

İSTANBUL BİLGİ UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
CULTURAL STUDIES MASTER'S PROGRAM

WOMEN'S RESISTANCE: AVON STRIKE AND WOMEN WORKERS SLOGANS

Sevgi Yağmur Bulut

115611058

Doç. Dr. Nazan Haydari

İSTANBUL

2019

WOMEN'S RESISTANCE: AVON WORKERS AND SLOGANS

KADINLARIN DİRENİŞİ: AVON GREVİ VE SLOGANLAR

SEVGİ YAĞMUR BULUT

115611058

Tez Danışmanı : DOÇ. DR. NAZAN HAYDARI

İSTANBUL BİLGİ..... Üniversitesi

(İmza)

Jüri Üyeleri DOÇ. DR. SELVA ERSÖZ

İSTANBUL ŞEHİR..... Üniversitesi

(İmza)

Jüri Üyesi: DOÇ. DR. İTİR ERHAT

İSTANBUL BİLGİ..... Üniversitesi

(İmza)

Tezin Onaylandığı Tarih :

26/04/2019

Toplam Sayfa Sayısı:

87

Anahtar Kelimeler (Türkçe)

- 1) Kadın Grevi
- 2) Avon
- 3) Sloganlar
- 4) Direniş
- 5) İşçi Sınıfı

Anahtar Kelimeler (İngilizce)

- 1) Women Strike
- 2) Avon
- 3) Slogans
- 4) Resistance
- 5) Working Class

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	ii
ÖZET.....	iii
Introduction.....	1
CHAPTER 1.....	4
1.1 The Situation of Women Workers in Turkey.....	12
1.2 The State of Emergency and Workers' Unions in Turkey.....	18
1.3 Women Workers' Strikes in Turkey.....	25
CHAPTER2 AVON: BEAUTY, CAPITALISM AND WOMEN LABOR.....	28
2.1 Cosmetic Industry and Beauty Standards.....	29
2.2 Direct Selling and Women's Labor.....	33
2.3 Slogans as Marketing Strategy.....	35
2.4 Avon and Campaigns.....	39
CHAPTER 3 RESISTANCE AND SLOGANS.....	45
3.1 Slogans as a Tool for Resistance.....	50
3.2 Protest Slogans: Subverting and Redefining.....	53
3.3 Avon Workers and Redefining Slogans.....	54
CONCLUSION.....	61
REFERENCES.....	75

ABSTRACT

The competitive and profit oriented nature of the capitalist system and globalization creates an environment with exploitation of labor and limited concerns on workers' rights. This thesis addresses the case of women workers' strike at the cosmetic firm of Avon in Turkey. The strike was started in May, 2016 when women workers were fired for becoming members of the workers' trade union and not accepting the renewal contract of Avon. During the strike, women used various tools such as slogans to make their voices heard. The slogans of women constituted significant tools of communication to reveal the contradictions in the motto and the policies of the firm and understand the struggles of women's workers. By drawing from the personal stories of women workers published on various online platforms, and the slogans of the strike, it is argued that Avon strike reveals the gendered dimension of capitalist and globalization policies by uncovering the contradictions in beauty standards. The strike also underlines the solidarity and resistance by challenging the individualist aspect of capitalism.

Key words: Slogans, Women's Strike, Avon, Resistance, Working Class

ÖZET

Kapitalist sistemin ve küreselleşmenin rekabetçi ve kâr odaklı doğası, işçi hakları ve emeğin sömürülmesi konularında sorunlu bir ortam yaratır. Bu tez, uluslararası kozmetik firması Avon'da çalışan işçi kadınların direnişini ele almayı amaçlamaktadır. Söz konusu kadın işçilerin grevi, 2016 yılının Mayıs ayında, çalıştıkları ortamda karşılaştıkları haksızlıklara karşı çıkmak için sendika üyesi oldukları için işten çıkarılmaları ve firmanın yenilenen iş sözleşmesini kabul etmemeleriyle başladı. Direnişin sonunda 130 yıllık kozmetik pazarlama geçmişine sahip olan Avon, tarihinde ilk kez işçilerle masaya oturdu ve anlaşma imzaladı. Direniş sırasında kadınlar seslerini duyurmak için farklı araçlar kullandı. Bunlardan biri ve tezdeki odak noktası sloganlardır. Sloganlar, firmanın kullandığı sloganlar ve politikalarındaki çelişkileri ortaya çıkarmak ve kadın işçilerin mücadelelerini anlamak için önemli iletişim araçları olarak işlev görmüştür. Tezde, çeşitli sosyal medya platformlarında ve internette yayınlanan kadın işçilerin kişisel hikayelerinden ve direniş sloganlarından yola çıkılarak, Avon direnişinin, kapitalist ve küreselleşme politikalarının toplumsal cinsiyet boyutunu ve topluma yansıtılan çelişkiler açığa vurmaya çalışılmıştır. Grevin, kapitalizmin bireyci yönüne meydan okuyarak dayanışma ve direnişin önemi vurgulanmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Slogan, Kadın Grevi, Avon, Direniş, İşçi Sınıfı

Introduction

In Turkey where women rights are not substantial and not supported by the government, women workers' situation is hard to cope. This thesis draws from case of the women workers' strike in the international beauty firm Avon's. Women worker's strike and their use of creative slogans are worth to analyze in case of their meanings and function during the strike.

Eight workers have been fired because of becoming a member of the trade union in Avon's warehouse in Gebze. Those workers' five of them women and three of them were a man. The main point is, the company's eighty percent of employees are women, and they started organizing in the warehouse. Managers wanted to sign a contract to workers without giving information about new rules and regulations. This new contract has articles among continue of low wages, a changeable workplace without getting the permission of worker and put a trial period even for a ten-year worker. The trial period article aims to make firing process more manageable, which means if the director of subcontractor company fire any ten-year worker, she/he has no right to indemnity – also that worker has no right to sue for indemnity.

New contract was only the final straw because workers in the warehouse were already sick of terrible working conditions and no wage increase. According to law, if the employment contract does not include a rate of increase every year and your wage is not below the minimum wage, you cannot claim any hiring from the employer. That means there is a gap in the law that benefit producer not to raise wage with an employment contract. This situation becomes more mind-bending when we consider Avon is one of the biggest company of the cosmetic sector which operates across Europe to the Middle East. It should be taken into consideration that Avon has 130-year market history thanks to its workers in fabrics and uninsured selling representatives besides its white color workers. This case is one of the best examples to show how asking for 'rights' is becoming difficult because of fear of losing work.

Employees just care about their benefit and how much they earn within spend minimum level. They know there is 'industrial reserve army' outside their office thanks to the negative sides of the capitalist system and global economy. So, in the light of this information, in the first chapter I tried to explain how and when all this system started to change. The answer is the Industrial Revolution. It does not mean Industrial Revolution is guilty of that worker's situation; it is the owners who use new technologies only for getting the benefit without thinking any human rights and worker rights. This era also has influenced gendered norms. Women who assigned to raising kids started to enter the workforce during Industrial Revolution. While they take a role in workplaces, they also started using as a cheap worker. So, chapter one details intersection of capitalism, globalism, neoliberal politics and being women worker.

In chapter two, capitalism, globalization and how they affect both social lives, economy and culture emphasized. These two system is crucial for interpretation women worker's problematic situation. While capitalism and its 'best friend' globalism make life easier for the wealthy upper class, it generally pretends like making life easy for workers too. Workers who are not working in farms anymore became low wage machines of the system; they just get a living wage for long working hours while owners enjoy their surplus value. In case, working-class women were getting lower wage with continuing to carry their domestic roles. I also focus on relationship between capitalism and beauty norms, charity projects as a strategic marketing, beauty industry, and Avon's campaigns and how all of them affect women and women worker.

The third chapter deals with Avon workers' resistance process. Third chapter mainly answers: How they started to resist? Which situations push them to start a strike? Which tools did they use during resistance? And their use of slogans. What their words mean? What kind of power their slogans have?

This thesis shows the logic and usage of Avon women workers slogans, also, what they exactly mean when chanting them. It reveals, how slogans are useful tools for the strike and how women reverse Avon's self-seeker words for getting their rights.

In general I have emphasize worker's request and achievements, final chapter analyze their slogans deeply in the light of all those chapters. Another reason that I am having strong curiosity and tendency to make research about this topic is my family narrative. I had a chance to observe and listen the story of women striker who is always beside me: My mother who was spokes women of strike at Bayer, German medical firm. Seeing and listening her and her friends' fight to get their rights deeply push me to the think of women workers' strikes and their fighting tactics. Listening how women not just have to stand against their boss, but at the same time against their father, husband or son proves how women workers in Turkey should deal with them all at the same time. It is for sure that their will, power and coping strategies both affect and affected from the world system we are live in which constitutes social phenomenon.

The questions which tried to be answered are; How strike suggests a new perspective against capitalist driven 'worker' conceptualization and looking worker identity and their slogans within a generalized perspective. There is lots of research about women labor and their collective identities. However, within the context of Turkey, there is limited research about women workers' slogans, even workers' slogan. Slogans literature mainly focus on brand slogans and their meaning. There are also limited research about political slogans but looking labor slogans remains an under-explored area.

Turkey's historical, political and cultural current circumstance means a lot to understand the women workers' situation. That is why this study is going to try to emphasize all procuring causes both in Turkey and in the world.

CHAPTER 1

This chapter looks at historical roots of women worker's current situation. Worker's position have changed within capitalist system, globalization and neoliberal politics. So, it is important to emphasize the point where capitalism, globalization and neoliberal policies intersect with the situation of women workers.

The Industrial Revolution that refers to an era of substantial economic, social, cultural and technological changes, has brought irreversible changes in the society and in working conditions. The revolution started in the 1960s with the invention of the machines for farming, textile and iron followed by telecommunication and transportation. This era had a great impact on the lives and working conditions of workers, women and working classes. As a result, workers began carrying out repetitive and required little skill tasks and many of them has become unemployed. As Marx emphasizes in the relation of human and machine, the tools are no longer instrument of the men, but it is men who instrumentalized by machine. Because human body had learnt automatic repetitions defined by machines. Those automatic repetitions makes human body 'like-machine'. Thus, workers began to repeat the same movements just like the machines all day.

In this period of time women entered the workforce when the land and factory owners started hiring women and children with lower wages. While children had no opportunity to go to school, they started working at small ages. Man who is getting more salary than women was authority figure in the house as 'bread-winner'. Women became the one who work within lower wage than man and still have domestic responsibilities. Unmarried women on the other hand, carried this role under the name of sisters or daughters. (Garner, 2005) Also, one should take into consideration that there was no government regulation among workers rights, so owners make their own rules.

Eric Hopkins (n.d.), share the information from 1843's Children Employment Commission Report and he gave an example of women workers who work in firebrick yards. According to that report, '12 hours' rule was applied in working time. Thus, women workers in firebrick yards was working at least 12 hours. According to Foucault, there is resistance where power exists. So, the critical consciousness developed in the workplace against capital and management can pave the way for women to develop a new understanding of power and patriarchal power relations in home and private life. Thus, protests and strikes are the way for standing against those inequalities In the literature on the work with the insurgent women, analogies reflect the relationship between the resistances and the public and private spheres, as the rebellious spirit developed in the factory is maintained at home or the strike comes home by marches or slogans (Dannecker, 2000). In this context, the resistance that has begun in the workplace may turn alternative action in other areas where they are subject to pressure. The resistance of women have the potential to create new interpretations and annoy the gendered norms.

Industrial Revolution's economic results had let owners getting surplus value. With using economic change and gendered norms, they have chance to pay less and make it 'reasonable'. Especially, the idea of surplus value and profit has opened a new era. Surplus value and its benefit have led to the need for a new class of people to hire in fabrics. Especially in developing / underdeveloped countries, the perception of female workers shape through the nature of the neoliberal industrial discipline. In this form, the flexibility becomes the norm, the production speed is high and the worker quality is low. The obedience to the authority and patience is also desired. (Mills, 2005) Which means, this neoliberal industrial discipline makes women 'ideal worker'.

Owners began to pay the workers a minimum payment to maintain their presence within the new system, to get more benefit than the cost of a good. This means capitalism begins to show itself through exploiting of workers' labor. New rule for owners was: the less you pay, the more profit you get, whereas for workers:

the lower your salary, the more exploited you are. And if you are a women, you work both in fabric with merest salary and do unpaid household works.

While we are talking about effects of Industrial Revolution and globalization, it would be blindness, not to see its effect of class which is main argument of workers and women workers. Because history of class, started within new developed tools during Industrial Revolution. After revolution, this German rooted word 'class' gain a meaning of 'a social strata which differentiates entrepreneurs and workers. This 'differentiate situation' is a result of having a mode of production or working in fabrics of people who have that production tools.

Basically, people who has not got private ownership (i.e. factories, machines, capital) and work in fabrics are working class people. It's another essential is owners of mode of productions have power to effect politics and authority relations. This situation leads to the class struggle where the_women issue become also political.

Concept of intersectionality give us an opportunity to analyze economic and social inequalities' reason. Thus, they are not only the result of person's class position but also other categories which people are classified and gender is the one of them. So, intersectionality concept will be useful to understand how gender and class influence each other, which problems working class women face with and why? Like class, gender is one of the main dimensions which shapes people's economic, social, educational, job, labor market... opportunities in their lives.

The concept of class has been studied in sociology to determine the positions occupied by different individuals in production and market processes (Crompton, 2008). In the 1960s, the feminist movement engaged in a debate concerning the theoretical and methodological implications of the analysis of women's positions in the social structure (Pollert, 1996; Ferree and Hall, 1996; Yuval-Davis, 2006; Davis, 2008). While there are already class struggle debates, after the industrial revolution, with a women's entrance of the work force, women have faced with another specific problem: subordination came within gender in labor force. They take place at the bottom of working-class strata as a worker who get lowest wage.

Expose higher level of exploitation by the system, thus, their domestic roles did not change and they become unpaid workers at home. Also, one should bear in mind that other factors like race, ethnicity, and age are others reasons that deepened the subordination process.

Those class and gender based inequalities among women is one of the main reason of resistance. It would not be wrong if I claim that, it is an expression of class conscious and the result of capitalist mode of production and class struggle of women. Feminist theories are not limited with gender as a single dimension but also deals with class and collective action of women. According to Thomas and Davies (2005), debate about resistance in feminist literature reaches top in the tensions between the structuralist and post-structuralist feminist accounts. It claims that sharing the experience of oppression one of the main dimensions which lead women to unionize. Although it has been critiqued for being blind-sided against race, class, culture... I recognize diversity concepts among women in this study and claim women, worker women and their problem are constituting a strong political issue. Women's experience during resistance is not solely mean they are challenging against 'as women' but also 'as a worker identity'. Harcourt and Foucault put another perspective about how power which constitutes a class operates on politics about gender and sexuality.

When we look from Foucauldian notion to power, one can possibly claim that subjects of power (women) have a chance to counteract. Foucault talks about the body as a where 'all strategies of control and resistance are registered' (2002:29). It provides us an understanding the women workers struggle against oppressions and the way they resist.

Thus, movements which working class opposes against ruling class is also political. According to Dahrendorf, (1959) "The attempt, for example, to extort a limitation of working time in a single factory or trade, and from individual capitalists, by strikes, etc., is a purely economic movement but the movement to enforce legislation stipulating an eight-hour day, etc., is a political movement.

In this manner a political movement grows everywhere out of the isolated economic movements of the workers” Which means Avon workers’ resistance is political movement of women. According to Hyman (1972) and Friedman (1977), such a collective workplace resistance requires class consciousness at least on the most basic and simplest level. Because it means an ideological stance against exploitative practices. Class consciousness also requires building ‘us’ perception. Shared challenges and experienced grievances can build the ‘us’ perception. The road to resistance is a process in which individual complaints turn into collective action.

The image of this passive, silent, obedient and non-demanding iconic female worker of neoliberalism leads to the belief that women are not fit to organize labor movement (Peterson, 2005). However, women workers could destroys this cliché through resistance and strike movements. One of the most important motivational factors of women's participation in resistance is their collective identities.

Technology and new inventions which developed during industrial era also triggered the formation of global capital and global market for various sectors. According to Albrow (Mir, 2014, p.611), it is a process which activities in one part of the world can have significant consequence for individuals in other parts of the globe and it called globalization. Globalization process shape the working life and women’s life within the changing economy, politics, and culture around the world. Ohmae, (1991) claims economic globalization means interconnecting national market economies around the globe. It enables cheaper, fastest and efficient movement of goods, services, information. It let companies to enter contestable market.

Although all these changes bring wealth to the governments, globalization also produces unemployment and inequalities for working class. While globalization open new opportunity doors for women to get a job, it does not mean their working conditions get better. Standing (1988) argues new job opportunities offer women 'feminized' jobs and they are low-paid, insecure and temporary.

Acker (2004) supports this idea and claims women prefer them because they are better than being unemployed. Thus, 'feminization of poverty' and glass ceiling is still continues.

Especially international companies choose developing or under develop countries to lunch their fabrics (Turkey is also one of them). Because they realize that there is economic problems and crisis which led to unemployment and high prices. And people obligated to work to survive, they obligated to accept jobs without looking for good conditions and high wage. Those companies takes an advantage of developing countries' bad economic situation and reinforces women's subordinate situation with offering them low wages with low positions. As Moghadam (1999)claims: "Corporations desire female labor for assembly production because women will work in labor-intensive industries at wages lower than men would accept, and in conditions that unions would not permit".

Those companies only worrying about choosing the 'right under developed country' which means: country that allow them to make high profit and high surplus value with its cheap labor.

"While thousands of factory workers are living in poverty, multinational corporate leaders would rather place their own profit and growth ahead of the needs of their host countries" (Harper and Leicht 2002).

