



Reading woman subject from the point view of neoliberalism in Turkey: #sendeanlat (tell your story) case study¹

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Abstract

Neoliberalism is a concept is used to explain the changes in capitalism such as saving crisis and profitability in the early 1970s. While referring to the difference between government and governance, it also fortifies a state's influence on administrative processes by minimizing it. Namely, neoliberalism problematizes the state concept and delimits it by calling individual choices. On the other hand, it includes administrative forms which support normalizations of both institutions and individuals according to market. In this study, 600 K tweets sent under #sendeanlat (tellyourstory) hashtag in which women tell their personal violence experiences will be analyzed to inspect security, violence and woman subject from the point view of neoliberalism, and their positioning to each other. As a result, the question what kind of solutions could be producible against violence mechanisms which are both reason and result of neoliberal political economy. The method of this study includes both quantitative and qualitative techniques. For qualitative analysis 1200 ranked tweet and for quantitative analysis, 600K tweets are inspected. Tweets are archived by using R Statistical Software via Twitter Rest API and quantitative techniques are applied by using the same software environment. Ranked tweets are coded with MAXQDA qualitative analysis software by using open coding approach.

Keywords: Neoliberalism; Security; Violence; Woman; Social Media.

1. Introduction

Neoliberalism is a term used to grasp the regime change in capitalism that began with the crisis of accumulation and profitability of the early 1970s. The role and responsibilities of the measures taken by states for women vary according to the economic political structural changes of the countries of the world over a certain period of time. For example, the application of the principle of positive discrimination against women, such as the provision of transportation services provided by public means, provides the opportunity for women to walk downhill late in the evening. But these practices did not reduce violence against women, but on the contrary they reproduced gender inequality. The government has adopted more populist policies in reducing violence against women. These policies continued to escalate the existing patriarchal violence. Neoliberalism has been tried for many years and then left a painful world, also known as brutal capitalism, 19th-century liberalism is a form of re-imagined. In this context, it can be seen that when the historical development of liberalism is examined, the resultant neoliberals become

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dominant in the system, first of classical liberals, then of neoclassics, then of Keynesians, and finally of liberal thinkers in different historical periods and different possibilities.

One of the key features of neoliberalism is an extreme faith in markets. We saw in classical liberalism this faith in markets and their moral necessity, but it applied to the regulation of private goods and services. For neoliberals, all of social life should be organized as markets. Treanor (2005, pp.6) states that “the belief in the market, in market forces, has separated from the factual production of goods and services. It has become an end in itself, and this is one reason to speak of neoliberalism and not of liberalism”. Harvey (2005) and Polanyi (2001) also support this view in the style of the following arguments. According to Harvey (2005, pp. 3), neoliberalism holds that the social good will be maximized by maximizing the reach and frequency of market transactions, and it seeks to bring all human action into the domain of the market. Polanyi (2001, pp. 75-76) states that “for neoliberals, then, it is a moral imperative to commodify everything and create markets for their sale. Thus, health, education, welfare, and pollution, for example, which were not originally produced to be exchanged, have all been transformed into fictitious commodities”. In short, the invisible hand of the market imposes sanctions on every part of the woman body.

The most concrete clad in flesh and bone view of goods in fiction no doubt blessed is the female body. It's not just of the body, however, neoliberal economy blessed with all the other as a life preserver in a functional economic political position should indicate that. The female body receives political decisions of the Government in launching the market circulation in an indirect way it seems possible to argue that it is effective. It's like a stream rising fashion every second emerging types of violence against women (physical, sexual, psychological and symbolic) increase reinforces the above claim.

Neoliberalism is possible to read in five frames. These: Ideology, policy, state form, program, governmentality. These frameworks are discussed in detail in Larner (2005) and Kim England and Kevin Ward (2011). It is possible to see violence against the female body as a neoliberal political form. Because it is a policy adopted by the state that the government does not take adequate measures against the existing structural patriarchal violence. If the state wants it, it can reverse this policy instantly.

