

Feminist Politika Teorisi

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Giriş

Batı politika teorisi, tarihinin büyük bir kısmında kadınları göz ardı etmiştir. Kimin erke sahip olduğu ya da olması gerektiğine dair çözümlerinde belli belirsizdir. Nitekim bizi fark etmeye tenezzül ettiğinde de genellikle kamusal sorunlardan dışlanmamızı ve eve kapanmamızı beyan etmiştir. Münhasıran ciddi düşünmeye layık politik hayvanlar olarak nadiren kabul görmekteyiz. Kadınlar ve erkekler arasındaki muhtemel eşitsizlikler pratikte önemsiz veya teoride çok az ilgi çeken bir konu olarak görülürken, insan ırkının yarısını oluşturan kadınların bu şekilde hariç tutulması; bugün bile çoğunlukla, sıradan bir gözden kaçırma olduğundan hareketle ya devam ettirilmekte ya da reddedilmektedir. Buna karşın, çoğu feminist politika teorisi politik çözümlerinde kadınları ve kadınların durumunu merkeze alarak, neredeyse her toplumda erkeklerin kadınlara kıyasla neden daha fazla erk ve ayrıcalık sahibi olduğunu ve bunun nasıl değiştirilebileceğini sormaktadır. Bu yüzden feminist politika teorisi, sorgulamak ve değiştirmek için toplumu anlamaya çabalayan teoriyle meşgul olur; amacı soyut bilgiye ulaşmak değil, feminist politika uygulamalarını yönlendirmek ve belirlemek için kullanılacak bilgi oluşturmaktır.

“Feminist” terimi, kadınların erkeklerle eşit yasal ve politik haklara sahip olmasının desteklenmesi anlamıyla İngilizcede ilk kez 1880 yılında kullanılmıştır. Anlamı bu zamandan

itibaren evrimleşmekle birlikte hâlâ hararetli bir şekilde tartışılmaktadır. Bu kitapta feminist terimini kadınlar ve erkekler arasındaki ilişkilerde bir eşitsizlik, boyun eğme veya baskı olduğunu gören, bunu doğanın bir gerçeği olarak değil de siyasal iktidarın bir sorunu olarak algılayan ve bu sorunun politika teorisi ve uygulamaları için önemli olduğunu düşünen her teori ve teoriyene atıfta bulunmak için en geniş ve genel anlamlarıyla kullanacağım. Ayrıca, geçici bir süre için, "kadına" ilişkin anlamlarını ve bu anlamların oluşum biçimlerini araştırmayla meşgul olan ama "kadınlar"dan veya "erkekler"den sabit politik kimlikler olarak bahsetmemizi reddeden çağdaş yazarları dâhil etmek için de kullanacağım.

Aşağıdaki bölümler Orta Çağ'dan günümüze feminist politika teorisi tarihi ile ilgilidir. Bu bölümlerin, hem her şeyi dâhil edecek kadar alan olmaması, hem de feminist düşüncenin zengin mirasının hâlâ yeniden keşfedilmesi sebebiyle geniş kapsamlı olma iddiası yoktur. Geçmiş anlayışımız ve geçmişe olan ilgimizin, şu anki endişelerimiz tarafından kaçınılmaz olarak bir süzgeçten geçirildiğini ve bu endişelerimizin daha önce olan olayların hangi küçük kısımlarının hatırlanacağını ve tarih olarak sunulacağını belirlemeye yardım ettiğini unutmamak önemlidir. Bu yüzden, bu kitapta bahsi geçen yazarların fikirlerinin bazıları –zar zor– zamanla geçmişten günümüze gelmiş, bazılarıysa günümüzde hayat bulmuştur. İkinci baskı olan bu kitap, önceden söylemek istediklerini şu an yineleyen ve kavrayış biçimleri feminist düşünce için bir bütün olarak gittikçe önem kazanan siyah feministlere daha fazla yer vermesi açısından ilk baskıdan farklıdır: Feminist düşüncedeki son gelişmelerin kitaba dâhil edilmesi de birçok bölümün tekrar düşünüldüğünü gösterir. Özellikle de post-modernizm tartışması kitabın sadece son bölümünde işlenen bir konu olmaktan çok kitabın bütününe etkileyen bir teori olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır.