They are not working towards the needs of developing nations, but their own needs while some of them may bragging about bringing the country subsistence. Most corporations insist that the wages distributed to the female factory workers in developing nations are enough for them to support themselves and their families (Bacchus, 2005).

Some researchers have found that, "the minimum wage in most East Asian [and Latin American] countries comes nowhere near to covering basic living costs" (Fuentes, Ehrenreich 1998) Also, the film, *The Hidden Face of Globalization* (2003), gives example from Bangladeshi women workers in textile factory.

They work long hours to support their family, face pressure to reach quota rules. Film also emphasizes they work in a dirty and dusty environment which causes lung diseases. The film reminds me of my case Avon, like Bangladeshi women workers, Avon's women workers work long hours (from 08.00 to 22.00) in a dusty environment which causes hernia. Unfortunately, globalism's nature does not offer universal women's rights. Many international companies have company policies which affect women's private life. One of them is pregnancy policy; some companies control and manage women workers' pregnancy times.

One of the examples of this in Turkey is the international medical firm Novamed. Those companies also may deny health care to employees like Avon. Cultural globalization processes may support Gramsci's 'cultural hegemony' term. According to Gramsci, the dominant group has huge power to impose norms, values, and ideologies on great masses. According to his term, consent or force predominates. Governments use lots of tools like politics, media, and education to start the internalizing process and gain consent. Gendered norms (which are used for the economic advantage of governments), internalize and normalize with those tools. Therefore, deviating or acting against those stereotyped rules and traditions becomes really hard for people who do not want to be excluded from their social environment. Because sharing similar forms gives the feeling of belonging and represents collective identity.

Likewise, Bourdieu did not consider himself a Marxist, he was influenced by his thoughts. Like Marx, he supports that 'capital' is equal to one's social life formation. It designates a person's social position. With 'cultural capital' term, he wants to explain specific skills which a person can only get from one unique class. They might be tastes, belonging, clothing, etc. He also points out that cultural capital is a major reason for social inequality and it hinders one's social mobility. While upper classes are the ones who shape especially popular culture, the working class becomes the one who cannot reach most of them. So, we expect working class families' children are not going to have tastes endemic in 'high status groups'.

Those children are going to have friends from having the same tastes and most probably going to have family in the same trajectory which increases the class distinction in society. Thus, also Bourdieu found the term at in 1960s with analyzing French educational system and seeing that while middle-class families' children persistently continue school, working-class ones mostly drop school. In the light of this information he explains 'cultural capital' transmitting dominant culture through family.

Like governments and politicians, international firms have power to get masses' consent. Today, their tools are especially social media and ads with famous people. Firms' way of creating global effect may call 'trend' or 'fashion' which most of the people may want to follow. Especially if that product have embedded specific class or have specific meaning like key of beauty, it is means that people trigger each other to buy that product. And when it became popular, people who feel that they belong that class, going to buy the product to increase their collective identity and prove they are 'special'. Avon also one of the companies which feed the meaning of 'beauty' globally and have power to get consent of women. When we look at firm's prices, we can say that the firm has wide target, mainly address to middle class women besides upper class and working class. So, in my opinion, it also gives feeling that in huge cosmetic industry, which mostly reflected as expensive, costumers of Avon have chance to reach special products with cheaper prices. This perceptions may also another way of convince women to buy its products. However, in 'The Concept of Cultural Hegemony,' Lears (1985), emphasis that some people may be disaffected from this hegemony, they move collectively and revolt through strikes and mass movements which could call counter-hegemony.

1.1 The Situation of Women Workers in Turkey

Another important dimension that directly affects women workers is neoliberal policies which occurred as a result of capitalist and global system.

Neoliberal theory which started at 1920s, is mainly against state's intervention in the economy. Neoliberal policies did not stay limited with economic policies, especially after the 20th century, it has come to the fore in the regulation of public space. For example it affected, individualization of social relations, the gap between the rich and the poor, and the commodification of cheap women labor for increasing productivity.

The concept of social state was applied effectively, especially in Western countries from the end of the Second World War until the mid-1970s. However, social state has not been able to give a concrete response to the economic crises that emerged with the Keynesian economics. Despite the weakening of social state, the neoliberal theory was born and strengthened. As a result, under the influence of internationalization of economy, governments produced solutions to the economic crises with neoliberal agendas. Thus, owners have acquired a specific accumulation over time in new system and this accumulation brought political power too.

The state has the opportunity to intervene in the economy for political and economic purposes, and this intervention causes inefficiency and a decrease in production which means also capitalism and globalism become stronger and made women workers' difficulties permanent and intense. How women workers affected from the system in Turkey is an important question to analyze my topic. First and foremost, Turkey's integration to international capital guaranteed with January 24 Decisions with Turgut Özal. These decisions, which can be implemented by the 12 September coup government, can be considered as the beginning of the integration process, which represents the first steps of the economy to international markets and the outside the nation. It allowed focus on expanding private sector and free market. Agriculture sector privatized within capital foreign firms.

Financial activities like banking and insurance also follow this application. For Turkey's context, 'Özalism' concept can be useful. Like Thatcherism and Reaganism. Özal, adopted the free trade system. It aimed at improving international trade and increase the private sector. As a result, neoliberal policy practices let individualizing of social relations, increasing the differences between the rich and the poor and, commodification of women labor because of its cheapness in Turkey too.

Yıldırım (n.d) makes a good analyze of today and claims that neoliberalism has captured the ideal form within the AKP government. Large-scale privatizations began in the third year of the AKP government. On September 12, 2005, a tender held for 51% of TÜPRAŞ shares. It sold to Koç Shell-Shell Joint Venture Group for 4 billion 140 million dollars. It continued with Erdemir, Turk Telekom, Petkim, Eti Aluminum, Eti Krom, Turkey Fertilizer Industry Inc., TEKEL, sugar mills, SEKA, including major businesses such as power plants. According to the Minister of Finance, 10 ports, 81 power plants, 40 enterprises, 3 thousand immovable and 36 mining sites have been sold in the last 15 years. In the last 15 years, the AKP government has transferred public enterprises and resources to international or national capital classes faster than the last 13-year period covering 1986-2003. According to the data of the Privatization Department, a total of 8 billion 240 million dollars of privatization was realized between 1986-2003, with an increase of approximately 8 times, between 2003 and 2017. It approximately closes to 60 billion dollars. (Yıldırım, n.d.)

If we want to sum up the change of system, Kivılcım's (2013) chronological line would be helpful: the 70s; the emergence of multinational corporations to the world economy scene, the 80s; the revolution in communicating with the technological progress of the Western countries, the 90s; with the collapse of the Soviet Union world has shifted of the back to the West axis

As a result of systematic change in the world, both socially, economically and culturally; we can mainly categorize women workers' problems in Turkey in 4 topics; in the light of information and theories that mentioned until now.

First one is economic barriers which includes low wage and unemployment. Second one is family roles which occurs because of domestic works claims as 'natural work' of women and transform women to 'unpaid family worker'. It also push women to make choice between work and family. Third one is norm obstacles which is one of the underlying reason of women's second-class situation. It let women workers face stereotypes, glass ceiling, mobbing at work and also specific job sectors which claim as 'appropriate' for women in workforce. And the last one is working conditions like working without insurance, unappropriated environment and long hours, but not just specific for women.

In Turkey, it becomes more complicated to deal with new system with the gendered norms in your bag. According to 'Women in Turkey Workers' truth' research prepared by Turkey's Revolutionary Workers Unions Confederation Research Department (DISC-R) in 2018, there are three main important problems in women's working life.

They are low wages, unemployment and uninsured work. Research done with, 2 thousand workers including 580 women, shows 78.7 percent of women workers state that low wages are the most important problem of working life. The rate of women who earn less than the minimum wage of 1400 TL for 2017 is higher than men; 21.9 percent of women are paid less than 1400 TL. Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)'s 2018 data also supports those findings. Organization claims that difference in wages between men and women in Turkey is 20 per cent.

From those 580 women, 74.5 percent of them state unemployment as a problem. They are asked to choose professions that are considered 'women's jobs'. These include maintenance, cleaning, teaching, caring or jobs that do not require qualifications which are may not be long-term especially in non-institutional businesses. Thus, it is difficult to enter sectors which are not counted as 'women's job'.

Employers also may not prefer to hire women to those jobs even though they have enough knowledge. 23.2 percent of women thinks they expose discrimination in the recruitment process. Also, it is not surprise that 25 percent of women work more precariously job sectors compared to other sectors.

On the other hand, in Turkish context, family have special traditional meaning and huge power on individuals to shape their lives. Girl children feel more pressure than boys in the family. Most of them obligated to get permission for going out, choosing schools and deciding occupation. Even though they are not obligated to get permission, they guided by their families for choosing the 'right occupation'. Those traditional and conservative norms, speeding up the process of being unpaid family worker. As Gedikli claims, from her research in 2008, "There is no other choice than being an unpaid family worker for women who are still under the influence of traditional marriages; for instance, those who are still being used as a commodity under the concept of bride price." They fulfilled within domestic roles in home which make them 'unpaid family worker'; they learn how to cook, clean and manage house hold whereas most of boys are not obligated to learn them. As a result, it is not surprising to see that some women do not prefer to work if they do not have economic difficulties. It is a proof of internalizing of domestic roles. Thus McDowell (1997) claims that "fact that they had to perform accordingly to patriarchal, class determined standards reproduced and strengthened patriarchy and class division". Which means internalizing leads reproducing of gendered norms and keep old traditions alive.

Kadir Has University's 'Gender and Women's Perception Research' (2017) prove that traditional and conservative norms' effect within statistical data. According to that research, 55.7% of men think that women's first task is doing housework. 57% of them think that women should not work if their husband doesn't give permission. 70.5% of them think that women should always be protected by men.

It also proves - which also mentioned before - that if a woman is married she can subordinate in household and society through 'wife' and 'mother' roles, if she is unmarried, she can subordinate as 'daughter.'

Ngai (Garner, 2005) puts clear perspective and talks about how rural women learn to become 'dangomei' (factory workers) through a mixture of capitalist discipline and state oppression in China, in his book "Made in China: Women Factory Workers in a Global Workplace Durham and London." Ngai's research is about one microelectronics company.

The company's manager from Hong live one of the richest city, in Nanshan of Shenzhen. However, workers can only see that city from their bad conditioned dormitories at night. He shows, how 'socialist bodies' are became capitalist subjects through the disciplinary capital. This situation also reminds concept of 'docile body' of Foucault. He insists that power targets human body; shape and transforms it. While he first observe transforming bodies in military, later he claims that this tactic become general and used everyday life. For example, power teaches human body gestures, body positions, how to act on work, how to behave on school.

In Ngai's study, of the 500 employees of Meteor Company's 75 percent work on the production line and their 90 percent are women. He supports 'becoming dangomei' is a painful process because there is not only physical adaptation but also an emotional one...

"Paradoxically, these women workers escaped their role of family as but ended up as being manager's 'dangomei.' Means, they became 'factory daughters' and sexualized bodies." When one thinks of it from employer's perspective, docile and dexterous women become an ideal candidate for work and global industry. Means, women live subordination in other parts of her daily life, except their home.

"As Engels's famous analysis of women's position in the history of different economic modes production in 'The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State' states, women are initially equal to, if not more powerful than, men in communal forms of production with matrilineal family organizations.

Women lose power when private property and surplus value comes into existence.” (1942) Both researches and scholars' claims shows that men's control over private property changed the family form to a patriarchal one where women, become like the property of the father and husband. In other words, the rise of capitalism separated public and private space.

So, the male became 'bread-winner' whereas female became 'housewife.' Those kind of fathers and husbands prefer their daughters or wives to choose a stable job that brings regular salary that won't disrupt their roles in the house.

When women find a job, again, according to same research, the second reason why women workers are not satisfied with the working life is the long working hours and the third one is working without insurance and under subcontractor firms. In workplaces they face within glass ceiling, stereotypes and obligates to make work-family balance. Glass ceiling is basically an invisible wall which prevents women reaching higher positions. Its effect especially touch upon leadership gender gap in workplaces. It's another reason possibly could be work-family balance.

Imagine a women, who is married and have children, because of her domestic roles in house (like caring, house works, cooking etc.) she would not prefer getting higher position and make her burden weighty. She might be scare of cannot doing her 'women duties' at home.

Charkiewicz (2010) says 'Capitalism is not only producing consumer goods but also subjectivities' and gives a great example about how those 'duties' effect women's life.

She talks about women sales agents, to work with firm Provident in Poland. She emphasizes that this work is not their dream job of their choice rather they are a student or a single mother who needed work in order to survive. According to her, between the years 2004-2009, 10 women sales agents murdered. She claims "Targeting women for jobs of sales representatives for their door to door loans, Provident taps on patriarchal sex stereotypes, attributes of femininity and social conventions that presumably make it more likely for women sale reps to sell loans

and claim back the payments at the clients' homes". Women who are choose this job because of capitalist created gendered norms, killed again because of same reason. Thus, being 'women' make them preferred targets.

When the problems are clear as a day, there is one question that came to mind: What is the solution? Capitalist have always ignore and will always ignore the needs of their own workers unless they forced to pay attention. According to Acker (2004), way of responding those ignorance are social movements which challenge corporate power. It is certain that they cannot respond globalization, discrimination, internalized norms without solidarity. Leslie Salzinger (Acker, 2004, p.21) claims that women have ways for challenge, gives example from North Mexico, he says "The docile and cheap young woman, does not always accord with the gender composition of the labor force". And this is the point women start to show that they are not docile, they seek wage rise and most importantly they emphasize that firms hire men, even though they are not seen as docile and easy-going.

1.2 The State of Emergency and Workers' Unions in Turkey

Unions are the organizations for workers, which aims to acquire workers' rights, expand their freedom in the workplace and society. Workers organize under unions to gain and protect their rights and benefit. But the current political agenda makes it hard to start a strike or organizing protest, especially under the AKP's State of Emergency. Turkey's State of Emergency started after 15 July 2016's 'coup attend', at 21 July 2016 which extended seven times for three months and ended at 17 July 2018. In the AKP period, the scope of strike deference and prohibitions extended. In 2014, the Constitutional Court annulled the ban on strikes in banking and urban transport by violating the Constitution.

However, the AKP amended Trade Unions and Collective Bargaining Agreements No. 6356 with delegated legislation no 678 of 22 November 2016. With the amendment, it was possible to postpone (prohibit) strikes which were thought to distribute national security and general health deterioration. As a matter of fact, authority immediately used this amendment, and in January 2017, the Akbank strike postponed due to ‘financial stability.’

AKP government announced ‘State of Emergency’ on 20 July. Under the state of emergency rules, the government banned most of the strikes in the country. While the majority of the strikes banned on the grounds that it was a national security disturbance, the reason for the "general health deterioration" was also shown in addition to some prohibitions. For instance, the first strike that the AKP government forbid was in Petlas Tire Industry and Trade Inc., where Petrol-İş was organized on 1 July 2003. After that, on 8 December 2003, the government banned Kristal-İş's member of 5,000 Paşabahçe workers starting the strike. After ban removed, Paşabahçe workers resumed strike on January 30, 2004. However, the AKP forbade the second strike too. The reason was disturbing national security and general health reason. Until 2018, nearly 15 strike banned, finally, on 2018 MESS Grup TİS’s strike under the Türk-Metal, Birleşik Metal-İş, and Çelik-İş’s strike was also forbidden.

After September 12 coup d'état, political activities become harder in Turkey with 1982 constitution. Especially, left-oriented people faced with prosecutions, arrests, and torture. Since then, organizing and collective movement become harder for working class which also affects feminist movements. Also, union’s and organizations’ sexist attitudes are another dimension for women. According to Berktaş (1990), women in organizations query their relation with their man comrades and realize gender-blind political attitude. Also, Gazioglu supports that since the 1980s, class-centered politics became identity-centered. Gender and ethnicity become more critical issues both in politics.

“Labor union leadership remains predominantly male; when women do their efforts are often perceived as supplementary, subordinate, or constrained prior domestic roles and responsibilities” (Mills, 2003, p.52) For most of the companies, women workers are seen as cheaper employ, not tend to unionize, control easily and have patience. In a capitalist system employers prefer a worker who does not come against their rules and regulations for their economic benefit. Global economy’s struggle also could face obstacle actions. Like, protests, strikes and labor organizing. It might seem like the real solution, but capital is not dumb. Those divisions limit collective activities at the same time. Gender, class, and ethnic divisions and their intersection limits employers' costs and at the same time undermine the possibilities for workers' collective action (Mills, 2003, p.45) State regimes also want to get benefit from unions in the country. They can use organizations to gain international investors’ attention. For this aim, they could restrict, ban or allow their activity following the international political and economic agenda.

Another obstruction is widespread of subcontracting practice because the same products or components are manufacturing in different countries by different subcontractor firm’s workers. This type of fragmentation of the global labor force may curtail opportunities for labor organizing. But that does not mean the organization is impossible under these circumstances. Instead, women may play critical roles in protests and strikes. Strikes are strong tools for reveal power of women labor force. The concept of accepting women as a temporary worker (supporting the man who is actual breadwinner) outside the household, in the communities governed by the classical patriarch, provides the social legitimacy of seeing the female worker as a "flexible and cheap" worker. Women worker seem to try to get pocket money to support their husband/father.

It is also essential that workers family try to prevent their attempts to organize solidarity. So, how can worker women, blocked from being unionized by male relatives, can gain the field of consciousness and join the union? So, another cause of public attention is the permission and support which 'should' taken from the husband/family. Women's support from their family has a decisive importance for their trade union activities, especially for union membership. When women are organizing, differently from men, they cannot make their decisions independently. In these workplaces, the union must persuade husband/family within women.