However, when neoliberalism is approached from two sociological and political perspectives, it can be said that. A sociological perspective that accounts for the politico-economic contingencies of the New Economy elucidates the mechanisms underlying key changes to work that affect levels of (in) security. In particular, by foregrounding the exploitive nature of the employment relationship a political economy schema imagines insecurity as a persistent feature of work relations due to capital's greater structural power. Clement and Myles (1997) suggest that workers represent the class that has no command over the means of production, the labour power of others, or the means of realizing its own labour. They ultimately lack the ability to define the conditions and outcomes of labor market exchanges on their own terms. According to Scott-Marshall (2007, pp. 33-34), a political economy perspective also brings into view how the amount of insecurity in the labor market varies according to conditions in the wider socio-economic environment. During an economic monopoly, for example specific protective institutions (the welfare state, labor unions, and the firm) functioned to redress the power imbalance between workers and owners. Although business retained its structural advantage the largesse of the period fixed the parties in roles of mutual exchange modifying the degree of work-related insecurity in the labor market.

When continuing to considering from a political economy perspective, it has been seen that the violence to woman's body concentrated on the public space is not a coincidence. To design the woman's body extremely meek in the political space, but that much productive in the economic one as requested will be undoubtedly extremely easy due to the political decisions taken by the governments. There has been almost no security in the public service vehicles and on the streets. And this situation having spread in the social structure of the “normalizing” arguments actually is not a new occasion, though it is possible to explain the reason for being that much aggravated with

this new political economy. Due to this possibility, it is also likely to claim the followings. That the structure of masculine thinking that they have right on the woman's body, which is considered as backup labor force, pulled into the public space when requested and pushed to outside of the public space (by creating a different statement) when not requested, accompanies with the economic/political and social/cultural and recently legal structure) turns the security of the woman's body upside down. The peculiar aspect of increasing insecurity is that also other women are quite functional upon the spread of this insecurity. On the study named as "Women at the end of their rope", the women, who have committed an offense and are in the prison, are sentenced again and again and the only concrete thing that they could do is that they don't have any chance than being an object of punishment economy. In this insecurity, the woman develops new management practices (personal precautions) such as not going out alone, preferring to wearing closed clothes not displaying the body, pretending as if she is talking with her father, putting men shoes in front of the door etc.

Foucault (2006, pp. 39) clarifies the subject with punishment economy supporting Collier, who explains the reason that the necessary precautions are not taken to prevent this type of violence on the act of violence to women is due to the government's cutting down the expenses. Foucault explains the punishment system by telling the torture made to Damians on the book of *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. The torture made to Damians expresses the symbolic correction of the guilty body (as a result of materialistic falsity). Though the practice of punishment based upon torture is replaced by punishment system based on discipline in the nineteenth century. The body is not anymore the main objective for terrorizing with punishment. Thus it has been meek rather than a punishable object and it has been rendered as regulatable at the places such as jail, mental hospitals, quarantine, and hospital.

According to Foucault, the reason for jailing is to make people adapt themselves in a homogeneous union by separating them, thus to capture the individual. Along with the eighteenth century, worker and bourgeois class is created and the society is recreated again with a different rulership statement and with the statements that labor is seen as a power. By changing the focus of the punishment from the body to the mind, this new power's sense of punishment based on the discipline shows to the criminals that what they do is more painful than the pleasure taken in is certain.

The existing relationship between neoliberalism and violence is directly related to the system of rule that neoliberalism constructs, justifies and defends in advancing its hegemonies of ideology, of policy and programme, of state form, of governmentality and ultimately of discourse. Neoliberalism is a context in which the establishment, maintenance and extension of hierarchical orderings of social relations are re-created, sustained and intensified. Accordingly, neoliberalisation must be considered as an integral part of the moment of violence in its capacity to create social divisions within the constellations of experiences that delineate place and across the stories-so-far of space. Violence creates a unique inequality. At the same time inequality creates a new violence. As Springer (2011, pp. 138) stated that we can regard a concern for understanding the causality of violence as being a consideration that posits where neoliberalism might make its entry into this bolstering systematic exchange between inequality and violence