Günümüzde, bir "büyük anlatı" oluşturmak için yapılan her girişim, genellikle hem yanlış yöne sevk eden hem de geçerliliğini yitirmiş olarak görülmektedir. Üstelik feminist fikirlerin apaçık doğrusal gelişmeye ya da kümülatif ilerlemeye dayanarak incelenemeyeceği de zaten uzun zamandır ortada. Kadın yazarlar seslerini duyurabilmek için genellikle özel bir çaba sarf etmek zorunda kalmışlar ve "kabul görmüş" beyaz, orta sınıf erkek yazarların aksine; fikirleri genellikle tarih sayfasından silinmiştir. Bu, yeni nesil feministlerin çoğu zaman neredeyse sıfırdan başlamak zorunda kaldıkları anlamına gelir: Ayrıca, bazı ilk yazılanlar her ne kadar naif ve basit görünseler de zaman zaman çarpıcı bir biçimde "zamanın ötesinde" olarak dikkat çekebilir, üstelik bugünkü yaşamımızla ilgili de olabilirler. Ayrıca bunlar yüzyıllara ışık tutan ve kadınların gerçek tecrübelerine dayanan bir tutku ve kıvrak zekâyla yazılmışlardır. Mary Wollstonecraft'ın kendi yaşamını düzene koyarken çektiği zorluklar, Elizabety Cady Stanton'ın kadınların ev ve aile hayatındaki konumuna tahammülsüzlüğü veya Simone de Beauvoir'ın "saygınlığı" reddetmesi sadece ilgi çekici biyografik gerçekler değildirler aynı zamanda hem teorilerini hem de onları algılayışımızı etkileyebilirler.

Feminist düşüncenin gelişimi sadece inişli çıkışlı olmakla kalmamış, her zaman derin teorik anlaşmazlıklar da içermiştir. Bu anlaşmazlıklar, kadınların farklı toplum ve durumlardaki çeşitli ihtiyaç ve algılarını kısmen yansıtmalarıyla birlikte rakip ideolojik geleneklerdeki feminizmin köklerinden kaynaklanmaktadır.

Farklı feminizm anlayışlarını, bu anlayışların sözde teorik başlangıç noktalarına göre sınıflandırmak kabul görmüş olsa da feminist düşüncenin zengin karmaşıklığına düzeni dayatmaya yönelik bu gibi girişimlerin, onun değişken, parçalı ve bağlantılı tabiatının anlaşılmasını güçleştirdiğinde büyük ölçüde hemfikir olunmuştur. Yine de görünen o ki, bir yerden başlamamız gerekiyor; sınıflandırma özenle ele alırsa ve

sınırlılıkların doğruluğu kabul edilirse, bu, feminist fikirler labirentinde uygun bir başlangıç noktası temin edebilir. Bu yüzden, aşağıdaki bölümler feminist düşüncenin ana akımlarının bir kısmının şartlara bağlı tanımlanması esas almıştır. Ancak, "gerçekliğin" tam olarak bu şekilde sunulamayacağı ve beklenmedik yerlerde fikirler ortaya çıktıkça genel kalıpların alt üst olduğu asla unutulmamalıdır, tek tek yazarların bile çoğu zaman birden fazla birbiriyle çelişkili düşünceye tutunduğu da ortada.

Bu sınırlayıcı koşulları unutmadan şunu görebiliriz: Feminist anlayışın en eski ifadeleri kadınların değerini belirtmek için genellikle dinî geleneklere dayanırken, eşit haklara ilişkin seküler liberal fikirler; on yedinci yüzyıldan itibaren giderek daha fazla geçerli olmuş ve feministler tarafından kadınların eğitim, çalışma, siyasal katılım ve tam yasal eşitlik haklarına sahip olduklarını savunmak için kullanılmışlardır. Mevcut topluma göre eşit haklara dair bu talepler apaçık görünmektedir. Geçmişte kuvvetli bir şekilde karşı çıkılmasına rağmen bu hakların bugün Batı'da toplumsal cinsiyet meseleleri konusundaki kamusal tartışmalarda bir çeşit "gıyabi düzenleme" işlevi gördüğü yaygın biçimde kabul edilmiştir. Bununla birlikte kadınlar yasal haklar elde etse de dezavantajlı konumda kalmaya devam etmektedirler ve görüldüğü üzere, durumlarının mantığı, sıklıkla "liberal feminist" tartışmaları çok daha radikal yönlerle itmiştir.