According to Betül Urhan's in-depth interview (2014), a female member of a large-scale union summarized this situation with some angry and accusatory language;

“ ... You are organizing with her husband. If her husband lets you up, then you register the lady. The woman is not organizing, organizing with her husband.”

(Female, Former Union Workplace Representative, TÜRK-İŞ)

Those words reflects how male oriented family could be a barrier for women to enter union and attend collective movements. Even though women face with problems among working class, she may need to convince her husband to attend union.

Another female expert from TÜRK-İŞ union expresses her observation with those words:

"Women involve organization really late. Maybe she gets involved after catching the essential member number. Or she involves after most of the workers became a member.

(Female, Expert, TÜRK-İŞ)

The reasons for this may be shown as having a weak and insignificant position in the workplace, the decisiveness of the family's permission and support in their participation in trade union activities.

Besides, when the number of men in the workplace is sufficient to determine the majority required for authorization, women do not need to be perceived as out of necessity and need to contact them. This situation weakens the women to establish a relationship with the unions on their initiative and often prevents them.

It can be said that, since 2000, trade unions tried to take some actions for gender equality. For example, Confederation of Trade Union Confederations and various union federations, aimed at increasing the number of women in the trade union. They started a campaign called "Women's Trade Unions, Women in Trade Union" ("Kadınlara Sendikalar, Sendikalara Kadınlar") in the brochure published by Petrol-İş Trade Union in February 2006, the reasons for the low number of women in the union were pointed out and then the methods to solve this problem listed. On the one hand, it was an important act for Turkey, but on the other side, it was clear that these campaigns cannot go further than 'low number' of women. It is necessary to correct the substances that prevent gender equality in union regulation.

Another critical parameter is law and regulations about unions. Because according to the Act of Trade Unions and Collective Bargaining Agreement, to gain rights to make collective labor agreement, strike and protest union's member number is matter. More than half of the workers in the workplace should be a member of that union. Plus, that union should have at least 1 percent of worker member which it is going to be active in the line of work. This already creates a considerable barrier even before taking the first step for the strike or collective labor agreement. According to DİSK's decision of the general assembly, "Capitalist system in the world and Turkey, draw every day more women into the production process. It only operates at lower wages, unqualified jobs, and worse conditions. On the other hand, the capitalist system, in every economic congestion or crisis, hire women first, enforce practices that imprison them at home.

As a matter of fact, in all of the decisions adopted between 1994 and 2008, it was stated that the organization of the women workers would be given priority and that the women's office would be operational in order to achieve this. However, in 1997 and afterward, in the decision of two General Assembly, fundamental problems such as discrimination, sexual harassment, and nursery faced in entering the working life were concretized. It has stated that necessary works will be carried out to produce trade union policies on all issues concerning women workers and to turn them into collective bargaining. The main problem is that although the issues of the women workers are visible in the decisions of the General Assembly, these decisions not implemented in practice. Who or what is responsible for not implementing these decisions? The question came to mind. There are some answers from union staffs:

“Trade union organization creates a situation that jeopardizes job security. Being a union member in Turkey means losing your job. So, women cannot decide alone. We have many women member who brings their husbands to us with thinking ‘if husband trust union, she will have more freedom with her relationship with the union. We have many women, who say they want to withdraw because of their husbands.’”

(Female, Trade Union Specialist, DISK)

“It's not as easy as calling a man. As a man, for example, I cannot call a female friend at 11 PM” *(Male, Union Center Manager, TÜRK-İŞ)*

We can summarize in four categories, why it is hard for women to become unionized and why unions' women activate weakly. First one is the family/husband effect. Which because of women's mother/daughter role they cannot make their own decisions for collective organizing. Second one is fear of being unemployed. It is also another reason why women cannot decide on her own. She 'should' check with her family/husband for that 'a matter of life and death' decision. The third one is the drawback of male organizers to get in touch with their female colleagues. Because they thought their action might cause misunderstanding in society.

Forth one is women. Some of them choose to stay 'quite' even if they are aware of their situation. But this 'quite' situation's reason might be their thought of 'not having enough power to change something, to say something or resist.' Also, another reason might be despair. Some women might internalize the patriarchal world's rules. This one is most common and dangerous. Because with this way, patriarchy becomes inherited from generation to generation. Man do the same thing too. They also internalize patriarchy unconsciously and help the translation between generations. One good example from a male expert from DISK, who realize the distance between man and women for collective organizing;

“Sometimes I go to meetings with my wife; my wife is doing her master's degree in women's studies. When I am with her, women workers speak easier about problems at a workplace like sexual assault. They became friends faster than us. We generally talk about the only organization, rights, law. I cannot get the same reaction that my wife gets from women workers.”

(Male, expert, DISK)

The rate of unionization also shows significant differences according to sex. 1.2 million of 9.1 million male workers are unionized and the unionization rate in male workers is over 13 percent. Of the 3.3 million women workers, 254 are unionized. According to the Ministry of Labor and Social Security's data, in 2018, only 12 percent of workers were union member. Man's 86 percent were union member whereas 14 percent were not. When we look at women workers statistics, 92 percent of women were not unionized while only 8 percent of them were member a trade union.

Women Workers' Strikes in Turkey

It is possible to see strong resistance movements of women workers in Turkey too and we have good examples. One is an example from women strike is in Antalya, Novamed, which located in Free-Zone. In 2016, this medical care firm's women workers complain about their working conditions. Women workers' decision of reproduction ruled by employers, workers were not allowed to talk each other, their time spend for toilet were monitoring, working hours were very long within short breaks, and firm's management was using anti-union repression. They are the women who are fed up with violence addressed at they both physically, economic, verbal or moral because of gender segregation. So, they decided to go on strike in accordance within their trade union Petrol-İş (The Union of Petroleum, Chemical and Rubber Workers of Turkey). The critical point is: they cooperate with Turkish women rights movement, the labor movement, and feminist groups. Strike ended up within signing labor agreement at its 448th day, almost 15th month. Head of Petrol-İş union, Mustafa Öztaşkın said "Novamed strike was the first strike in free zones in Turkey. The strike, which became the symbol of the women's movement, succeeded and we signed the 3-year collective labor contract." According to the collective bargaining agreement signed by the organized Petrol-İş authorities and the management of the Fresenius Medical Care Company to which Novamed is affiliated, wages increased 350 Euros to 380. Also, they get an agreement on 'There will be a 4 percent salary increase in 2009 and 2010 and employees will receive a social package payment of 300 Euros per year.' It is worth to note that the strikes launched by Novamed on September 26, 2006, of 83 women out of 316 workers and 85 women union employees, also received significant support from international trade union organizations, political parties, and women's movements. NOVAMED resistance one of the good examples to show effect of free trade zones created by the capitalist/global system on women workers.

Another example is Flormar resistance which started at 14 May 2018 and finished 8 March 2019. Workers in Flormar started to become members of the Petrol-Is Trade Union to work in better conditions, and the union workers were dismissed when they obtained a majority to get certificate to operate strike. So, 115 workers (most of them are women) start resistance movement. Workers in fabric, who gave supports to their friends also dismissed from job for 'act illegally during the working times' Women who claims it is their 'first time in a resistance' emphasis importance of their slogans, (recall Flormar's advertising slogan) : Women can achieve everything if they want. This, clearly shows that women are taking a step to reverse the wheels of the system with the slogans they use. At the end workers mostly gain their rights; According to the accepted offer from Flormar, workers; receive severance and notice pay. The workers will be paid a salary of 4 + 12 and pay the union compensation. Also, workers will get unemployment pay for last 10 months.

My topic, Avon resistance is also one of them. It started in 23 May 2016 and continued 64 days. Eight workers in Avon (five women, three men) warehouse in Gebze, dismissed on account of the fact that they engaged in a trade union DGD-SEN. Next chapter going to detail about Avon resistance and its women workers. So mainly in this chapter we have look how women's labor is a source for global economy to gain a better understanding point of view when analyzing my case (Avon). Industrial Revolution, capitalism and globalization literature, gave examples from different countries of the world. One should bear in mind that we cannot asses those three dimensions alone, rather they goes hand in hand and complete each other's like a puzzle pieces. When we say capitalist system, it includes both globalization, politics, and neoliberal economies. There is no doubt that capitalist system is not something looking for meet the needs of people but rather it is something selfish and egoist who try to gain benefit of everything.

While capitalist system always produce and reproduce gendered norms for its own sake, women who exploited have different ways of resistance and tools to make system's wheels stop, reverse or annoy.



CHAPTER2

AVON: BEAUTY, CAPITALISM AND WOMEN LABOR

For a better understanding of women workers' resistance in Avon, this chapter addresses the relationship between capitalism, beauty industry and beauty norms.

Avon is one of the oldest cosmetic company that was established in 1886 in Manhattan by David McConnell. Its first product was women perfumes. Its marketing strategy direct-selling, started with a 50 years old widow women named Mrs. Peter Foster Eames Albee. Today, it is one of the most powerful direct-selling cosmetic company and have nearly six million active independent representatives. Industry experts also substantiate the brand equity of Avon as it has been consistently ranked as one of the top 50 cosmetics brands. From 2011 to 2016, Avon was ranked among the top 50 cosmetics brands. During 2013, 2014 and 2016, it was named among top 100 powerful brands.(Avon Annual Report, 2018). Company's strong brand recognition helped it maintain a leadership position, especially in skin care products market. Avon, began its operations in Turkey in 1993. Beside direct selling marketing strategies, Avon has become popular among women in Turkey, its social campaigns addressing women and women rights. Company has three main campaigns with 'empowering women' motto. Those are against violence campaign, financial freedom campaign and free cancer scanning campaign. It would be wrong to say that the campaigns did not help women at all, as they also contributed of the visibility of Avon. The company also promoted direct selling as a system that provides women with economic independency. The company feeds the idea of empowering women with campaigns, slogans and direct selling strategy.

2.1 Cosmetic Industry and Beauty Standards

Cosmetic industry and companies reproduce idealized body and beauty norms within through various marketing strategies. The YWCA reported that \$7 billion is spent each year on cosmetics (Beauty at Any Cost, 2008, p. 7).

It is apparent that companies use various methods like campaigns, advertisements, social media and slogans to encourage cosmetic consumption. With the process of industrialization, while the products became cheaper, transportation created the opportunity for the entrepreneurs to enter new markets.

Thus, beauty market had expanded in 19th century within globalization; corporations crossed borders and established new fabrics/shops in other countries. For example, today's known brands Siemens and Singer also cross borders in the middle of the 19th century.

In 1871, Charles Darwin says in his book 'The Descent of Man' that, "It is certainly not true that there is universal standard of beauty with respect to the human body" (Darwin, 1871, 353). But what I see is, this international development of industry and globalization create, shape and developed what it meant to be beautiful.

Wolf (1990),_insists that beauty is a myth, and it is a result of industrial revolution. She also claims, before modernization age, women have different definitions of beauty. In modern life, as a result of institutional power, we met with dualisms which created masculine and feminine body. When we think about the age we are live in, it is obvious that capital age needs and search for the ones who gave them highest profit. Wolf, define those 'ones' as a 'slaves'; in her terms, the more you help them to make high profit, the best slave you are. Economy which use system of 'slavery', makes one of the highest profit from the continued unpaid job of women. Therefore, when the aim is make this ideology stronger and make grow, it is not surprising to see marketing strategies which consists images of slaves. In her words, it becomes an urgent need to make women feel 'worthless'. And that is why one of the main thing what economy depends on is: representation of women within the

beauty myth. Wolf thinks that beauty myth is a way of oppression just like motherhood, domesticity, chastity. It is a way of economic and social control over women and working women. Carter (1997), shares same idea with Wolf, and emphasis that women's image reflects the peak point of norms, moralities and motherhood. So, when women enter the work force, it cause damaging their worker identity, rather they face stigma with those moralities which make it harder for them to take advantages that their male colleagues have. One of the best definition of beauty come from Wolf (1997): "Beauty is a currency system like the gold standard. Like any economy, it is determined by politics, and in the modern day age in the West it is the last, best belief system that keeps male dominance intact." Thus, for taking advantages of women which stigmatized as second class, system exploits unpaid/low paid women workers. To maintain its benefit, it needs to support patriarchy, create stronger gendered norms and make them culturally valid. At this point, some marketing strategies came into existence like fashion, advertisements or beauty trends. This tools not only support patriarchy but they also normalize the 'ideal beauty', which turns female self-disciplining, docile_and obedient to cultural demands. Thus, cultural codes and fashion makes women body an object. De Beauvoir, gives a good example of disciplining the body; Chinese women who are bound feet and could hardly walk, a female Hollywood star who has corset and high heels which gives body a pain. And they are the tools which are 'present the inert and passive qualities of an object'. (De Beauvoir).

Besides, it is not limited with clothes and textile, also, appearance of skin is another pattern imposed to women and normalized. Today, both cosmetic firms, advertisements, models, singers, films, music and many other use women who are always young, have soft flawless skin, hairless and smooth body which I have mentioned until now as an 'ideal beauty'. It becomes 'ideal female body' at the same time and affect women's self-image.

While international beauty regime and its firms impose those images to man and women of the society, they design 'correction' products for transforming skin for all parts of female body. Women are expected to become masters about how to use specific produces in a right way. And that is why women YouTubers who are given advices and tutorials about best products and how to apply them are become popular, gain high rating records.

While Efrat Tseelon (2000) points out, as a part of human biology, both men and women have aging process but 'it is the women who is expected to prevent it'. Thanks to cosmetic industries' perception operation, ageing become a kind of disease for women. But some of us appreciate that technology and cosmetic firms because they have found a solution! They offer us 'scientifically proofed' products that prevent signs of ageing which save us from 'imperfect', 'unacceptable' look. And this is the point it is clear that; the system who created the problem and offered the solution is the same. Thus, Wilson (1985, p.71),_suggests that they are worn like a 'uniform' whereas Bartky claims that it is the "card of entree for most social and professional contexts."

George Simmel puts an another perspective, in his *On Individuality and Social Norms* (1886), claims that fashion give the feeling to people that he/she is not alone, part of a one specific society and demand for social adaptation. Faludi's (1992, p.208) words also supports what Simmel claims, he gives an example form study which focus on women's fashion shopping habits:

In 80s, 'the more confident and independent women became, the less they liked to shop; and the more they enjoyed their work, the less they cared about their clothes. The agency could find only three groups of women who were loyal followers of fashion: the very young, the very social, and the very anxious. So, Simmel's theory becomes more meaningful which emphasis fashion codes like clothes, shoes, bags and make up products functions like secret codes which let person involving into a groups.

Thus, it is a tool for differentiate social statutes which are also signs of different classes like difference between man and women, employee and worker, even black and white. At the point of its relation with the class, Simmel claims that those tools created by the upper class with aiming differentiate themselves from others. Indeed, we know that when one trend expands and most of the people imitate that, a need for a change increase. This circulation goes on and new fashions need to be created for the upper classes.

Johnstone (2008) claims beauty firms are interpreters of gendered and cultural assumptions, their branding strategies reinforced and diffused such values. For instance, when Japan government starts to import and export from the West, government changed the cultural image of Japanese people. Government ban cultural practices like tooth blackening, eyebrow shaving and male's cosmetic use (Ashikari, 2003). It is one of the example how cultural globalization works and how Western norms expand both individuals and global. Thus, stereotypes which created through this system, makes women subjects to criticisms. So, the pressure to women to meet the society's ideal beauty show up. According to Cash & Cash's (1982), "Women's Use of Cosmetics," self-esteem and self-consciousness of women effected by cosmetic market. Thus, global market know their lesson and use this perception's psychological power to get more benefit. They show 'how to become beautiful' in their advertisements, show themselves as they are the one who 'helps' women to fix the norms. They impose: being 'physically attractive' become need to fix the norms, having higher status and "core of mental and physical well-being". As a result, Wolf (1990) and Blood (2005) write that "Beauty standards have not only undermined women's self-worth but also pressure them to conform to the beauty practices of femininity in the attempt to emulate the ideal images of womanhood presented by media and society."

Grogan (2008, p.19) claims, the idealization of the woman's body is due to the "outcome of successful marketing" which plays a role in the standard of the cultural beauty in Western and affluent societies. Therefore, a woman's body is not just perceived as an object but also is expected to undergo "constant self-surveillance and disciplinary practices" (p. 38) in the pursuit of the 'perfect' body (Blood, 2005, p.38).

Women's psychology and emotions are what drives beauty industry's unstoppable growth. Shields and Heineken (2002) supports this idea and they claim, images of ideal female bodies in media creates 'perfect female' in the global capitalism of the twenty-first century.

Cosmetic firms gets monstrous profit with shaping beauty norms; they benefit from women's body. Strongest economy of West, expands its 'idealized body image' to all over the world easily, and getting billion dollars to beauty industry thanks to capitalist system and globalization. While social media is a most important tool to effect women's beauty perception, it is also carries extreme value in case of selling cosmetic products. Avon is also one of them which uses beauty norms to sell its products and cause reproducing idea of idealized body. Which means it is one of the firm that instrumentalize women labor for global capital and more benefit.

2.2 Direct Selling and Women's Labor

Avon is also one of the oldest company which owns this strategy during 1800s. In 2017, Avon Turkey's General Manager Orkun Gül declared that the firm has 1, 5 million sale representatives in Turkey and 80% of them are women. The firm has at least 6 million sales representatives, more than 100 countries in the world. Its total employee number is between 40.000 – 50.000. In Avon's web site, it claims advantages of direct selling is helping women for their financial security. And it provides 'family-work balance with flexible working hours'.