Empirical studies have shown that the neoliberal economy has increased inequality among individuals in politics. But it is important that these problematic policies do not contain violence ontological. Springer (2011, pp. 139) claims that inequality alone is about the metrics and measuring of disparity, however qualified, while the link between inequality and violence is typically treated as an assessment of the 'validity' of a causal relationship, where the link may or may not be understood to take on multiple dimensions (including temporally, spatiality, economics, politics, culture, etc.). However, the point is that inequality and violence are mutually constitutive, which is precisely what Galtung (1969) had in mind when he coined the term 'structural violence'. Inequality begets violence, and violence produces further inequalities. Therefore, if we want to disempower the abhorrent and alienating effects of either and rescind the domination they both encourage, we

need to drop the calculative approaches and consider violence and inequality together as an enclosed and resonatin system, that is, as a particular moment.

This assertion forms just a small part of the scientific study carrying on. The study includes the analysis of tweets written after the murder of a young woman, who is an undergraduate student living in Turkey, died by being burned at a public service vehicle. And the study's methods and research are summarized below.

2. Purpose

After murder of Ozgecan Aslan women shared their personal narratives on Twitter under #sendeanlat hastag. The aim of this study is examine the violence-construct and neoliberalism relations.

3. Method and material

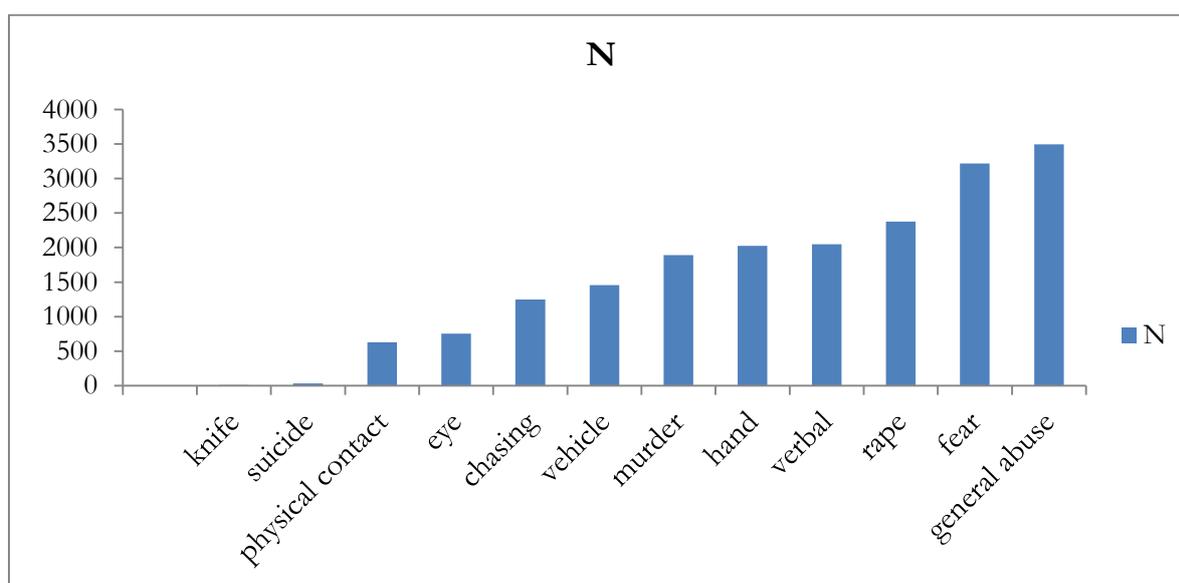
3.1. Data collection

Between 14-19 February 2014, 614703 tweets were collected with R statistical software. First it is selected unique tweets (not retweet) in this dataset. After that based on user's meta-data we exclude tweets whose writers don't have location information in their profile and who don't have a profile picture. Consequently it is reached a sample consists of 56583 tweets.

3.2. Data analysis

It is ordered this sample by their retweet counts and coded with MAXQDA software with an open coding approach in order to finalize our coding system. Then, in R statistical software environment it is labeled sample with violence location, violence time, stressed subject, violence kind, stressed profession with violence and expression of tweet text variables.

