

FACTORS AFFECTING WOMEN’S PRESENCE IN MUNICIPAL COUNCILS  
AND THE RESULTS OF PARTICIPATION: CASE STUDIES IN ELAZIĞ,  
GAZİANTEP AND SİİRT PROVINCES OF TURKEY

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **FACTORS AFFECTING WOMEN’S PRESENCE IN MUNICIPAL COUNCILS AND THE RESULTS OF PARTICIPATION: CASE STUDIES IN ELAZIĞ, GAZİANTEP AND SİİRT PROVINCES OF TURKEY**

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Although in the recent years there is a remarkable increase in the rate of women in local governments in Turkey, it is obvious that there is lack of women’s participation and representation in local politics organizations. Literature has emphasized the notion of gender equality through investigating the reasons of low level of participation and tried to explain participation problem with this notion heretofore. However, the reasons behind women’s participating or not participating in administration of municipalities and how women’s participation affect local policies are not comprehended and investigated enough in the existing studies. This is significant because female city councillors play active role in carrying out some policies and services related to issues in agenda of council and embracement of those as “policy of municipality”. Female members in municipal councils and

female mayors can shape a decision taken in council or affect that decision on gender base by leaving other differences such as party membership, age, education aside. In this regard, this study investigates the factors affecting the existence of female mayors/co-mayors and members in municipal councils, how women affect local policy making process and political representation in local governments, and what the methods that can enhance women's representation in local politics are. Findings from the in-depth interviews with female municipal council members/mayors from three different cities in Turkey are evaluated.

Keywords: Representation in Local Politics, Local Politics, Local Participation, Gender

## ÖZ

### KADINLARIN BELEDİYE MECLİSİNDEKİ TEMSİLİNİ ETKİLEYEN UNSURLAR VE KATILIMIN SONUÇLARI: ELAZIĞ, GAZİANTEP VE SİİRT KENTLERİNDE ÖRNEK OLAY İNCELEMELERİ

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Son yıllarda Türkiye’de yerel yönetimlerdeki kadın üye oranlarında gözle görülür bir artış mevcut olsa da, kadınların yerel siyaset örgütlenmelerindeki katılımı ve temsilinin yetersizliği kabul edilir bir gerçektir. İlgili yazın, düşük katılım düzeyinin nedenlerini sorgulayarak cinsiyet eşitliği kavramına vurgu yapmış ve katılım sorununu şimdiye dek bu kavram ile açıklamaya çalışmıştır. Ancak kadınların belediye yönetimlerine dahil olmasının veya olmamasının nedenleri ile kadın katılımının yerel politikaları nasıl etkilediği hali hazırdaki çalışmalarda yeterince anlaşılmamış ve sorgulanmamıştır. Bu sorun önemlidir çünkü kadın üyeler meclis gündemindeki konulara ilişkin birtakım politika ve hizmetlerin yerine getirilmesinde ve bunların “belediye politikası” olarak benimsenmesinde aktif rol oynamaktadır.



Belediye meclislerindeki kadın üyeler ve kadın belediye başkanları mecliste alınan bir kararı şekillendirebilmekte veya parti üyeliği, yaş veya eğitim gibi diğer tüm ayrımları dışarıda bırakarak cinsiyet temelinde o karara etki edebilmektedir. Bu bağlamda, bu çalışmada kadın belediye başkanları/eş başkanlar ve belediye meclislerinde kadın üyelerin varlığını etkileyen unsurların ne olduğu, kadın üyelerin yerel siyaset yapım sürecini ve yerel yönetimlerdeki siyasi temsili nasıl etkilediği ve kadınların yerel siyasette temsilini arttırabilecek yöntemlerin neler olabileceği tartışılmaktadır. Türkiye'nin üç farklı ilinde kadın belediye meclis üyeleriyle/belediye başkan ve eşbaşkanlarıyla gerçekleştirilen derinlemesine mülakatların bulguları değerlendirilmektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Yerel Yönetimlerde Temsiliyet, Yerel Siyaset, Yerel Katılım, Cinsiyet

## **RÉSUMÉ**

### **LES FACTEURS QUI ONT EFFET SUR LA REPRESENTATION DES FEMMES EN CONSEIL MUNICIPAL ET LES RESULTATS DE PARTICIPATION: L'ETUDE DES CAS DES VILLES ELAZIĞ, GAZİANTEP ET SİİRT**