It also says ‘many women is the need for a flexible schedule, so that they can help raise their kids’ and had a motto: ‘Kadınların kadınlar için çalıştığı şirket’ (The company where women work for women)

Direct selling is a one the of the oldest selling strategy in the global market which means goods are reach customers via representatives at their homes or work place through demonstrations of the product. Direct selling is important for firms’ finance and customer relation. Working with selling representatives, lowers distributing expenses of the firms. Rather than working with third party logistic firms, Avon just give tester cosmetic products to its representatives. With this way catching customer becomes easy because there is no other different brand’s product during face-to-face introducing which could grab attention. Besides, if we take into consideration that representatives work in customers’ home, office or in a circle of friends, it is obvious that convincing becomes easier than markets.

Direct selling strategy is also crucial for creating customer loyalty; face to face relation of women let building friendship and increases trust. It is one of the cheap and effective customer relation project for all the firms. Avon also encourages women to become representative, and customers to shop from them with its women oriented sayings and campaigns. It’s “The company where women work for women” saying is one of them. Thus, in a country where women’s economic independence is low, most of the women would not bother to support ‘empowering women’ campaigns. For instance, Lamoreaux (2013) discusses that campaigns such as breast cancer, or domestic violence, which Avon also has, gives women a reason for wanting to work and shop for specific firms. For women workers, those campaigns create the feeling that they are supporting women by helping a company addressing special needs of women. When Avon’s low wage and no insurance formula also comes into existence, it becomes clearer why the firm chose that selling strategy. Basically, Avon spends minimum money while it broaden its representative network and increase its sales.

The message which this strategy give us is which I mention before; women's unpaid job at home (parenting, caring, cooking etc.).

Even though they have job they are the ones who still responsible for domestic works. So, direct selling came within the idea that you can still earn money while you are doing your women duties, and claims it means supporting women.

What company do for calling women to become the sale representatives also proves that they are accepting main duties of women are in home; in advertisements, selling representatives are always shows a women looking computer with their children. So they company's 'empowering women' definition become 'you can earn additional money while not delaying your home tasks to help your family/husband.'

When it is come to the income, firm claims that they have chance to get 'limitless income' according to their personal effort. I found direct selling industry's those promises as misleading and it is like kind of tool which help reproduce and support gendered roles. It creates imaginary working environment which different in theory and practice.

2.3 Slogans as Marketing Strategy

Both national and international firms in the market use similar strategies to get higher profit and its most effective way is marketing strategies which helps to build corporate identity. According to Puntoni and Langhe (2009), marketing promotes goods between the firm and user in an economic way. Firms use strategies with seeking their target costumer and make them need for specific product.

Thus, advertisement is biggest part of that marketing strategy. Advertisement basically includes TV, radio, social media ads, jingles, professional images and slogans. With slogans firms shapes their organization's identity and vision. It helps also identify products. Farhana (2012), claims that slogans use for to create certain image about company in consumer's mind. It is one of the main components of the brand within its logo and name.

If we ask, why are they most crucial for marketing strategy? Its answer could be ‘decision making process’ of customers which means giving motivation to people to buy your products. Advertisements answer ‘why should I buy this’ question for customers with slogans. Decision making process includes 4 steps: (a) information search, (b) evaluation of alternatives, (c) product choice and outcome (d) repeat (Solomon, 2011)

Advertisement and slogans works mostly during information search and evaluation of alternatives steps. After that, when customer choose specific brand and think the product is worth his/her time and money, they continue to use that brand. And this is how consumer loyalty occurs. In the lights of those information, it is clear that for consumer loyalty and economic success, slogans are important tools as a part of firm’s marketing strategy. Though, they are unique for every firm to let recognizing the brand.

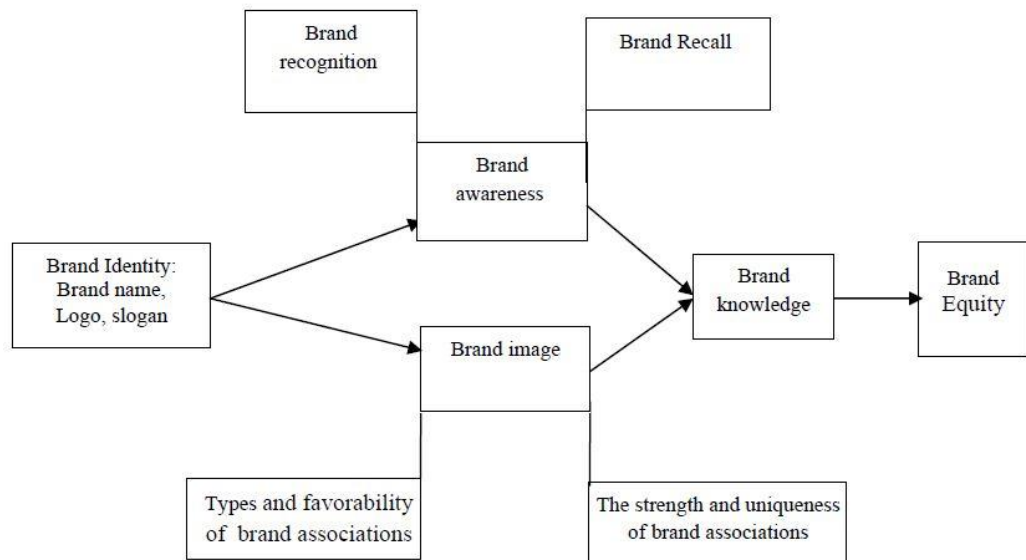


FIGURE 1. (Aaker, 1991, p.19)

Aaker, basically summarizes main effect of slogans with figure 1 below. Through successful slogan, firms get brand awareness, built brand image, brand knowledge and brand equity. Those are the way of becoming distinct and getting recognition in a global market, and the firm cannot gain economic profit without getting that distinctness. Mathur (1995), made a study to see function of advertisement slogans. He found that changing old slogans with catchy ones cause market value rose.

Besides, there are some basic tactics that people use who work in the slogan creating process: Short and clear slogans are easy to memorize than complex one, rhyming also another dimension for improve its understanding for receivers. With those slogans, especially cosmetic firms point out (construct) a problem which only be solved within using their products.

If they can reach women's emotions and make change in their attitudes, that's means slogan is successful. They put forward 'ideal' stereotyped women for manipulating women's beliefs about themselves. Lau and Zuraidah (2010) claims that those advertisements and slogans disturbs reality for make costumers to buy 'way of life' with their products. They evoke and create dissatisfaction feeling of costumers, and claims they can be satisfied with their physical look and emotions through buying specific product.

Means they are not just selling a material product but also emotion, life style which affects human psychology. Portraying 'beautiful women' with no wrinkles, long lashes and shining lips with catchy slogans in advertisement is the best example of it. Slogans mostly answer questions 'why should I prefer your brand's product'. In 'Beauty Product Advertisements', Kaur, et.al.(2013), shows which tactics international cosmetic firms use to answer that question in a way to convince women. His answer is slogans and way of creating them. He gives example from different international cosmetic firms' slogans, one of them is Avon. Avon's international slogans to commercialize lipstick is good example for showing slogan creating strategies. They emphasizes that the firm use imperatives to create fast shopping action and questions to create relationship between the firm and customer.

These are:

- Get it!
- Want it?
- Why just color when you can shine?

Thus, Avon's slogans in Turkish market also has similar methodology. It asks question and uses imperatives. It's one of the popular question type slogan is: Are you ready to change? (Değişime hazır mısınız?) Best example for analyze how Avon sell women 'way of life' and construct problem with slogans is firm's slogans which used in advertisements.

In one of the stunning ad, it asks 'Why women do make up?' and tries to answer why women choose their product with pointing out existed gender norms. In that advertisement, Avon mimics propose a solution for women while reproducing those norms and stigmas:

Thus, it asks secondly, 'Just for beauty? We believe that women struggle with the challenges of business life by taking power from their makeup. Inspires her children with self-confidence. Even if her husband is late, she will have patience waiting calmly. Today, millions of women stand on their own feet, changing the world with their beauty. Their most important weapons are self-confidence (mascara), happiness (lipstick), courage (perfume) ¹ Those slogans that used in an advertisement clip relates women's problem in work life within Avon and claims those problems could overcome through doing make up with Avon products. Secondly, it claims when women use Avon makeup products, they get self-confidence and it help them to raise their children and wait her husband patiently.

The firm have an attitude which is accepting the domestic 'caring' role of the women and supports it's with slogans while commercialize its products.

¹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=faNOJGg4F_Y&list=PLJZWfovAntQEOnSQK7IXCIN7rPTbdA6r-&index=7&t=0s

At the end, it claims women need self-esteem, happiness and courage for challenge struggles and match those feeling within mascara, lipstick and perfume. While Avon use internalized stereotypes for proud its products, women workers highlights this contradict and redefine those stereotypes.

2.4 Avon and Campaigns

Avon's old General Manager of Turkey, Ron Griffiths (2012) states that "Avon means self-development, personal freedom and financial freedom for Turkish women." Also in an organization 'Women Awards' on 14 January 2016, Avon Turkey General Manager Angela Cretu said: "We are fighting for women's well-being and their financial freedom." Firm represents itself as 'The company for women', and they claim they have various campaigns and strategies for empowering women.

Avon is not the only one, today, while companies see 'social responsibility' as a way of being a good business, they also have started to consider these problems as a business opportunity. In this sense, some social responsibility practices such as sponsorship and cause-related marketing are being witnessed for enterprises to be useful in the eyes of all interest groups. To add more value to the products and business image of the enterprises, these applications were also included in strategic charity, which was accepted as a management and marketing strategy in the 1980s. This is one of the potential competition sources in global economy. For this reason, enterprises are allocating large budgets for these units.

In this way, customer loyalty, corporate reputation, the organizational commitment of the employees and productivity changed positively. Thus, philanthropy began to take place in the strategic plans of the enterprises. According to Marx, strategic philanthropy treats philanthropy as an integrated effort with the economic interests of business. The linkages in strategic philanthropy are directly engaged to serve the business interests and also non-profit organizations. (Marx, 1999, 185)

Corporate philanthropy as a dimension of corporate social responsibility was used by Friedman (1970) in the same sense as 'theft.' Here, the word theft, used in the form of spending someone else's money for solving social problems.

According to Friedman, (Lilja, Vinthagen, 2014) the social problems that cause corporate philanthropy are already produced by the enterprise itself, through legal or political reasons. In addition, business managers act to increase the share of shareholders. In this sense, managers have the responsibility to increase the profit of shareholders.

Philanthropy activities has social, economic and psychologic effects on customer and also workers. First of all, it could provide tax advantage to company according to countries' legal system, but in most of the country, government lowers the tax of the firms which have 'social responsibility projects'. Those projects also reinforces company of workers, it lets formation of corporate commitment. Thus, it creates sense of 'serving a common purpose' with the company and among workers. Also, employees could reinforce workers, that some of them become leadership position during those projects – especially who are not in that positions at work – This two situation gives enthusiasm to workers and build cooperation between them. For company, employees' feelings and loyalty is important for also economic sake. While projects create positive image for customers they also have same influence on workers too and it effects their work performance. It provides employees a communication with different ideas, people and social strata.

For customers, on the other hand, it increase brand awareness and loyalty which ensure competitive advantage in the market. Even in the case of organizational crisis, using society's goodwill in favor of the company.

The main campaigns Avon developed as a strategy for ‘empowering women’ are:

- * ‘Fighting for Financial Freedom’
- * ‘Break the cycle’ (Prevent domestic violence)
- * Breast Cancer campaign

In its ‘financial freedom’ campaign Avon claims, it creates brand new business line for women to help them earn their own money under the slogan of ‘empowering women’. Avon convince women who are suffer from leaning on their husband/family economically.

They make women exited through claiming that the in this working system you can get higher amount of money ‘if you work hard enough’. (Gül, 2017). They reach other women with snowball method; the more women reach, the more profits they make and use ‘the company, women working for women’ slogan.

According to their information on their web sites, if they sell 1000 TL product they only get 300 – 400 TL which contradicts with their ‘empowerment’ discourse. Women are given minimum wage with no insurance and social benefits. This procedure help to reproduce women’s situation in household as ‘earning pocket money to support bread-winner husband’.

In the campaign on domestic violence, the firm uses ‘Break the cycle’ (Döngüyü Kır) slogan and gives free lectures to women about psychological, economic and physical violence in household. And sell jewelry and cosmetic products like ‘domestic violence ring’. At the same time, women workers claims that they expose psychological violence in warehouse. Managers assault workers and oblige them to extra shifts.

The breast cancer campaign, provide more than 10 thousand free mammograms but they do not include their women workers. Also, workers in warehouse face with health issues because of lifting heavy boxes in long working hours. Workers get cervical disc hernia, hernia of the loins and successor. Even though warehouse workers lift heavy product boxes all day, they just have two 15 minutes tea break and one 30 minutes lunch break. At the same time, Avon Turkey's General Manager Gül (2017) says "From the moment the women workers' baby is born, it is included in the scope of private health insurance. Women receive coaching before and after maternity leave. We have a baby package, a little financial support, we have a nursing room here. We're sending home a baby nurse after birth. We did a sleep training session, for babies that didn't sleep.

Avon is a nice place to build a great family. I have 3 children, we support the big family. The happiness of people in family life is reflected in their performances in a very positive way. Flexible working hours and one day a month work is also possible." But all those opportunities only for white collar workers in headquarters. From his saying it is easy to understand that the firm is making distinctions and inequality between women workers in warehouse and white-collar workers. This situation, all by itself, creates distinction between women workers and make it harder to create solidarity between women.

To sum up, while Avon positions itself as a company which have women empowerment as a main issue, it also supports this aim with its campaigns and slogans. In theory, the company deals and search for solution to most known problems of women in Turkey like domestic violence, economic independence and screening programs for early detection of breast cancer. But in practice, exploits its women workers and separates fabric workers and white collar workers with different treatments.

Avon workers face with 3 main problems until now. First one is economical, second one is psychological and third one is physical. Economic side includes low wages and no wage increase. Psychological sides consist of verbal assaults from managers to work more and working long hours. Thirdly, physical one equals to health problems which cause cervical disc hernia, hernia of the loins and successor. Besides from that, firm affects them within reproducing gendered norms with its sales representative motivation, slogans, selling strategies and exclude them from its campaigns. Most important detail in here is, the firm creates those 3 problems while it is bragging about supporting women and chanting 'Empowering women' slogan in everywhere which means they use strategic charity strategy. There is clear distinction between what managers are saying and doing. Theoretically, the firm's managers talks about how they support women's financial independent while working their sales representatives and warehouse workers within minimum wages, as an subcontractor or without insurance. They talk about preventing violence while they use psychological violence in warehouse. They also says how important women's health is while make their workers sick. Avon, has another motto 'Kadınların kadınlar için çalıştığı şirket' while they are make unequal implementations and prevent solidarity between women.

In conclusion, after, exposing those problems for a long time workers decided to get unionized. But when they started to become member of DGD-SEN union they got fired. This is where, their resistance started. They decided to take action, with Eylem Görgü's sayings, one of the worker play key role to organize: Women are strong when they are organized. Resisting against men and bosses, we got beauty. We have this power. Which purely shows, she has a conscious that they are exploited and the firm is already cosmetic firm which reproduces women's domestic roles, and idealized women body.

As a counter hegemony she redefines those norms with her ‘we got beauty’ words. From that story, one can easily claim that Avon says they support women, primarily because they strategically based on women, but it has a reverse situation. In fact, the firm’s slogan is ‘Company for women’ they exploit women workers. So, ‘women straightening programs’ is nothing more than ‘selling strategy’ of the company.



CHAPTER 3

RESISTANCE AND SLOGANS

This chapter discusses the use of slogans during the strike to reveal the contradictions in the system and claim resistance and solidarity. In May 2016, Avon officials obliged women workers sign a new contract to confirm the change in subcontractor. Most of the workers did not want to sign new contract and therefore requested help from the workers union, DGD-SEN (Warehouse, Storehouse, Ship Building and Naval Transportation Workers' Union). It is an independent union which established in June 1, 2013. DGD-SEN started its first resistance in Istanbul with the dismissal of the members of the Migros warehouses because of the union activities. The resistance resulted in the recovery, dismissal and compensation of all dismissed members. Started its second resistance with the dismissal of its members working in Avon in Gebze, again, due to trade union activity. Eight workers (five women, three men) in Avon's warehouse in Gebze, in 23 May 2016, being fired. While workers insist that they have fired because of becoming union member, Avon insisted that the reason was not about unionization. According to workers, the company made a statement saying "The workers were fired because of individual reasons not because they have unionized". The managers of Avon claimed that the terms of the contract were promising to protect the rights related to all seniority or labor law. But at the same time, the contract included 3 months of trial-period even for the workers of ten-year employment. It also included an article of "I accept to work in other cities." If a worker does not go to work at the new place s/he is asked to within three days, it is stated that the worker could lose all rights. That means even the workers with ten years of employment could not get their main rights like compensation. Workers claimed that, Avon officials, who stated that workers should stay in overtime as 'a necessity of industry, Avon stated that this is a necessary and legal practice.

In the light of those information, there were three main problem in the new contract:

- Obligation and pressure to sign a new contract
- Chang work of place
- 3 mouths of trial period for all workers

Therefore, workers decided to become unionized to get support for their requests. Eylem Görgü was one of the women worker who played a crucial role for encouraging their colleagues to becoming unionized. After Eylem's dismissing, 7 other workers who became DGD-SEN union member has fired.

The personal interviews circulating in social media or various alternative media sources helped me to understand women's perspectives of the strike and resistance.² Eylem claims in her interviews that on May 19, the security did not let her in when she came to work. When she asked 'why' they said that her contract terminated. She said (Medyascope, 2016) that they were not informed about the new contract previously, even though they were working in the factory for a long time. She said in interview "We have seen this contract, the day they wanted us to sign, it was not related to any labor law, so I decided to enter the union and tell my friends to do the same."