En aşağı on dokuzuncu yüzyılın başından beri, bazı feministler amaçlarının, eşit olmayan sınıflı toplumda eşit haklar aramak olmaması gerektiğini, kadınlar için gerçek eşitliğin rekabet ve bireycilikten çok dayanışma ve kolektivizm üzerine kurulu bir çeşit sosyalist toplumu gerektirdiğini savunmaktadırlar. Ayrıca bazı feministler de Karl Marx'ın fikirlerinin kadınlara yapılan baskıyı ve sömürüyü anlamının ve bunları ortadan kaldırmanın anahtarı olduğunu iddia etmişlerdir. Bugün, sosyalizm yakın geçmişe kıyasla pek moda olmasa da

feminist amaçların geniş sosyo-ekonomik değişimden ayrıştırılamayacağı inancı feminist düşüncenin önemli bir parçası olmaya devam etmektedir.

Bazı feministler "erkek egemen" ideolojilere dahil olmayı talep ederken, birçoğu da uzun süredir kadınların belli başlı hususlarda erkeklerden hem farklı hem de üstün olduklarını ve karşılaştıkları sorunun ayrımcılık ya da kapitalizm değil, erkek iktidarı olduğunu savunmaktadır. 1960'ların sonlarında, bu fikirler "radikal feminizm" olarak bilinen anlayışı oluşturmuştur. Radikal feminizm; kadınların kendi deneyim ve ihtiyaçlarını temel almıştır ve *patriarka* kavramını erkek iktidarının ekonomik ve politik faaliyetlerin kamusal dünyasıyla sınırlı olmadığını, en yakın dostluklar dahil kadın-erkek arasındaki tüm ilişkileri karakterize ettiğini ve medeniyetimizin bütününcü de sürdürüldüğünü savunmak için kullanmıştır. Bu açıdan bakıldığında aile, kadınların cinselliğinin kontrol edilmesiyle de varlığını sürdüren patriarkal gücün kilit noktasıdır. "Kişisel olan politiktir" iddiası, politika teorisi varsayımlarına yönelik büyük bir meydan okuma içermekle feminist düşünce kapsamında, iktidarın ve politikanın doğasına dair yeniden bir genel değerlendirme yapılmasına katkıda bulunmuştur.

Yeni radikal feminizm yaklaşımının pek tedbirli olmayan bazı destekçileri, kadınların deneyimlerinin ulus, sınıf, etnik köken ve zamanın sınırlarını aşarak onları bir ortak kız kardeşlik çatısı altında bir araya getirdiğini savunmuşlardır. Birçok beyaz feminizm anlayışı gibi, bu analiz de siyah kadınların deneyimlerini büyük oranda görmezden gelmiş ya da ötekileştirmiştir. Görünen o ki, siyah kadınlar uzun bir süre kendi durumlarının önemini duyurmaya çalıştılar; son yıllarda da siyah feminizm toplumsal cinsiyet, sınıf ve "ırk"¹ kavramları-

¹ "Irk" kelimesini tırnak içine almak özü itibariyle anlamlı ya da biyolojiyi temel alan bir kategoriden ziyade toplumsal olarak inşa edilmiş bir kategori olduğunu belirtme yöntemi olarak kullanılmaktadır.

nın etkileşim içinde olduğu karmaşık yolları keşfetmeye çalışan bağımsız bir teorik yaklaşım olarak ortaya çıktı. Feminizmin bütünüyle "erkek egemen" düşünceye meydan okurken, siyah feminizm de sözde evrensel feminist kavramların birçoğundaki zayıf noktaları ortaya çıkarmıştır. Siyah feminizm, "ırk" kavramının sadece siyah bireyleri değil, hepimizi ilgilendiren bir mesele olduğuna işaret etmektedir.