4. Findings

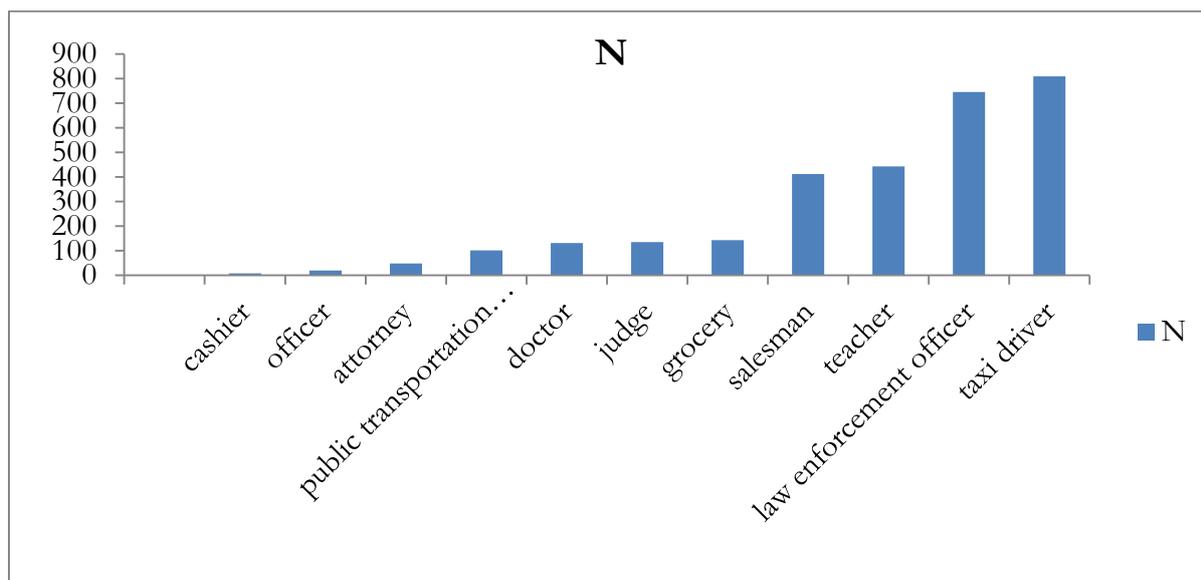


Graphic 1. The grafic showing the frequency distribution of violence in tweets

Graphic 1 shows the kinds of violence in the narratives. There are 10412 tweets related to abuse. Rape (2375) and murder (1890) are other prominent violence kinds in the narratives. Last, we couldn't identify any kinds of violence narratives in 37404 tweets. Discarded tweet about the violence is as follows:

#sendeanlat (tell your story) Walking on the stairs behind me, harasses upstairs I with digit in front of me so I leave (General Abuse).

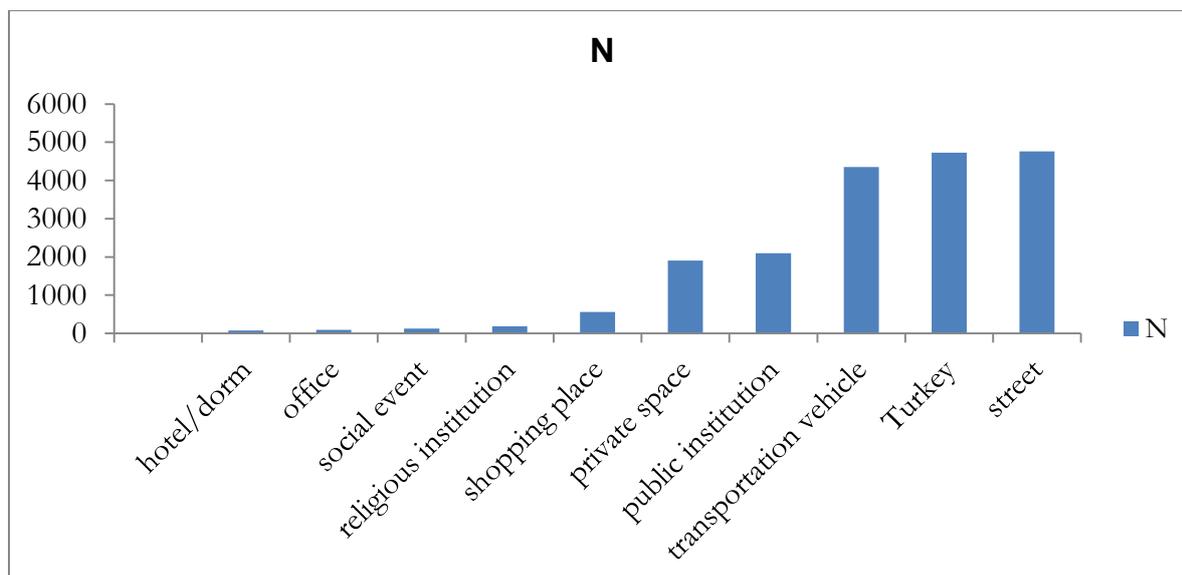
#sendeanlat (tell your story) for being a woman: I have a slap-kick. I've been manually to harassment in violation of my desire. Park mocked me. We asked for the idea. I was afraid of being kidnappe (Manual Harassment).