She also explained the problem of changing work place with those words: "We have been working as a subcontractor for many years. They tried to sell us (like a slave) to a company called Klüh Destek Professional Hizmetler Ticaret A.Ş. The terms of the new contract were taking worse situation than now. For example, if they want they could run us in another city. I built my life in Gebze. How can I leave from Gebze? We decided not to sign this contract with my other friends and decided to be unionized. We were like a slave. I call us 'slave workers'"(Sosyal Kafa, 2016)

² Medyascope.tv. (2016, June 15). *Avon'un işten çıkardığı Eylem Görgü ile konuşuyoruz* [Video file]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6MzaSubilU>
Sosyal Kafa 4. Sezon 9. Bölüm (Eylem Görgü) [Video file]. (2016, May 31). Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nqNeROmuhr0>

So, workers who are fired started protest in front of the factory building on 23 May 2016. They pitched a tent and stated that they would continue resisting until their demands are accepted.

During the strike, workers voiced all problems that they were exposed to during all those years they worked for AVON, such as long working hours, low wage, occupational illnesses, hygiene problems in work environment, lacking social rights, psychological violence, and lack of kinder garden for their children.

While they were still working they used various strategies to resist and bring attention to the problems they were facing. For example, they blocked the ways of the service vehicles to draw attention to long and intense working hours, or lied on the floor and stopped cars from entering the warehouse. Their colleagues in service buses also showed their supports by applauses and hitting the windows.

While Avon stated that they were committed to "equitable fair wages for all employees, including workers at the service provider company" workers said there were different applications even for social rights.

Workers also indicate they do not have any rights other than insurance. Eylem said, "We did the same work as the permanent workers, but the remunerations were not the same." She also stated that she get minimum wage for ten years "without working a single penny raise"

Occupational accidents and illnesses were also serious problems. Some workers had joint problems due to lifting heavy boxes in long working hours, yet the company did not provide any nursery support. Here, I can mention one of the contradiction in the strategies of Avon, as mentioned in chapter 2, while it supported free mammograms for thousands of women as a part of the marketing campaign, the working conditions has created health problems for the women workers of the company. This contradiction was also mentioned by Eylem: "The company was running a campaign about the breast cancer, but they did not provide any breast scanning for the workers in the factory. They are campaigning to prevent the violence

against women, but women workers are exposed to psychological and economic violence inside the factory.

Eylem also complains about manager's psychological violence: "They were also psychologically tiring us. We are under constant pressure to prepare packages quickly".

Her experience shows that the company's campaign of stopping violence is part of its market strategy. A company which makes campaigns against violence, expose its workers to psychological abuse.

During strike, workers also emphasizes frequently, most of the workers in warehouse are women, so if company wants to support them it should put some practices to help them. As Eylem says: "The majority of the people here are women. Most of them are mothers. But there is no kinder garden."

Lastly, although the company emphasis on solidarity among women especially when trying to gain sale representatives – company claims they are a firm which 'women work for/within women', 'company for women' - it even does not let its workers become together because of its benefit. Avon, who established the marketing strategy through a social purpose such as "empowering women," does not want the solidarity and organization of women. There is fear among workers of what the management might do to them if they join the union. Eylem claims, "It was not possible for us to build such solidarity with Avon sales representatives, women or white-collar Avon employees." From these words, one can understand that Avon's sales strategy distinguishes women according to their class differences.

It is essential to keep in mind that this protest started under the State of Emergency and Turkey is a country in which labor is very weak with both capital and state, and where 'private sector workers suffer brutal anti-union harassment, including dismissals, while strikers face police violence and arrests (ITUC, 2008). Throughout the protest, workers wanted to meet administration and went to head office to Kağıthane to submit their requests, but officials refused their demand. So, they started to sit down strike front of the head office.

DGD- SEN's Organizing Expert Pelin Daş said that they came to the Avon headquarters to meet with the administration and re-submit their requests, but it rejected. Daş said "We did not get a positive response again. We do not give up using our right to protest until we reveal our legitimate demands even in the case of State of Emergency". (Alinteri.org, 2016)

This rejection also explain so much about general attitude toward unionization of employers in Turkey. Throughout the history the government paves the way of state-guided unionism. Legislation which created after 12 September coup d'état, were weak and easy to control. Government annuls a statute: law No. 275, (second unionizing law). There was also the Ministerial Board's postponement of the strike.

The relevant articles of the 21st Act of 275 actually in effect during the period of 1963-1980 were as follows: "In the event of a statute or lock-out that has been or has decided, or if it is detrimental to national health or national security, the Council of Ministers may delay the strike and lockout in this dispute for not more than thirty days. AKP government announced 'State of Emergency' on 20 July. Under the state of emergency rules, the government banned most of the strikes in the country.

More than 15 strikes banned on the grounds that it was a national security disturbance, the reason for the "general health deterioration" was also shown in addition to some prohibitions. Under that political atmosphere, while they are front of Kağıthane headquarter, one specific situation happened which reflects how women face with gendered norms in work life. While sit down act, Avon Company's security guard assaulted workers with the words, "Do not wait here, go find a husband, make a child."

These words show clearly given value of women in the workplace, in politics. These words have the potential to reflect the stigma that given to women from society: 'First and must duty is marriage, having a child and domestic roles' (Alinteri.org, 2016)

To sum up, they submit four primary and 19 other additional requests. The first and most important one was subcontractor company KLÜH's removal from Avon. The second one is, taking back the ones who fired from the job. The third one is, recognizing the union within the protocol. And the fourth one: All workers will become tenured. Other 19 include articles; Workers will be provided with nursery facilities for childcare. Women workers' dressing cabinets keys will not be given to male security workers anymore, canteen foods will be rearranged according to workers' daily protein needs, food, clothing, fuel, housing, and pregnancy benefits will be provided, the salary of the new employee will not be the same as that of the 10-year experienced worker, implementations which made in the general directorate will also apply to warehouse workers, continuous standing and working 12 hours a day will be ended. (DGD-SEN, 2018)

With using different forms of resistance like sit-down act, pinching a tent, blocking services, and tool like slogans during the strike, women workers challenge to beauty norms, sale strategy of company and capitalism. All those different forms and tools helps challenging the system and redefine it.

3.1 Slogans as a Tool for Resistance

According to Harold Sharp, (Lu, 1999) the word 'slogan' is used by Scottish clans and means 'army cry' or 'war cry.' Its purpose was to inspire members to fight against enemies to protect the clan. We cannot wait for politics to be successful without mass mobilization. And at this point, slogans came to the stage. They are one of the most crucial effective tool for mobilizing people. Besides, mass mobilization needs a specific ideology.

If we define ideology as a set of beliefs, ideas, values which operates in a particular group, then the practice of that ideology consists political communication and language. And slogans are part of it.

Political slogans aims to force people to take actions, reflect political goals and try to raise consciousness. But at the same time, it is not giving message in one-way, rather it is building relation between sender and receiver.

It is important to remember that, slogans also have the power to shape mind and cultural attitudes. Barton in 199 (Lahlali, 2014) claims that creating and repeating slogans establishes solidarity among participants. Their aim of use could be change. Today, slogans are used all over the world for advertising, political campaigns and also at counteracts like protests, strikes.

Political slogans could be both used from politicians and protesters. Politicians use them for control society, to claim ideology of political party, image building, and demolishing opponent's ideology, to get support and establish solidarity. They aim to create certain social perception. However, it does not mean that every slogan have power to get attention, because people direct their attention only few of these according to their personal interests. In slogans both politicians and protestors mostly use sarcasm, tune, and rhythm.

Effectiveness of slogans could be study within two theories; (1) Expectancy Theory and (2) Cognitive Response Theory. First one is about language of slogans. Expectancy Theory assumes that languages shapes around society's normatives and culture. When slogans' messages conform those norms

“The norms and expectations are strengthened, but the messages exert minimal impact on attitudes”. But when they violate society's normatives, “the expectations of message receivers, and, in turn, affect their receptivity.”

On the other hand, Expectancy Theory is about relation between language and slogan. This theory states that if messages of slogans differ from the norms it influence perceptions. For Expectancy Theory there are two violations as positive and negative. When messages of slogans positively violate language that it has positive impact on people. But if the violation is negative, ‘Receivers changing to the position opposite to the one advocated by the communicator of slogan’.

Thus, these theories are claims one more time the certain thing about political slogans; creators of slogans manipulate verbal resources.

There should be a basic difference between the language of slogan and common language. Today, when we look at political slogans we see that they are mostly use emotional or triggering language.

According to *Political Slogans and Communication Journal* (n.d., p.121), there are three kinds of responses to political slogans: (a) counter argument, (b) source derogation (c) support argument. Counter argument came to the stage when people dissent with the sloganeer. Source derogation occurs within negative slogans. At this phase, we see again dissonance and people think source is biased whereas support argument is among supporting the sloganeer.

At the end of the day, political slogans reflect the goal of current political context, provoking action, mass mobilization, establish identity, changing perceptions and building a public sphere and public opinion.

Slogans' producing process needs critical thinking and creativity. Those words should not be blurry and should give a clear message to the receiver. Politicians create slogans by taking into consideration of social norms, perceptions, traditions and culture. Words which come against society's norms make the receiver respond with counter argument or source derogation. They could include biting words, humor and irony. However, generally authority figures prefer more serious and direct slogans - easy to prove when we look at the current political agenda of Turkey- while opposition parties or politicians use more irony and humor. One of the good examples of slogans in history is: "Workers of the World, Unite!" which also shows that thought and context of historical moment could be embedded slogans. These slogans still have power to remind us the working class' strong boundaries at that time and their hope.

On the other hand, they have power to start social movements/also they could be used in social movements. We can claim that it provides people to participate in politics, reflect dissatisfactions, request and offer solutions.

It is a mobilization of people who has common purpose of change. So, slogans become the main tool during social movements to reflect that common purpose in a different forms and make it heard. Benford and Snow (2000, p.614), call this process 'collective action frames' and define as a process of 'action-oriented'. According to them, those activities' aims are "(a) to define the problem and identify who is to blame for the problem, (b) to identify possible solutions, and (c) to motivate people to take action"

3.2 Protest Slogans: Subverting and Redefining

With looking at political and marketing slogans, I can claim that they have many common point in their creating tactics. Moreover, slogans that using in protests are also political. Especially, when we look at worker class people's slogans we can see strong relationship with politics. Also, we can claim women protesters use similar slogan creating tactic with marketing slogans and political ones. While women protesters use short, clear, effective, ironic word, all of them want slogans which easy to remember, reaching receiver's opinion and emotions, there are significant dimensions which make protest slogans significant and totally different: Their way of use and goal. While politicians and political parties using slogans to build their image, compete with opponents, slogans which using in protests (as a counteract) do not have such purpose. Likewise, cosmetic market slogans also aims to build corporate identity through manipulating emotions and decisions, through imposing gendered norms as a 'normal' and make feel women dissatisfied.

In Avon case, workers at protest aim to reflect unjust treatment of politics and market. Even though they use the same tool (slogans) with politics and market owners, their way of using slogans is totally different from them. Important point is women worker protesters rather use imposed gendered norms, market's manipulated slogans as a tool to subvert exploiter ideologies and redefine them to create and shape worker women identity.

They intersect cosmetic market's slogans and politics, use them in a political way. They use beauty market's 'ideal women' typology, subvert 'need of having perfect skin, body, lashes' and send both social and political messages.

For instance, they subvert embedded meaning in the word 'beauty' and use it to highlight workers' need of solidarity, equality and asking for their rights.

If we want to compare Figure 1 with protest slogans; while companies built brand awareness, image and knowledge through their creative slogans, protest slogans reserves it back and demolishes brand image through highlighting unfair practices of company. They have power to change brand recognition of the company for its customers.

On the other hand, what workers exactly do is:

*Reminding the class and gender inequality and exploitive attitudes of the capitalist system with referencing to politicians' and Avon's slogans in use.

*Subvert the meanings of their words to point out their needs, construction of new women worker identity and what is need to be done for achieve it.

3.3 Avon Workers and Redefining Slogans

Avon women workers redefine 'worker identity' and raised questions about the patriarchal faces, of capitalist production. They challenged beauty norms, firm's campaigns which seem like a launch to support women but reproduce the patriarchy and exploitation with their slogans. In Avon strike, women's way of creating slogans shaped by their desires to have their working rights, their emotional status. Those women already have a nearly common ground. So, slogans became one of the vital tools to identify their discomfort and most importantly, turn their feeling and thoughts to concrete.

This is also how social movements start; feelings and minds came together around the same aim. Social movements include a group of mobilized people in order to solve that they see as injustice or inequality.

Sidney Tarrow also defines social movements as collective actions created by individuals who have common goals and are in solidarity. With the general framework, mass movements emerged as social movements that occurred as a result of dissatisfaction. Slogans' core function has the power to create solidarity within all the critical point that I have mentioned above. Because one can never achieve his/her aim without mobilizing other people. Slogans are for creating consciousness or augment workers level of consciousness. Giving a fillip to people is the critical point to start to take action.

You should excite them, make them realize their problems are worth to fight. Make them realize that they are not alone and many other people feel the same way. Making people 'feel' and 'excite' going to be the reason for their starting point of solution seeking.

But slogans have different function according to where they are using. They are also epicentrum for political parties, advertisements, and even football teams. Moreover, those parties could have a different political view. Slogans are proper for all of them.

According to Le Bon, without the common soul, the social movement cannot achieve its aim. Only, a group of people who has a common soul could be successful. In Avon case, workers who knows their rights gave the start to strike. Like Le Bon mentioned, they have a common mind, and common feelings and relationship around specific group identity. As Marx says, getting together, forming unity and solidarity is a 'must' for taking action against a specific challenge. And the slogans are one of the main tools to create them. Because political and social consciousness cannot be emerged by individuals alone.

In this case, slogans also used as a tool to keep mass movement alive, to spread, to make visible their subordinated situation, being women and worker at the same time. What we mentioned until now are the things that they take into consideration and use while they choose the words they are going to shout out. Their slogans are:

Slogans	Main Message
Rujunu sil sesini yükselt (Wipeout your lipstick, raise your voice)	Struggle against beauty standards
Yaz ayının vazgeçilmez rengi: Direniş (Dispensable color of the summer season: Resistance)	Resistance
Tebrikler Avon Türkiye, bizi güçlendirdin (Thanks, Avon-Turkey. You made us stronger)	Empowerment
Gücümüz güzelliğimizden, güzelliğimiz direnişten	Solidarity
Avon işçiye hesap verecek (Avon will count for labor)	Challenge

When we look at the general structure of those slogans, we see that they include irony, metaphor, specialization, sharp language and play of euphemism against taboo. They change meaning and form of the words. With this tool, women redefines, capitalist system, beauty norms, women workforce, firm's strategy and make them visible.

First one is: Rujunu sil sesini yükselt. We see that they use significant symbols like 'lipstick' which is most popular and main cosmetic product of firm. When they chant 'Rujunu sil' they invite other people to boycott and remove the idea of conforming the beauty practices of femininity which shapes standard of the cultural beauty.

It also a challenge against beauty norm that firm reproduce with its attitudes and ads. They also reverse Avon's one of the most popular slogan: 'Güzelliğe değer katar', which reflects beauty products like 'personal requirements' and claiming that products women buy going to make them 'beautiful', help to gain more self-confidence, make them feel free, comfortable and 'sexy'.

Secondly, 'Gücümüz güzelliğimizden, güzelliğimiz direnişten' another slogan that challenge beauty norms and redefines them. It claims real beauty is not physical not about the color of lips, but it is something come with solidarity and collectivity. The 'real beauty' is what make women strong, and it is their collective actions: Women are beautiful when they are resisting, have conscious of system's and firm's exploiting labor force. They strictly redefine and reverse the meaning of 'idealized beauty'. They also defines a utopic system which solidarity brings real beauty, not legal punishment or fear.

This slogan also reminds me of Avon's 'Şimdi güçlenme zamanı' and 'Kadınların gücüne güç katıyoruz' slogans. It is the best example how workers challenges the Avon's gendered norm related slogans with their own words. While the firm relates empowerment of women with ideas like 'helping women to become beautiful' and 'working for support family without disturbing domestic roles' workers redefines empowerment as 'standing against those ideas together', 'fighting for workers rights' and reshape women worker identity.

'Yaz ayının vazgeçilmez rengi: Direniş'.

Here, again women reverse Avon's 'Bu sezonun vazgeçilmez rengi dudaklarınızda' advertisement slogan. It targets firms' marketing strategy, workers reverse and redefine the firm's gendered slogans and use with something what firms is totally opposite: resistance.

Workers makes this new definition with using firm's style but adding it humor, sarcasm and irony against anti-solidarity and anti-resistance perspective . Here, also 'seasonal color' idea catches attention. Fashion industry's changeable 'correction' products for 'trendy' skin is also sign of turning female body obedient to

cultural demands. So, workers 'summer season' irony could be a tool for highlighting temporary products which shapes women's lives.

Another one is 'Tebrikler Avon Türkiye, bizi güçlendirdin'. Normally, Avon is the company which gets congrats because of being one the leading firm in cosmetic market. Also, company's 'congrats!' word is popular because it is a word women see or hear when they become sales representative. Thus, workers congrats word is an irony to say Avon teach them become together and stronger.

After Avon strike started to circulate in social media we can see women support Avon workers with their hashtags. Women's resistance also supported by social media which we can call 'hashtag activism' which unite people on virtual platforms. It is basically today's one of the most efficient way of bring attention and mobilize people. It also helps keeping existed challenge alive and empower communities. When resistances and protests support within online activism it has higher chance to reach the aim and molding public opinion. Thus Avon workers gain supporters from different countries with Turkish and English hashtags. They use #RujunuSilSesiniYükselt, #1AmaçİçinGüzellik, #BeautyforaPurpose hashtag and share pictures while they use their lipstick to write slogans against Avon. With this way they create collective action while they are demolishing their Avon lipsticks.