Siyah feminizmin kadınlar arasındaki farklılıklara dair analizi, feministler tarafından postmodernizm olarak bilinen felsefe bünyesinde son zamanlarda etkili olan bir çizgide çok daha ileriye gitmiştir. Bu yaklaşım, "gerçekliğin" sadece var olmak ve anlaşılmayı beklemekten çok, dil ve kültür ile yaratıldığını savunarak, bilginin ve etrafımızdaki dünyanın doğasına dair "sağduyu" varsayımlarına yönelik sorunların derinliğine inen bir itirazı şart koşar. Bu açıdan, bir kadın (ya da erkek) olmanın anlamı daima değişir ve siyasal sorulara tarafsızca verilecek doğru cevaplar yoktur. Bu durum, kadınların eşit fırsatları hak ettiğini, patriarkal baskı yüzünden acı çektiğini ya da sadece bir sosyalist toplumda özgür olacaklarını iddia etmek şöyle dursun, "kadınlar" veya "erkekler" hakkında değişmez politik kişilikler olarak konuşamayacağımız anlamına gelir. Ancak, toplumsal cinsiyet kimliklerinin hangi yollarla oluşturulduğunun analizini yaparak bunu tartışabiliriz. Bu görüşlerin çağdaş feminist düşünce üzerindeki etkisi derindir ve "postmodernist" etiketini benimseyen kişilerin hayli ötesine geçmiştir. Bununla birlikte mevcut durumu sorgulayan her tür girişimi meşru bulmayan elitist, politik olmayan ve doğası gereği muhafazakâr olan bir teori olarak; şiddetle direnmiştir. Birçok eleştirmen bu nedenle "postmodern feminizm" in aslında iki zıt anlamdaki sözcüğün bir araya gelmesinden ötürü -bambaşka bir anlamı barındıran- çelişkili bir ifade olduğunu söyler.

Geçmişte olduğu gibi günümüzde de feminizm, kabul görmüş bir dizi gerçekten ziyade, sert münakaşaların yapıldı-

ğı bir alandır. Temel teorik görüşler; örneğin feministlerin enerjilerini geleneksel siyaset, sendikalar, anti-ırkçı hareketler, dayanışma grupları, edebi metinlerin yapı-sökümünden hangisine yönlendireceklerini ve erkeklerle veya salt kadın örgütleriyle çalışıp çalışmayacaklarına odaklanmayı etkileyecektir. Bu süregelen tartışma bağlamında, daha önce yazılanlar katıyen "kullanılmayan/unutulmuş teoriler" değildir, çünkü bunların ilgilendiği meseleler genellikle hâlâ çözümlenmemiştir. Bu demektir ki yazılanlar sadece özünde çok ilginç değildirlir, çağdaş siyasette de güncelliğini korumaktadırlar.

Günümüzde bir bütün olarak Batı feminizmi genellikle savunma konumundadır. Feminist düşüncenin bazı kollarını yönlendirmiş karmaşıklık ve ayrışma üzerindeki vurgu neredeyse ezici görünebilir; hatta kimliklerin tehlikeli bir biçimde değiştiği ve kaygan anlamların bulunduğu bir dünyada herhangi bir şey hakkında konuşmayı neredeyse imkânsızlaştırabilir. Yine de feminizm geleneksel politik tartışmanın sınırlarını aşarak, bu tartışmaların varsayımlarına meydan okuyarak ve yeni meseleleri gündeme getirerek heyecan verici düşünceler üretmeye devam etmektedir. Bu; feminist politika teorisinin kolaylıkla "gettolaştırılmayacağı" anlamına gelir, çünkü ortaya attığı konular bakımından siyasal iktidar idrakı için hayati önem taşır. Bunu göz ardı eden herhangi bir politik teori kaçınılmaz olarak eksik ve fakirleşmiştir.

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