Graphic 2. The grafic showing the frequency distribution of profession in tweets

In this graphic the professions which mentioned in the narratives are shown. Taxi drivers and law enforcement officers are followed by teacher in the graphic. Discarded tweet about the profession is as follows:

#sendeanlat (tell your story) I will post a reluctance message on my plate of cabin (Taxi Driver).



Graphics 3. The grafic showing the frequency distribution of location in tweets

In this graphic the locations stressed in narratives are shown. One of the most stressed location is Turkey itself. Besides from Turkey transportation vehicles (4353) and streets (4765) are the most stressed locations. Discarded tweet about the location is as follows:

#sendeanlat (tell your story) I am a woman and I keep my phone call last on the street before I set my most trustworthy man to 155 (Street).

#sendeanlat (tell your story) I just do not know if I will fill my bag with stuff because I'm a woman. I make a spontaneous choice every time (Transportation Vehicle).

Table 1. The cross distribution of violence-time code

Violencesub	Time		
	daytime	night	sum
General Abuse	28.49	71.51	100.00
Hand	16.45	83.55	100.00
Knife	00.00	100.00	100.00
Murder	30.56	69.44	100.00
Physical Contact	30.95	69.05	100.00
Eye	16.98	83.02	100.00
Fear	9.58	90.42	100.00
Suicide	0.00	100.00	100.00
Vehicle	16.10	83.73	100.00
Verbal	18.27	81.73	100.00

Table 1 violence-time crosstab shows that night are stressed more than any other time in the narratives. Fear violence is stressed nearly 90.42% in the row.

Table 2. The cross distribution of violence - occupation code

Violence Sub	Profession											Sum
	attorney	cashier	doc.	grocery	judge	law enf. officer	officer	p. driver	salesman	t.driver	teacher	
General Abuse	2.64	0.00	4.40	4.11	1.76	33.43	0.59	3.23	13.20	15.25	21.41	100
Hand	1.46	0.73	5.11	8.03	7.30	17.52	0.73	4.38	11.68	23.36	19.71	100
Murder	0.00	0.00	3.33	5.00	10.0	26.67	0.00	10.0	13.33	16.67	15.00	100
Physical Contact	0.00	0.00	0.00	11.3	4.55	20.45	4.55	2.27	11.36	25.00	20.45	100
Eye	2.56	0.00	7.69	7.69	2.56	7.69	0.00	2.56	15.38	30.77	23.08	100
Fear	0.00	0.45	0.65	11.1	1.31	10.46	0.00	5.88	12.42	49.67	7.84	100
Suicide	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	25.0	0.00	0.00	25.0	25.00	0.00	25.00	100
Vehicle	1.27	0.00	0.00	3.18	0.66	41.40	0.00	1.91	8.92	40.76	1.91	100
Verbal	0.42	0.00	3.12	3.75	3.12	41.88	0.00	7.50	11.25	16.88	11.88	100

Table 2 violence-profession crosstab shows that law enforcement officers are stressed more than any other profession in the narratives. Psychological violence is stressed with taxi drivers with nearly 50% in the row. Taxi drivers are dominant in every row and the most mentioned in vehicle abuses as expected. On the other hand, rape narratives or narrative mentions rape stressed law enforcement officers and judges together with 71%.