Asli Silahdaroglu @AsliSB · 26 May 2016

I used my #AVON lipstick for a great purpose: to empower workers @avonturkiye
#1AmaçİçinGüzellik #BeautyforaPurpose



1 10 7

They have also use hashtags like #direnisleguzel, #KadınlarAvonuBoykotEdiyor, #YaşasınAvonDirenişimiz against Avon's official campaign hashtag #1AmaçİçinGüzellik

To sum, women workers who meet at the common ground, have similar problem in work and in social life come together to shout out and express the desire. Desire of improved working conditions, equality within 'women worker identity'. Their slogans of use also functions for call other women to their solidarity, giving message to other women and let them place oneself on a mental or emotional level with their struggle to occur collective movement.

On the other hand, while they making this redefining process, they reverse Avon's slogans, which they claim reflecting a 'fake' appearance to women costumers.

They are:

- 'Güzelliğe değer katar' – Main slogan
- 'The Company for women ' – Main slogan
- 'Döngüyü Kır' –Domestic violence
- 'Şimdi güçlenme zamanı' (Konferans – İlham veren başarı hikayeleri)
- 'Kadınların gücüne güç katıyoruz' (Dünyada 6 milyon kadını ekonomik olarak güçlendiriyoruz)

Those slogans' some of them refers Avon's campaigns and how becoming sales representative give women economic independence. Firm claims, in Avon women are working for help each other and other women while its sale strategy distinguishes women according to their class. Thus, during resistance it is clear that Avon sales representatives and white-collar employees are not supporting women workers in fabrics. While company says 'Şimdi güçlenme zamanı' it only refers sales representatives high selling records, does not take into consideration of both white-collar women in its headquarters or worker women in its fabrics.

With its practices Avon itself refutes its own 'Kadınların gücüne güç katıyoruz' discourse.

In sum, Avon applies the opposite of what it say, and women use these interpretations as a tool in their resistance. This is not specific to Avon. In order to earn money in the scheme established by the capitalist and global system, all of the firms that enter the market in a way, get rid of workers' rights to make more profits, regardless of the sector they are in. Women workers are the most affected by this situation.

Therefore, the aim here is not to blame Avon, but to emphasize the fairness applications of companies against the workers. The aim here is to show that women who are out of patience end up acting in spite of all pressures, and to build their collective movement with female workers. My main aim is emphasize slogans, one of the tools used by women during the process of resistance have power to redefine system. Because what they exactly done is using Avon's and system's gun against them. They prove that they are aware of exploiting system and have class conscious via their slogans. They insists they are brave enough to disturb the system.

CONCLUSION

Benefiting from the blessings of the technology, the owners focused solely on their own profit rates due to the wild nature of the capitalist system. Maybe they were forced to. Because you need to be selfish in the capitalist system, otherwise you are pushed out of the system. Avon is just one of them. Industrial Revolution, globalization and its 'best friend' capitalism paved the way for transportation and communication which supported the global economy. This era also is a turning point for women; they started to take part in the workforce. Not just gender matters; this new era sharpened social strata, class distinction and unequal distribution of goods and services. Thanks to surplus value, owners began to pay minimum wages to the worker to maximize their benefit. When they come together with privatization and neoliberal policies, things got a little out of hand. Besides low wages, workers were also working really long hours, and working in bad environmental conditions.

Women workers affected more than men because when worker class which is already exploiting by the system intersect within women identity, they face double subordination. They worked even lower wages than men. Like economic benefits, globalization and capitalism use gendered norms for their own sake. They support and reproduce these norms, which let them find always cheaper, 'patience' and 'subservient' (women) workers. They shaped the perception of women workers; teach women or try to teach women to become 'ideal workers for industry'. The aim was to make them 'disciplined bodies of capital'. This situation makes a gendered labor force important for global capital which leads women to expose economic and psychological violence in the workforce.

As Peterson claims (2015), "The image of this passive, silent, obedient and non-demanding iconic female worker of neoliberalism leads to the belief that women are not fit to organize labor movement." This working system created 'female jobs' which are low paid and temporary, create glass ceiling in the

workforce and let most of the women internalize and teach them how to transfer it to the next generation through motherhood. Jobs that make it easier for women to balance their family and business are accepted as a 'female job'. Being sales representative is also one of them. Firms which use direct selling strategy claims, it provides an opportunity to women for save time for domestic roles. Thus, they prove that they are supporting the idea which continue since colonial times; the dominance of male in decision-making processes both at work and family is natural. While globalization brought the chance to women to enter the workforce and gain economic independence, it does not mean their working conditions get better. Some modernization debates lighted up by many scholars. Some of them claimed that globalization opens new doors for women to enter the workforce and make them economically independent. But there is an infinite loop in this system; A cultural hegemony came after the Industrial Revolution encourage women to enter a workforce (1), then, many women see their job as a source of independence (2) it leads to a kind of small economic freedom but that still indigent to their family or husband, idealized docile women body is a blessing for the global economy (3). And then the loop turns to the first one again, through cultural hegemony, convincing for women to work is continuing.

It is important to analyze cases in their own context. So, one should evaluate Turkey's historical, economic and cultural situation for look women worker's resistance in Turkey. Neoliberalism came up with the 'January 24, 1980 Decisions' which came within 12 September Coup. It is the strongest step in Turkey to join the international economy. During this time, the agricultural, financial, banking and insurance sectors privatized. 8th president of Turkey, Turgut Özal have a special meaning for this moves, thus, literature mentions 'Özalism' concept like Thatcherism and Reaganism. Neoliberal practices came to practice with him and his party (Mother Land Party). He adopted the free trade system. It aimed at improving international trade and put Turkey in a global network, renewed communication, transportation, and energy sectors.

Second most large-scaled privatizations began in the third year of the AKP government, however, it does not mean that other parties or politicians did not obey the neoliberalism agenda. The result was sharpened class and political struggle. Especially with privatization, working class people started to migrate from Anatolia's rural places to big industrial cities. While capitalists increase their profit through using 'advantage' of huge industrial reserve army which occurred within migrations, workers who migrate to cities obligated to survive within low wages, live in cheap and old houses and even some of them struggling with unemployment.

During those changes happening in economic life, women living in Turkey also had entered the workforce, started to work in fabrics. Women were the cheapest labor; while capitalist already paying low wages without any social rights to men, women become very suitable for the interests of capitalism. Because they were given a lower salary than men; their excuse was ready: 'women's jobs' worthless. To continue that benefit, they also reproduce those norms, thoughts, domestic roles, and stigmas. When public and private space separated and men had more control over the private one, the concept of the family also changed. In the new concept, male became a 'bread-winner' whereas female became 'housewife.' Employers prefer women for unskilled and detailed hand jobs. Patriarchal norms define women's labor as "cheap" but also socially and economically worthless which makes a gendered labor force important for global capital." When women enter the workforce within those stigmas most of them learn to internalize and become disciplined bodies of capital. They both physically and emotionally adopted that situation. Which reminds the concept of 'docile body' of Foucault.

As a matter of fact, even in 2017, those gendered norms continues strongly in Turkey. As I mentioned in Chapter 1, 55.7% of men think that doing housework is women's first duty and 57% of them think that women should take their husband's permission to work. Under these circumstances, people who adopt these norms cannot be expected to have a completely opposite opinion at workplace. This is also the reason why there are more male executives in higher positions.

While women are growing up in the society whose rules have already been established, they are interiorized these traditional ideas, no matter how much they aware of.

As a result, we have so far:

- Political and economic consequences of the capitalist system and the global economy.
- Gender norms encountered in daily life.
- The reality that the combination of the two is reflected in the workplaces.

And reproducing those labels at workplaces.

This three fact turns women into what Ngai (Garner, 2005) says; 'factory daughters' as an ideal candidate for the industry. Thus, politics is a discipline which shaped by also gender, sex, and social norms. At this point, we can claim that gender is political, especially when it intersects with class.

Against that political struggle, women, especially feminist activists pointing out the domination of man is not natural. Since then, they also have achieved some changes in gender laws, policies, and other rights through organizing and creating solidarity. To challenge gender norms, they use activities that draw attention to the problem like protesting, lobbying...

Against the political struggle, Marx also supports that proletariat should always be organized. When the surplus value came into existence, a new class – the working class – occurred and they started to work in fabrics rather than small businesses or agriculture. So when being women intersect within being working class, situation gains more political dimension. The most primitive examples of organizing were form in friendship organizations in England, where also the Industrial Revolution first began. Today, in particular after workers' rights legislation begins to emerge, we have trade unions to ask for worker's right in legal order. Thus, countries need two main things for unionism; the first one is industrialization and the second one is a democracy. We knew that Turkey met too late both two of them. Basically, after the Turkish Republic established there was a one-party system. CHP does not allow establishing the organizations that will awake the consciousness of the class. For this reason, it was allowed to form associations based on the occupations. After the Members Act Law No. 4919, in 1946, unions or class-based associations freely established. But CHP always controlled the activities of trade unions. So, workers who are friendly with CHP or its members, enter the managerial stuff in unions. From that day to this day, a lot has changed, but it was not enough to destroy workers' problems. Hence, in 2016, which Avon resistance started, there was already the State of Emergency established AKP government, after '15 July coup attempt' in Turkey.

During this time, around 15 strikes banned or delayed by the government. But that does not mean those barriers reason to stop women from asking for their rights. One specific moment which happened during Avon resistance is a good example of even resistance process how women face with gendered norms. During the sit-down act in front of the Avon Company. The statements made by the security officer to the protesting women workers summarize the situation: "Do not wait here, go find a husband, make a child."

It shows how domestic roles attached women in every part of the daily life, in the political arena and with their worker identity. This is also why Ngai, use the term ‘factory daughters’ thus, while they are exploiting as ‘unpaid house workers’ at the house as a daughter or wife, they also expose the same mentality at work and became like the daughter of the factory.

Besides traditional roles, norms, and cultures, globalization of culture and cultural norms has hand in it. According to Gramsci’s cultural hegemony, culture is a way of building hegemony. It was through schools or religious institutions in the past, but now governments have effective media tools like TV, radio, newspapers, and internet to shape identities, relationships, and emotions. As Marx and Gramsci supports, the dominant ideology of the ruling class has the power to manipulate the beliefs, perceptions, values, and habits of the rest of society. Those claims prove the economically powerful ones have the power to have a say in politics, but also have the power to influence the popular culture and trends. Marketing advertisements also takes advantage of it and use their jingles, slogans and ads for manipulate the belief and attitude towards beauty.

One of the trendy sector is cosmetics and it is certain that international cosmetic firms decide ‘best look for this season’ so they can sell their different products.

We knew that people spend 7 billion Dollar for cosmetic products and they are selling under the name of ‘feeling better’. At this point, finance capital directly plays to emotions and psychology of people – especially women. This psychological procedure does not have only one reason. Both capitalism, finance capital, globalism, global culture, the beauty firms in the competition have hand in it. While finance capital and the global economy think about ways of getting maximum benefit, they use culture as their tool. This culture tool includes all components that could reach all kind of people from society, no matter gender, age, and ethnicity. Today, while almost every corner fills within different stimulus, we expose images of ideal bodies in every place; school, work, public transportation etc.

On the other hand, our family, friends, colleagues, teachers who perfectly internalizes those idealized have main power to affect our emotions and attitudes. Those people around us have the capacity to impose us those gendered norms with judging, with their habits and, attitudes. If we want to make it concrete; it is a chain, interlocking impellers and infinite loop which is really hard to break, fight and even stand against it. It is a kind of funnel cloud that pulls everyone toward itself.

So, when we have all those cultural, economic and political disorders, one of the important question is: What is the solution?

In different times of history, people use different alternative ways to stand against unfairness and asking for their rights. Some of them are basically, strikes, protests, civil disobedience, and even a hunger strike. But the main thing is creating solidarity, collective movement and organizing. They might face the government's or politician's barriers but people gathered around common trouble, creates a common soul and have will to move collectively. On the other hand, those people should have class consciousness.

When we look at potential political barriers in Turkey, we saw last accepted 1983 law which says: "In the event of a statute or lock-out that has been or has decided, or if it is detrimental to national health or national security, the Council of Ministers may delay the strike and lockout in this dispute for not more than thirty days."

Also, the AKP government announced 'State of Emergency' on 20 July and banned at least 13 strikes with asserting 'national health and security risk'. Government exploits this law very well. When there are already thousands of barrier layers, laws, which governments introduce for their own sake, makes it impossible to stand against the system. Thus, it is important to remind that resisting, protesting or starting strike became difficult under this political agenda.

These rules were valid at the time of the Avon strike. In accordance with the Avon case, it is undeniable if you are women and worker at the same time, you have to fight for more than one thing.

The anger of women that accumulated for years came to the blasting point when eight workers fired from Avon because of union membership. Women who have been working under bad conditions with low wages for many years are dismissed when they become union members. Reasons why workers want union membership of DGD-SEN already existed bad treatments like; long working hours, psychological violence, mobbing, health problems because of the working environment, abasement, discrimination between white-collars and workers, low salary; which are the result of the mentioned capitalist system.

As an all other capitalist firms, the reason why Avon Company did not want workers to be a union member is obvious and straightforward; they do not wish any thread against their benefits. They are aware that there is an industrial reserve army at the outside of the firm. They do not want to spend the time to listen to a worker's 'waywardness' and 'time-consuming unnecessary complaint'.

As a result, they succeed in going through this hard sledding and started a strike. During resistance, women use different tools for protesting. They were pitching a tent in front of the fabric, made sit-down acts, lying in front of service vehicles and use creative slogans. All those tools help them to make their wishes concrete and made the resistance visible.

Specifically, their use of creative slogans catches the attention of the public. When we analyze deeply those slogans, it is clear that they redefine existed rules, regulations and gendered norms. They are one of the most crucial tools for mobilization and social movements which mentioned before as a way of resistance. They help to draw attention, taking fast action, reflects desires and emotions and creating solidarity, which are core functions for a social movement. At the same time, they summarize the whole process with catchy and strong words. At that time what Avon doing was:

- While the firm is bragging of being international cannot make its own women workers feel comfortable. To top it all off, make them hardly manage with their low salary, make them dependent on others for a living.

- Making expensive advertisement on TVs and billboards about the importance of women health and support free health check for customers while sickening their workers.
- Firms the company's lack of a policy to help workers about child care and family. Like fire them suddenly and have the power to change their place of work without even asking them.

Avon, who has a long market history and based its basic motto on 'Empowering Women', makes contradiction with the treatment of women working in a warehouse and that small group of women stand against them. Their strike started with eight workers has grown in a short time. Imagine thousands of women enter in the fabric, get lower wage than its worth means unpredictable profit both for government and the firm. This is why government sometimes turn a blind eye to those firms and silently support them.

At this point, what Avon's women workers exactly doing was changing the meaning of the system's stereotyped and selfish definitions. They came up with new discourses against Avon's imaginary ones which seems like aims to empowering women while reproducing gendered norms and stigmas. Attention catching point is while they are standing against exited political and marketing slogans, they use same tactics with them. Which means: they have made short, clear, rhyming and easy to remember slogans. They try to reach emotions and support to take fast action like social movement and boycotting while for marketing ads 'action' is going shopping. They subvert political slogans which seeks social norms, perceptions, traditions and culture of the society for their own seek and image. While political parties, politicians and firms use them to create identity and vision they use for demolishing them. While firms point construct a problem which only be solved within using their products, they reveal that real problem is those firms and their ideologies, not the women as a person. With slogans during their resistance they directly play to firms' identity building process, costumers' decision process which built with ad slogans and have power to affect them economically.

They changed the meaning of what capitalist system called ‘beauty’, ‘solidarity’, ‘worker’, ‘women. Workers redefine what cause injustice, discrimination, and stigmas with slogans and reveal the exploitations they have faced.

Slogans also help to create specific group identity, creating consciousness, to keep the collective movement alive. They also change the meaning of Avon’s slogans, add humor and sarcasm to them. They use Avon’s ‘Yaz sezonunun vazgeçilmez rengi’ ad and make relate it with resistance through emphasizing the importance of solidarity. It is worth to mention another women strike’s slogans which going on for 7 months in Istanbul to protest firing union worker members. Flormar cosmetic’s women workers also use “We are women, we do everything” with reversing firm’s “With Flormar, women do everything” Using slogans with reserving their meanings resembles black people's 'nigga' discourse or LGBT's 'velev ki ibneyiz' slogan. It represents social meaning and reflects a specific identity. With using this 'reversing the meaning' form, speakers represent their awareness and reaction of their history, subordination and injustice practices they face. The form has been productive because it also aims solidarity and desire for positive change.

During their resistance, they used five main slogans. They use redefining, changing the meaning, reversing the meaning, parody, humor, irony and sometimes sarcasm. We can sort by under 6 topics the effect of their slogans:

- They claim that they are aware of the existed political and economic system, they are aware of this system is exploiting them and they say ‘We are standing against them despite you’, ‘We have the power to change your stereotyped system’.
- Secondly, they emphasize solidarity which is trying to prevent by a firm with unequal applications. They basically say: The essence of solidarity is not something like what you define and reflect. Despite you, we changed the meaning and we came together against you.

