmayan” gibi erkek sürücülerin özellikleri ile özdeşleşen sürücülük özelliklerini sıralamışlardır. Ancak diğerk kadın sürücülerin sürücülük özellikleri konusunda “yavaş”, “dikkatli”, “stresli”, “kararsız”, “tedirgin”, “park ve manevra kabiliyeti düşük” ve “deneyimsiz” tanımlarını kullanmışlardır. Bu aşırı detaylı tanımlar kadın sürücülerin kendilerine olan güvenlerinin eksikliğine işaret etmektedir ve bilinçli veya bilinçsiz olarak negatif “kadın sürücü” kalıpyargısının içselleştirilmesi ve yeniden üretilmesine katkı sağladıklarını göstermektedir. Bulgulara göre kadın sürücüler “iyi sürücülük” özelliklerini geleneksel eril normların perspektifinden tanımlamakta ve üretmektedirler. Bir başka deyişle “erkek gibi” araba kullanmak kadın sürücülerini “iyi ve saygın” sürücü konumuna getirmektedir.

Çalışmanın sonuçlarından biri de kadın sürücülerin erkek egemen bir alan olan trafikte var olabilmek için çeşitli baş etme stratejileri geliştirdikleridir. Erkek sürücülerin tacizi ve saldırgan davranışlarından korunmak amacıyla kadın sürücüler çoğunlukla geçe geç saatlerde araba kullanmayı tercih etmeyerek, şehrin bilmedikleri ve periferide kalan semtlerinde araç kullanmayarak kendilerini korumaya çalışmaktadırlar. Bu sonuçlara göre kadın sürücüler taciz edilme endişesi nedeniyle kırılgan hale gelmekte ve bu durum araç kullanmalarını kısıtlamaktadır. Bir başka baş etme stratejisi ise kadın sürücülerin kendilerini “erkek gibi” araç kullanmakla tanımlamalarıdır. Yukarıda da belirtildiği gibi erkek gibi araç kullanmak düşüncesi ve davranışı kadın sürücüler açısından erkek egemen alanda kabul görmek ve saygınlık kazanmak anlamına gelmektedir. Bu nedenle erkeksi davranış ve sürüş özelliklerini benimseyerek bir açıdan eril davranışları taklit etmektedirler. Ancak eril davranışları taklit ederek araç kullanmak ve kendi hemcinslerinin araç kullanma özelliklerini olumsuzlayarak hemcinsleri ile aralarında bir hiyerarşi oluşturmakta, ataerkil ideolojiyi güçlendirerek, genç ve deneyimsiz kadın sürücülerin trafikte daha da kırılgan hale gelmelerine neden olmaktadır.

Tüm bu bulgular ışığında çalışmanın feminist literatüre olumlu katkı sağladığı düşünülmektedir. Kadınların erkek egemen alanlarda geliştirdikleri savunma mekanizmaları ve bu mekanizmalar içinde uyguladıkları stratejilerle ilgili iyi bir örnek olması açısından önemlidir ve benzer alanlarda yapılacak çalışmalar açısından da yarar sağlayacaktır. Bununla birlikte, kadın sürülerle ilgili kalıpyargıların içselleştirilmesi ve yeniden üretilmesi ile ilgili olarak özellikle nicel ve karşılaştırmalı çalışmaların yapılması, yaş, bölgesel farklılıklar gibi değişkenlerin de dikkate alınması daha derinlemesine ve detaylı bilgiye ulaşılmasında faydalı olacaktır. Türkiye’de profesyonel sürücülük ile ilgili sektörlerde kadınlar neredeyse hiç yer almamaktadır. Bu açıdan “kadın sürücü” kalıpyargısının azaltılması ulaşım ile ilgili pek çok sektörde kadınların da istihdamına katkı sağlayacaktır. Toplumda trafikte kadın sürücülerle ilgili algıların eril normlardan arındırılması ve normalleşmesini sağlamak üzere sivil toplumun da aktif olarak çalışması, çeşitli farkındalık kampanyalarıyla medya sektörü ile ortak çalışmalar yaparak bu sürece katkı sağlaması gerekmektedir. Bu alanda yapılacak tüm akademik ve sivil toplum çalışmalarının katkılarıyla Türkiye’de negatif “kadın sürücü” algısının azalması ve sürücülüğün toplumsal cinsiyet kalıpyargılarından arındırılması sağlanabilir.

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