Table 3. The cross distribution of location- subject code

Location	Subject				Sum
	woman	man	child	lgbt	
Hotel/Dorm	53.33	42.22	4.44	0.00	100.00
Office	44.44	51.11	4.44	0.00	100.00
Private Space	39.28	49.23	11.31	0.18	100.00
Public Institution	32.88	55.61	11.29	0.23	100.00
Religious Institution	22.69	63.03	14.29	0.00	100.00
Shopping Place	25.34	61.85	12.53	0.27	100.00
Social Event	34.48	58.62	6.90	0.00	100.00
Street	37.94	46.90	15.04	0.11	100.00
Transportation Vehicle	36.99	57.96	4.81	0.24	100.00
Turkey	68.80	23.68	7.20	0.32	100.00

Table 3 location-subject crosstab, it is interesting that woman subject mentioned with ‘Turkey’ the most besides from hotel/dormitory. In every other location man subject stressed.

Table 4. Types of violence - subject codes cross distribution

ViolenceSub	Subject				Sum
	woman	man	child	lgbt	
General Abuse	43.08	42.66	13.66	0.61	100.00
Hand	48.52	41.71	9.53	0.24	100.00
Knife	25.00	50.00	25.00	0.00	100.00
Murder	70.24	23.64	5.70	0.41	100.00
Physical Contact	38.08	47.41	13.99	0.52	100.00
Eye	33.26	48.12	18.41	0.21	100.00
Fear	45.23	39.87	14.79	0.11	100.00
Suicide	46.15	50.00	3.85	0.00	100.00
Vehicle	40.38	54.23	5.25	0.15	100.00
Verbal	39.85	47.35	12.72	0.07	100.00

In table 4 violence-subject crosstab, one can see that woman and man subject mentioned nearly the same in general abuse narratives. However, when people expressing narratives more specifically these percentages changed. For example, while women subject stressed in knife and physical contact narratives, in others man subject stressed more. On the other hand, when people expressing psychological violence man subject is in the first place in every row.

5. Conclusion

While trying to read violence against women from a neoliberal economy perspective in this paper, it is possible to claim that neoliberal economies build over masculine and conservative construct makes insecurity of women worse. It is possible to say that, even writing these, violence against women is not related to time and location. At the same time it is related to power relations.

Briefly, it is possible to express the followings based on the graphics above: The leading types of violence exposed by women in Turkey are general abuse, psychological (fear) and physical contact (groping and verbal abuse). It is not surprising that the leading job, which people committing violence to the women have, is taxi driving. That the lawyers and the teachers take part among people implementing violence illustrates the changes on ontology and epistemology of these jobs. The falsification of the meanings assigned to these jobs leads to structural alterations. Neoliberal economy deepens the structural violence existing politically. Meanwhile, it paves the way for learning the violence collectively by falsifying the safety representatives. This causes a sort of normalization of the violence. In other words, it reverses the security mechanisms. It is rather meaningful that the teachers are in the pioneer position on mass education and the lawyers have a position in act of violence.

That the act of violence mostly happens in the public transportations, on the streets and in the country points out that the violence occurs in the public space. This point obliges women to have a managerial mentality by themselves on the living, employment-working and freedom problems in a country where their security on the public space has been damaged. That the government should make a solution urgently to the acts of violence increasing for a long time is expected. However, the government has raised the issue of marrying the person with her rapist on the recent abuse and rape cases. That the prohibition of the abortion right on which the government has the most concrete possessive impact upon the women's bodies causes to the usage of the violence mechanisms as a requirable edification technique might be claimed. In other words, the violence and insecurity incorporated into the patriarchal structure has both increased the violence and has rendered the women helpless.

Because the study still continues, the best words to say are governments should change their understandings that women are goods as soon as possible. And policies should be developed that women are not usable existences in war, crisis and social transformation periods; in contrary they are primary factors who could produce solution these critical times.

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