- Besides, we see during resistance social media users use hashtags to support them and draw attention which is another example of solidarity.
- Even though mainstream media which under the control of the government, did not publish their story, other publications make their voice heard. Independent and leftist media organs make videos and publish them on YouTube.
- They continue with: Beauty is not something you show in your ads. Women do not need to take your products to be ‘beautiful’ and to support you to reproduce your gender norms over and over again. Thus, real beauty came within resistance against your rules.
- They came against traditional gender norms which claim women are ‘obedient’ and ‘patience’, ‘embedded with caring activities’. They oppose the ‘ideal worker’ and ‘disciplined bodies’ concept created by capitalism. They also come against domestic roles with joining to the union and taking part in the resistance. Thus, Betül Urhan’s in-depth interview (2014), shows how families could be barriers women’s right of unionization with using domestic roles. One of the female Former Union Workplace Representative from TÜRK-İŞ claims “ ... You are organizing with her husband. If her husband lets you up, then you register the lady. The woman is not organizing, they organizing with their husband.” Also, another female Trade Union Specialist from DISK says “Trade union organization creates a situation that jeopardizes job security. Being a union member in Turkey means losing your job. So, women cannot decide alone. We have many women member who brings their husbands to us with thinking ‘if husband trust union, she will have more freedom with her relationship with the union. We have many women, who say they want to withdraw because of their husbands.” By this means, they also challenge ‘obedient women worker’ stigma.
- They show that they don't deserve the bad working conditions- which made them sick- they've been exposed to for years.

- At the same time, they reveal that global capital instrumentalizes feminism. While hiding how women in fabrics exploited, Avon also feces the meaning and content of feminism by introducing feminism outside as ‘must’ for independent women, ‘cool’ and ‘trendy.’ They expand the firm with marketing ‘gender equality.’ This situation pose ‘market feminism.’ The firm uses ‘feminism’ as a tool to get benefit and profit.

They make a reference to Avon’s most popular and trend selling product lipstick for making an irony, to criticize firm’s ‘beauty norm strategy’ (with Remove your lipstick, raise your voice). Avon imposing those norms for its own sake and was covered with its lipstick. Eylem also claims that with using ‘lipstick’ they want to call women to boycott. They also mention beauty norms, which Avon wants to impose and seem like defending women rights by mentioning its beauty products. Workers kind of poke fun at this situation because they knew it is not reflecting the reality at all.

Secondly, they change the meaning of ‘thank you’. They see all those problems as a chance for getting together, acting collectively and ‘thanks’ Avon for cause them to build solidarity between women.

Thirdly, they chanted ‘Dispensable color of the summer season: Resistance’ to emphasize ‘resistance’ as a new trend of summer. Within capitalist words’ language, they made an irony within referring to Avon’s ads. They reverse the slogan used by the company to express their unfair situation. They lash finance capital which creates ‘trends’ secretly, and pretends like ‘producing cheap products for women’s sake’.

Lastly, they always remind that they will not give up until getting their rights. They were right; Avon signed a new worker policy for the first time in its history.

At the end of the day, it would not be wrong to say that those women achieved and were successful. First of all, 95 workers in the warehouse did not sign the renewed contract due to the change of Subcontractor Company. This situation shows other workers who are not fired gave support to the resistance process due to the risk of firing the job.

Although Avon insists that there was no such problem; hygiene of toilets and dining hall were one of the biggest complaints of workers. During protests, workers mentioned this situation frequently, and the firm renovated restrooms and hall.

After the minimum wage hike in January 2016, promotions based on performance given to workers were removed but brought back after the trade union activities.

The flooring was not suitable for a long time for workers' health and safety, because of the dust problem. There was no fatigue reducing agent for standing workers but the floor carpeted.

Workers who were ill at work were forced to go to the hospital with their opportunities, but for the first time, the sick female worker was taken to the hospital by the firm's vehicle.

For the first time in Avon history, the firm gave victual before the Ramadan. Avon signed a new policy in its history. Workers and employer representatives held meetings. This is the most critical step for unionizing and its recognition from the Avon.

Even Avon did not renounce from KLÜH, Avon and KLÜH said that the authorities would fulfill requests which submitted during meetings with workers and they promised to raise workers 300-400 TL. Also, the union had a complaint with the necessary institutions and Avon, inspection by inspectors.

In conclusion, Avon women workers' resistance proves one more time that even though there is strong stigmas and roles of patriarchy, even though there are political gaps about women and workers rights, women have conscious and power to take collective action. While they are trying to get their rights, they also take a big step toward breaking the chains of gendered benefits of the capitalist system. As their tools, slogans give information about those women's perspectives and reasons to start protests. They were challenged to a system with the word they have chanted; redefine the terms which cause discrimination among women workers.

Therefore, women in the world who fed up physically, economic, verbal and, psychological violence should realize their situation first and no longer stay passive against this system. They should not accept being a victim of the economic crisis and the global economy. Like Palmeiro (2016, Our Call) says in her international strike call, women have solidarity weapon and must use it if they do not want to be victims anymore. They should raise their voice with using their mindful slogans. Because the words they chant have the power to influence the next generations, patriarchal system's boss and capitalists.



References

Acar, T. C. (n.d.). Linking Theories of Framing and Collective Identity Formation: The Women's Organizations' Involvement with the Novamed Strike. Paper presented at American Sociological Association.

Acker, J. (2004). Gender, Capitalism and Globalization. *Critical Sociology*, 30(1), 17–41. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1163/156916304322981668>

Alinteri.org. (n.d.). Avon direnişçilerine sözlü taciz. Retrieved from alinteri.org/Avon-direniscilerine-sozlu-taciz.html (access banned by information technology communication institution)

Anker, R., Melkas, H., & Korten, A. (2003). Gender-based occupational segregation in the 1990's. Retrieved from International Labor Office website: http://www.oit.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_norm/---declaration/documents/publication/wcms_decl_wp_18_en.pdf

Ashikari, M. (2003). The memory of the women's white faces: Japaneseness and the ideal image of women. *Japan Forum*, 15, 1: 55-79.

Avon'un hedefi 500 bin temsilci. (2017, August 28). *Hürriyet* [İstanbul].

Avon meme kanseri ile mücadeleyi kafaya taktı. (2016, September 30). *Sözcü*. Retrieved from <https://www.sozcu.com.tr/hayatim/yasam-haberleri/Avon-meme-kanseri-ile-mucadeleyi-kafaya-takti/>

Avon Products, Inc. (2016). COMPANY PROFILE SWOT Analysis. Author. 8B585DB-3BF6-4882-80B3-CB8A102DDAE8

Avon'un direnen kadın işçileri: Avon bizle masaya oturacak! (2016, June). *Gazete Yolculuk*. Retrieved from <http://gazeteyolculuk.net/Avonun-direnen-kadin-iscileri-Avon-bizle-masaya-oturacak> (Access banned by İstanbul 4th Criminal Court of First Instance, 26.07.2018)

Aydanoğlu, E. (2007). Sınıf Mücadelesinde Sendikalar. *Evrensel*.

BBC Bitesize - KS3 History - The Industrial Revolution - Revision 2. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/bitesize/guides/zvmv4wx/revision/2>

Beken, H. G. (2011). Kadınların Sendikal Katılımlarını Etkileyen Faktörlerin İncelenmesi. Paper presented at ICOPEC .

Beauty at Any Cost. (n.d.). Eliminating Racism, Empowering Women.

- BENTLEY, J. H. (1996). Cross-Cultural Interaction and Periodization in World History. *The American Historical Review*, 749-770. doi:10.1086/ahr/101.3.749. *American Historical Review* 101
- Berberoglu, B. (n.d.). The Global Capitalist Crisis and Class Struggle. *International Journals*, 32(2), 287-291. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43499900>
- Bergeron, S. (2001). Political Economy Discourses of Globalization and Feminist Politics. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 26(4), 983-1006. doi:10.1086/495645
- Betül, B. (2015). KÜRESELLEŞME VE TÜRKİYE: ÖZAL DÖNEMİ DEĞİŞİM PARADİGMALARI (Master's thesis, Hacettepe Üniversitesi, Ankara, Türkiye). Retrieved from pdf
- Betül, U. (2014). Sendikasıız kadınlar, kadınsız sendikalar: Sendika - kadın ilişkisinde görülen sorun alanlarını belirlemeye yönelik bir araştırma. Retrieved from Women's Solidarity Foundation website: <http://www.fesuerkei.org/media/pdf/Publikationen%202014/SENDIKASIZ%20KADINLAR%20KADINSIZ%20SENDIKALAR-kapakli.pdf>
- Bielby, W. T., & Baron, J. N. (1986). Men and Women at Work: Sex Segregation and Statistical Discrimination. *American Journal of Sociology*, 91(4), 759-799. doi:10.1086/228350
- Bonnin, D., Friedman, M., Todes, A., & Mies, M. (1989). Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale: Women in the International Division of Labour. *Agenda*, (5), 74. doi:10.2307/4065655
- Brandy, J. (2004). So What Is to Be Done?: Maquila Justice Movements, Transnational Solidarity, and Dynamics of Resistance.
- Brenner, N., Peck, J., & Theodore, N. (2010). After Neoliberalization? *Globalizations*, 7(3), 327-345. doi:10.1080/14747731003669669
- Brydon, L. (1995). Sparr, Pamela (ed.), "Mortgaging Women's Lives: Feminist Critiques of Structural Adjustment" (Book Review). *Third World Planning Review*, 17(2), 245. doi:10.3828/twpr.17.2.cj46137805715510
- Bacchus, N. (2005). The Effects of Globalization on Women in Developing Nations. Pace University
- Blood, S.K. (2005). *Body Work: The Social Construction of Women's Body Image*. New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group
- Castells, M. (1997). *The Power of Identity*, Oxford: Blackwell. In *The information age: Economy, society, and culture*. Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell. (also cited in İş,Güç Endüstri İlişkileri ve İnsan Kaynakları Dergisi,2015)

Charkiewicz, E. (2010). Women, financial crisis, and care economy: some observations for feminist rethinking and rethinking of feminism. Feminist Think Tank. Retrieved from <http://www.ekologiasztuka.pl/ewa.charkiewicz>

Clark, R., Ramsbey, T. E., & Adler, E. S. (1991). Culture, Gender, and Labor Force Participation: A Cross-National Study. *Gender and Society*, 5(1), 47-66. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/189929>

Colla, E. (2013). In Praise of Insult: Slogan Genres, Slogan Repertoires and Innovation. *Review of Middle East Studies*, 47(01), 37-48. doi:10.1017/s2151348100056317

Coşkun, C. A., & Hüseyin, Ş. (1999). Globalleşme. Retrieved from [http://www.canaktan.org/canaktan_personal/canaktan-arastirmalari/degisim/aktansen\(Kıvılcım, 2013. p222\)](http://www.canaktan.org/canaktan_personal/canaktan-arastirmalari/degisim/aktansen(Kıvılcım, 2013. p222))

Cuterela, S. (2012). Globalization: Definition, Processes and Concepts. National Defense University

Dahrendorf, R. (1959). *Class and class conflict in industrial society*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Darwin, C. (1871). *The descent of man: And selection in relation to sex*. London: J. Murray.

Deese, D. A. (2017). *Globalization: Causes and Effects*. Abingdon, England: Routledge.

Denton, R. E. (1980). The rhetorical functions of slogans: Classifications and characteristics. *Communication Quarterly*, 28(2), 10-18. doi:10.1080/01463378009369362

(cited from El Mustapha Lahlali, 2014)

DGD-SEN. (2016, June). Avon Resistance. Retrieved from <https://Avonresistance.wordpress.com/>

DGD-SEN. (2016, December 20). Emek dostlarını yarın ki mahkemeye çağırıyor [Video file]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/dgdsen/status/811185979511996417?lang=bg>. Twitter

Difference Between. (2018, November 8). Globalization and Capitalism. Retrieved from <http://www.differencebetween.net/miscellaneous/difference-between-globalization-and-capitalism/>

DİSK. (2017). Genel Kurul Kararları (15). Retrieved from <http://disk.org.tr/tuzuk-ve-kararlar/genel-kurul-kararlari/>

Doran, C., & Jose, J. (2002). Globalization, the Patriarchal State and Women's Resistance in Singapore. *Gender, Technology and Development*, 6(2), 215-232. doi:10.1080/09718524.2002.11910037

Elson, D., & Pearson, R. (1981). 'Nimble Fingers Make Cheap Workers': An Analysis of Women's Employment in Third World Export Manufacturing. *Feminist Review*, 7(1), 87-107. doi:10.1057/fr.1981.6

Engels, F. (2012). *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844 with a Preface written in 1892*. tredition.

Engels, F. (2018). *The Origin of the Family Private Property and the State: Frederick Engels*. Createspace Independent Publishing Platform.

Engels, F., & Reed, E. (1973). *The origin of the family, private property, and the state: Introd. by Evelyn Reed*. New York: Pathfinder Press.

Ewa, C. (2010). Women, Financial crises and care economy: Some observations for feminist rethinking and rethinking of feminism, 1-37.

Fairclough, N. (2001). *Language and Power [Paper]*. Retrieved from <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/49551220>

Fougner, T., & Kurtoğlu, A. (2010). Transnational Labour Solidarity and Social Movement Unionism: Insights from and beyond a Women Workers' Strike in Turkey. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 49(2), 353-375. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8543.2010.00801.x

Fougner, T., & Kurtoğlu, A. (2010). Transnational Labour Solidarity and Social Movement Unionism: Insights from and beyond a Women Workers' Strike in Turkey. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 49, s353-s375. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8543.2010.00801.x

Farhana M. (2011). *Brand Elements Lead to Brand Equity: Differentiate or Die*. *Information Management and Business*. Solomon MR. *Consumer Behavior: Buying, Having and Being* (9th ed.). s. 223-233. Delhi: Pearson. 2011

Frank. (1998). *ReOrient: Global economy in the Asian Age*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Franz, C. (n.d.). *Slogans: Creating and Using Them In Life, Career and Business*. Retrieved from https://www.groco.com/readingroom/bus_slogans.aspx

Friedman, A. L. (1977). *Industry and Labor: Class Struggle at Work and Monopoly Capitalism*. London: Macmillan Press.

Gallin, D. (2001). Propositions on Trade Unions and Informal Employment in Times of Globalisation. *Antipode*, 33(3), 531-549. doi:10.1111/1467-8330.00197

- Garner, K. (2005). Made in China: Women Factory Workers in a Global Workplace (review). *China Review International*, 12(2), 528-532. doi:10.1353/cri.2006.0022
- Gaziođlu, E. (n.d.). Sendikal Hareket ve Feminizm: Dayanıřmanın Ötesi. *Praksis*, 24, 41-55.
- Gedikli, Ç. (n.d.). BARRIERS TO WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT AND THE EXTENT OF GENDER INEQUALITY IN THE LABOUR MARKET IN TURKEY (Doctoral dissertation, University of East Anglia Norwich Business School, England, Norwich).
- Gramsci, A. (2010). Seçme Yazılar 1916-1935. Ankara: Dipnot Yayınları. Translation: İ.Yıldız
- Grogan, S. (2008). *Body image: Understanding body dissatisfaction in men, women and children*. London: Routledge.
- Grigenti F. (2016) Karl Marx – From Hand Tool to Machine Tool. In: *Existence and Machine*. SpringerBriefs in Philosophy. Springer, Cham
- Gray, J. (1995). *Liberalism* (2nd ed.). Taylor & Francis Group.
- Grev Hakkı Üzerine Düşünceler. (1981). In *Toplumsal Politikaya Giriř* (pp. 40-42). 'S' Yayınları.
- Guttal, S. (2007). Globalisation. *Development in Practice*, 17(4-5), 523-531. doi:10.1080/09614520701469492
- Guttal, S. (2007). Globalisation. *Development in Practice*, 17(4/5), 523-531. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25548249>
- Gündüz, Z. Y. (n.d.). The "New Turkey": Fetishizing Growth with Fatal Results. *Monthly Review*.
- Gürel, B., & Yörük, E. (n.d.). Devlet, Sermaye ve Kapitalizmin Tarihsel Sosyolojisi1. *Mülkiye Dergisi*, 42(2), 209-237.
- Hakim, C., & Clark, J. (1982, January). Occupational Segregation: A comparative study of the degree and pattern of the differentiation between men and women's work in Britain, the United States and other countries, Department of Employment. Retrieved from <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/journal-of-social-policy/article/catherine-hakim-occupational-segregation-a-comparative-study-of-the-degree-and-pattern-of-the-differentiation-between-men-and-womens-work-in-britain-the-united-states-and-other-countries-research-paper-no-9-november-1979-department-of-employment-london-1979-65-pp-no-price-given/7E5B9AD002BF27B5813393D7B48D302A>
- Hak-İř. (2003). *İř Kanunu* (5). Ankara: Author.
- Hande, S. (n.d.). Kadın, Neoliberal Politikalar ve Küreselleřme. *Yařam Dergisi*, (32), 41-61.
- Harvey, D. (2005). *Brief History of Neoliberalism*, A. Cary: Oxford University Press.

Harper, Charles. & Leicht, Kevin. Exploring Social Change: America and the World, 4th ed. Upper Saddle River, N.J: Prentice Hall, 2002.

Hout, M., & Roos, P. A. (1986). Gender and Work: A Comparative Analysis of Industrial Societies. *Contemporary Sociology*, 15(5), 760. doi:10.2307/2071070

Industrial Revolution. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://studylib.net/doc/8277643/chapter-5--the-industrial-revolution#>

Chapter 5 The emergence of socialism and trade unions

International Trade Union Confederation. (2008). A Trade Union Guide.

Hyman, R. (1972) Strikes. London: Fontana-Collins.

İşçi Sendika Servisi. (2017, June 2). 'Yasak daraltmak' bu mu: AKP döneminde 12 grev yasaklandı. *Evrensel*. Retrieved from <https://www.evrensel.net/haber/322063/yasak-daraltmak-bu-mu-akp-doneminde-12-grev-yasaklandi>

Johnstone, J. (2008). Feminist Consumerism and Fat Activists: A Comparative Study of Grassroots Activism and the Dove Real Beauty Campaign. *Signs Journal of Women in Culture and Society*. doi:DOI: 10.1086/528849

Karadoğan, S. (2018, June 26). Neoliberalizm ve Türkiye'de Dönüşüm • Emek ve Adalet Platformu [Web log post]. Retrieved from <http://www.emekveadalet.org/notlar/neoliberalizm-ve-turkiyede-donusum/>

Klass Magazin. (2016, January 15). "Elele Avon Kadın Ödülleri 2015" Görkemli Bir Törenle Sahiplerini Buldu. Retrieved from <http://www.klassmagazin.com/elele-Avon-kadin-odulleri-2015-gorkemli-bir-torenle-sahiplerini-buldu>

Koray, M., Koca, G., Altun, N., Türk, A., & Songül, G. (1999, April). 2000'e Girerken Çalışma Yaşamında Kadın. Paper presented at Birleşik Metal-İş, İstanbul.

Koç, Y. (2017, May 30). Türkiye'de grev hakkı var mı? *Aydınlık*. Retrieved from <https://www.aydinlik.com.tr/kose-yazilari/yildirim-koc/2017-mayis/turkiye-de-grev-hakki-var-mi>

Kıvılcım, F. (2013). Küreselleşme kavramı ve küreselleşme sürecinin gelişmekte olan ülke türkiye açısından değerlendirilmesi. *Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler*, 5(1), 219-228. Retrieved from <http://dergipark.gov.tr/download/article-file/117355>

Kıvılcım, Z. (n.d.). Violations Of The Fundamental Human Rights In Free-Trade Zones In Turkey: Novamed Strike And Beyond. Paper presented at IPSA/Women's Participation in Political and Economic Life, İstanbul University.

Lahlali, E. M. (n.d.). The Discourse of Egyptian Slogans: from 'Long Live Sir' to 'Down with the Dictator'. *Arab Media & Society*, (19), 1-10. Retrieved from https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/185412/20140926111357_Lahlali_Slogans_Final.pdf

Lall, M. & Zaidi, S. (2008). *Human Resources Management*. Excel Books

Larner, W. (2009). A Brief History of Neoliberalism. By David Harvey. *Economic Geography*, 82(4), 449-451. doi:10.1111/j.1944-8287.2006.tb00327.x

Lau and Zuraidah. (2010). Fear factors in Malaysian Slimming Advertisements.

Laval, C., & Dardot, P. (2018). *Dünyanın Yeni Akli: Neoliberal Toplum Üzerine Deneme | İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları*. Retrieved from <http://www.bilgiyay.com/p/635/dunyanin-yeni-akli-neoliberal-toplum-uzerine-deneme>

Lears, J. J. (1985). The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities. *The American Historical Review*, 9(3), 567-593. doi:10.2307/1860957

Ledwith, S. (2012). Gender politics in trade unions. The representation of women between exclusion and inclusion. *Transfer: European Review of Labour and Research*, 18(2), 185-199. doi:10.1177/1024258912439145

Lilja, M., & Vinthagen, S. (2014). Sosyal Bir Ürün Olarak Topluma Pazarlanan Hayirseverlik: Stratejik Hayirseverlik. *Journal of Political Power*, 7(1), 107-126. doi:10.1080/2158379X.2014.889403

Lilja, M., & Vinthagen, S. (2014). Sovereign power, disciplinary power and biopower: resisting what power with what resistance? *Journal of Political Power*, 7(1), 107-126. doi:10.1080/2158379x.2014.889403

Lamoreaux, T. (2013). *Home is Where the Work is Women, Direct Sales, and Technologies of Gender*. Arizona State University.

Lisa Cole, Ph.D., N. (2015, April 17). What is Social Class, and Why Does it Matter? Retrieved from <https://www.thoughtco.com/what-is-social-class-and-why-does-it-matter-3026375>

LU, X. (1999). An Ideological/Cultural Analysis of Political Slogans in Communist China. *Discourse & Society*, 10(4), 487-508. doi:10.1177/0957926599010004003

Management Knowledge and Learning, Lopaciuk, A., & Loboda, M. (2013). *GLOBAL BEAUTY INDUSTRY TRENDS IN THE 21st CENTURY*. Author.

Maria, C. (1990). *Occupational Sex Segregation: A Log-Linear Analysis of Patterns in 25 Industrial Countries* (Doctoral dissertation, Stanford University, Department of Sociology,).

Marini, M. M. (1990). Sex and gender: What do we know? *Sociological Forum*, 5(1), 95-120. doi:10.1007/bf01115139

Mathur L.K.(1995), The effect of advertising slogan changes on the market value of firm, *Journal Of Advertising Research*,35, 59- 65.

Mark Easton, Geraldine Carrodus, Tim Delaney, Kate McArthur, & Richard Smith. (2013, October 1). Oxford Big Ideas Geography/History 9 Australian Curriculum Student obook assess. Retrieved from <https://www.oup.com.au/books/secondary/humanities/9780195529593-oxford-big-ideas-geographyhistory-9-australian-curriculum-student-obook-assess>

Marketing Türkiye. (2014, December 3). Kadınlara yönelik çok katlı pazarlama stratejisinin sırrı. Retrieved from <http://www.marketingturkiye.com.tr/soylesiler/kadinlara-yonelik-cok-katli-pazarlama-stratejisinin-sirri/>

Mccrank, A., & Gowens, P. (2000). Global Women's Strike 2000. *Off Our Backs*, 30(3), 6-7. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20836568>

McKnight, G. H. (1923). The Native Element In The English Vocabulary. In *English Words and Their Background* (pp. 70-80). D. Appleton and Company.

Medyascope.tv. (2016, June 15). Avon'un işten çıkardığı Eylem Görgü ile konuşuyoruz [Video file]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6MZaSubilUI>

Meiklejohn, D. (1978). *Law, Legislation and Liberty: A New Statement of the Principles of Justice and Political Economy*. Vol. 1: Rules and Order. F. A. Hayek. *Law, Legislation and Liberty: A New Statement of the Principles of Justice and Political Economy*. Vol. 2: The Mirage of Social Justice. F. A. Hayek. *Ethics*, 88(2), 178-184. doi:10.1086/292069

Mevlüt, K. (n.d.). Küreselleşme Sürecinde Gelişmekte Olan Ülke Ekonomilerinde Ortaya Çıkan Yönelim ve Tepkiler. *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 7(12002), 113-116.

McDowell, L. (1997). *Capital Culture: Gender at Work in the City*'.

Michalets, J. (n.d.). Ding-Dong Avon Calling. *Antiques & Collecting Magazine*, 21-25. Retrieved from Lightner Publishing Corp

Mills, M. B. (2003). Gender and Inequality in the Global Labor Force. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 32(1), 41-62. doi:10.1146/annurev.anthro.32.061002.093107

Mills, M. B. (2003). Gender segregation and woman discrimination on labor market. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 32, 41-62. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25064820>

Mills, Mary Beth. (2005) "From Nimble Fingers to Raised Fists: Activism in Globalizing Thailand.", *Signs : Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 3 1, 7-44.

Mir, U. R., Hassan, S. M., & Qadri, M. M. (2014, January). Understanding Globalization and its Future: An Analysis. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/274640873_Understanding_Globalization_and_its_Future_An_Analysis

Moghadam, Valentine M. 1999. "Gender and Globalization: Female Labor and Women's Mobilization." *Journal of World Systems Research* 2: 367-388.

Moghadam, V. M. (2005). WOMEN'S ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST: What Difference Has The Neoliberal Policy Turn Made? *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*, 1(1), 110-146. doi:10.2979/mew.2005.1.1.110

Mohanty, C. T. (2003). Bibliography. *Feminism without Borders*, 275-294. doi:10.1215/9780822384649-012

Mosedale, J. (2013). *Globalisation*. Hochschule für Technik und Wirtschaft in Chur.

Mustafa, A. (2004). Uluslararası İlişkilerin 'Gerçekçi' Teorisi: Kökeni, Kapsamı, Kritiği. *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, 1(1). Retrieved from (Gelekcü, 2005, p. 266)

Mr White's report. Children's Employment Commission (P.P. 1864, xxii), 3rd Report.

Nicki Lisa Cole, Ph.D. (2015, January 8). All About Cultural Capital. Retrieved from <https://www.thoughtco.com/what-is-cultural-capital-do-i-have-it-3026374>

Ohmae, K. (1991). The borderless world: Power and strategy in the interlinked economy. *Business Horizons*, 34(5), 73-75. doi:10.1016/0007-6813(91)90053-x

Okcan, N., & Bakır, O. (2010). "İşletmenin ve İşin Gereği Taşeronlaştırma": Taşeron Cumhuriyetine Doğru. *Çalışma ve Toplum*, (4).

Ollman, B. (n.d.). Marx's Use of "Class". The Writings of Bertell Ollman/New York University Project. Retrieved from <https://www.nyu.edu>

O'Rourke, K., & Williamson, J. (2000). When Did Globalization Begin? *European Review of Economic History*, (6), 23-50. doi:10.3386/w7632

Our Call/ Llamamiento - International Women's Strike / Paro Internacional de Mujeres [Web log post]. (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://parodemujeres.com/our-call/>

Palmeiro, C. (2018, March 7). The Strike as Our Revolutionary Time [Web log post]. Retrieved from <https://www.versobooks.com/blogs/3670-the-strike-as-our-revolutionary-time>

Parreñas, R. (2015). *Servants of Globalization: Migration and Domestic Work*, Second Edition. Retrieved from

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01419870.2016.1211304?journalCode=ers20>

Patron dostu, işçi düşmanı OHAL... İşte AKP'nin grev karnesi. (2018, April 24). Cumhuriyet. Retrieved from http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/ekonomi/963642/Patron_dostu__isci_dusmani_OHAL..._iste_AKP_nin_grev_karnesi.html

Peterson, V. Spike. (2005) "How (the Meaning of) Gender Matters in Political Econom", *New Political Economy*, 10(4), 499-521.

Pyle, J. L., & Ward, K. B. (2003). Recasting Our Understanding of Gender and Work During Global Restructuring. *International Sociology*, 18(3), 461-489. doi:10.1177/02685809030183002

Powell, G. & Graves, L. (2003). *Women and men in management*. 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks: SAGE.

Reich, S. (1998). WHAT IS GLOBALIZATION? Four Possible Answers. Kellogg Institute. Retrieved from Working Paper #261

Puntoni S, Langhe BD & Osselaer SMJV. Bilingualism and the Emotional Intensity of Advertising Language. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 35(6)1012-1025.2009;Doi:10.1086/595022

Rose, S. (2003). International Labor and Working-Class History. *Labor History after the Gender Turn*, 6-8. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27672838>

Seyri Sokak. (2016, June 4). Avon'da İŞÇİ DİRENİŞİ şirket merkezi önünde açıklamayla sürüyor [Video file]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SFAXU63y95E> . YouTube

Sharp, H. (1984). *Advertising Slogans of America*. (cited from El Mustapha Lahlali, 2014)

Schilder, P. (1950). *The Image and Appearance of the Human Body*. London, Trubner & Co

Sivil Sayfalar. (2018, January 2). Eyleme giden Avon işçilerinin kazanımları ve talepleri. Retrieved from <http://www.sivilsayfalar.org/2016/07/25/eyleme-giden-Avon-iscilerinin-kazanimlari-talepleri/>

Soni-Sinha, U. (2006). Where are the women: Gender, labor and discourse in Noida Export Processing Zone and Delhi. *Feminist Economics*. *Feminist Economics*, 12(3), 335-365. doi:10.1080/13545700600670442

Sosyal Kafa. (2016, May 31). 4. Sezon 9. Bölüm (Eylem Görgü) [Video file]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nqNeROMuhr0>

SOSYAL-İŞ SENDİKASI. (2010). 8 Mart'in 100. yıl dönümünde Türkiye'de ve dünyada kadın emeği ve istihdamı raporu.

SHIELDS, V., & HEINECKEN, D. (2002). *Measuring Up: How Advertising Affects Self-Image*. University of Pennsylvania Press. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt3fhqp5>,

Spivak, G. C. (2014). General Strike. *Rethinking Marxism*, 26(1), 9-14. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1080/08935696.2014.857839>

Standing, G. (1999). Global Feminization Through Flexible Labor: A Theme Revisited. *World Development*, 27(3), 583-602. doi:10.1016/s0305-750x(98)00151-x

Stevenson, G. (2016). The Women's Movement and 'Class Struggle': gender, class formation and political identity in women's strikes, 1968–78. *Women's History Review*, 25(5), 741-755. doi:10.1080/09612025.2015.1132875

Stevenson, G. (2016). The Women's Movement and 'Class Struggle': gender, class formation and political identity in women's strikes, 1968–78. *Women's History Review*, 25(5), 741-755. doi:10.1080/09612025.2015.1132875

Temizel, H. (2007). *Neo liberal politikalar doğrultusunda Türkiye'de devletin yeniden yapılanması küresel sistemle bütünleşme sorunları* (Doctoral dissertation, Selçuk Üniversitesi, Türkiye, Konya). Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/123456789/9858>

Thomas Friedman. (2006). *The World is flat: The Globalized Wold in the Twenty-First Century*. Victoria, Australia: Penguin.

Thorsen, D. E., & Lie, A. (n.d.). What is neoliberalism? Department of Political Science University of Oslo, 2-16.

Tokol, A. (2000). *Sosyal Politika*.

Tomaskovic-Devey, D., & Skaggs, S. (2002). Sex Segregation, Labor Process Organization, and Gender Earnings Inequality. *American Journal of Sociology*, 108(1), 102-128. doi:10.1086/344214

Umut-Sen. (2017, August 9). Mücadele devam edecek [Video file]. Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/guvencesizlersendikasi/videos/Avon-davas%C4%B1nda-direni%C5%9F%C3%A7i-eylem-g%C3%B6rg%C3%BCye-de-sendikal-tazminat-%C3%A7%C4%B1kmad%C4%B1sermaye-devle/1450681355011465/>

Understanding the concept of Slogans. (n.d.).

Urdang, L., & Robbins, C. (1984). Slogans. (cited from El Mustapha Lahlali, 2014)

Ustubiç, A. (2009). Export-Processing Zones and Gendering the Resistance: "Women's Strike" in Antalya Free Zone in Turkey. New Working Paper Series/Gender Institute. doi:1470-8515

Von, M. L. (2012). Liberalism. United States: Important Books.

Wallerstein, I. (1974). The Modern World-System, vol. I: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

West and, C., & Zimmerman, D. H. (1987). Doing Gender. Gender and Society, 1(2), 125-151. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/189945>

White Fuse Media Ltd. (n.d.). Social Theory Rewired | New Connections to Classical and Contemporary Perspectives. Retrieved from <http://routledgesoc.com/category/profile-tags/cultural-capital>

Xia Nianxi. (2009). Political Slogans and Logic. Diogenes, 56(1), 109-116. doi:10.1177/0392192109102160

YIRMIBESOGLU, G. (2008). TURKISH WOMEN IN TRADE UNION LEADERSHIP. Ekonomik Yaklasim, 19(69), 67. doi:10.5455/ey.10676

Yıldırım, K. (n.d.). Karl Marx, Kapitalist Sömürü ve Adalet Kavramı. Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/35904960/Karl_Marx_Kapitalist_S%C3%B6m%C3%BCr%C3%BC_ve_Adalet_Kavram%C4%B1

Yıldırım, K. (n.d.). Neoliberalizm, "Ahbab-Çavuş Kapitalizmi" ve Türkiye. Retrieved from <https://ankara.academia.edu/KansuYıldırım>

Yıldırım, K. (n.d.). "Emperyalizm Türkiye'dedir": Neoliberal politikalar ve özelleştirmeler. Retrieved from <https://ankara.academia.edu/KansuYıldırım>

Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı. (2018). Çalışma İstatistikleri.

Çelik, A. (2012). Türkiye'de 2000'li yıllarda Grevler ve Grev Dışı Eylemler: Çalışma Hayatında "PaxRomana" mı? In Sosyal Haklar Sempozyumu IV Bildiriler Kitabı (pp. 107-120.). İstanbul: Petrol-İş. (cited in İş Güç Endüstri İlişkileri ve İnsan Kaynakları Dergisi, 2015)

Çımrın, F. K. (n.d.). KÜRESELLEŞME, NEO-LİBERALİZM VE REFAH DEVLETİ İLİŞKİSİ ÜZERİNE. Muğla Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi, (23), 196-202.

Özdemir, G. Y. (2010). Despotik Emek Rejimi Olarak Taşeron Çalışma. Çalışma ve Toplum, (4).

Özerkmen, N. (2003). Geçmişten Günümüze Türkiye'de Anayasa ve Yasalarda Sendikal Hakların Düzenlenmesi ve Getirilen Kısıtlamalar. Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi, 43(1), 240-255.

Özkiraz, A. (2008). Sendikaların Doguşu Türkiye ve Batı Avrupa Ülkeleri Karşılaştırması. Gaziosmanpasa Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Arastirmalari Dergisi, 03(06), 108-108. doi:10.19129/sbad.130

Özçift, F. (2012, October 16). Sendikalar yasası ve sendikal yasaklar. Sendika.org. Retrieved from <http://sendika63.org/2012/10/sendikalar-yasasi-ve-sendikal-yasaklar-faysal-ozcift-73246/>

Şahin, H. (2015). İŞÇİ HAREKETİNE TARİHSEL BİR BAKIŞ: DÜNDEN BUGÜNE YAŞANAN DÖNÜŞÜMLERİN YAPISAL BİR ANALİZİ. İŞ GÜÇ ENDÜSTRİ İLİŞKİLERİ VE İNSAN KAYNAKLARI GERGİSİ, 17(1), 160-184. doi:2148 - 9874

Şengül, Ş., & Şenesen, S. S. (n.d.). Determinants of Female (Non-) Participation in the Urban Labor Force in Turkey". METU Studies in Development, 25(2), 311-328.

Şenses, F. (2004). Neoliberal Küreselleme Kalkınma için Bir Fırsat mı, Engel mi? ERC Working Paper in Economic/ODTU, 4(9). sources in the current document.