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Ces dernières années, bien qu'il existe une amélioration du nombre de membres féminins des collectivités locales en Turquie, il est accepté que la participation des femmes aux organisations politique locale ne soit pas assez. La doctrine a interrogé les causes du faible niveau de participation, souligné la notion de l'égalité des sexes et essayé d'expliquer dans ce contexte. Mais, les raisons ou les effets de la participation des femmes aux gouvernements locaux n'étaient pas étudiées suffisamment. Ce problème est important parce que les membres féminins jouent un rôle sur les politiques et les services de conseil et mêmes pour qu'ils deviennent "politique municipale". Les membres féminins des conseils municipaux et les

femmes maires peuvent avoir un effet sur les décisions de celles conseils en éliminant tous les discriminations (étant une membre d'un parti politique, âge, éducation, sexuelles etc.). Dans ce contexte, les facteurs qui ont un effet sur l'existence des femmes maires/co-présidente et les membres féminins des conseils municipaux; les effets des membres féminins sur les processus des politiques locaux et la représentation politique au gouvernement local et les méthodes pour améliorer la participation des femmes aux politiques locales. Les interviews avaient été faites des membres féminins des conseils municipaux, les femmes maires/co-présidents de trois différentes villes en Turquie va être examinées.

Les mots clés: Représentation en Gouvernements Locaux, La Politique Locale, La Participation Locale, Sexe

*To my beloved family...*

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AKP	Justice and Development Party
ANAP	Motherland Party
BBP	Great Union Party
BDP	Peace and Democracy Party
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CEMR	The European Charter for Equality of Women and Men in Local Life
CHP	Republican People's Party
CoE	The Council of Europe
DP	Democratic Party
DTP	Democratic Society Party
DYP	Right Way Party
EU	European Union
GAGİKAD	Gaziantep Entrepreneur Business Women Organization
ĞİKAD	Gaziantep Silk Business Women Organization
GÜKAD	Future's Productive Women Organization
HDP	People's Democratic Party
HÜDAPAR	Free Cause Party
ISO	International Organization for Standardization
İP	Workers' Party
KADER	Association to Support and Educate Women Candidates
KAGİDER	Women Entrepreneurs Association of Turkey
KAMER	Center of Women Association
MHP	Nationalist Movement Party
NUTS	Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
ÖDP	Freedom and Solidarity Party
SP	Felicity Party
TEPAV	Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey
TKP	Communist Party of Turkey
TR	Turkey
TÜBİTAK	The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey
TÜİK	Turkish Statistical Institute (Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu)
TÜSİAD	Turkish Industry and Business Association
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
YSK	Supreme Election Board (Yüksek Seçim Kurulu)

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

Women's participation in national and local politics and the rate of their representation in the national and local politics have been low in Turkey. The most important reasons of this can be listed as economic, and social inequality created by gender regime based on male hegemony, political culture and consciousness, and women branches. In modern societies, separation of daily life as public and private sphere and women's being positioned at private sphere due to social gender roles such as care in family, bring up, feeding that are burdened by society for providing reproduction have complicated their being involved in citizenship category. Up until 19th century, nations have not witnessed the enfranchisement of women. Yet, after attaining the right to vote and stand for election, the obstacles in front of equal citizenship with men carried on. For instance in Turkey, the rate of representation of women in parliament is 14.9% (82 deputies) by November 1<sup>st</sup> elections held in 2015. This is still below some of the contemporary democracies. On the other hand, when it comes to participation in local governments, there is divergent picture in different stages of positions such as municipal council membership, provincial council membership, mayorship or village/neighbourhood headman.

Notion of representation in local politics is the decision-making of a small group within people on behalf of local people again. Representation is the implementation of equality on a wide range political system. Local representation is seen as one of the closest administrative units to people, and municipal councils, which are composed of elected members, are the decision organs of municipalities. In Turkey women are not represented in municipal councils enough. The representation of women in local governments is important because when the reality of women's living in different conditions and not benefitting from social opportunities equally with men is considered, not only possessing equal rights but for equal prestige, apparency, power

and using their rights of participating in decision-making about their own lives, the need of enhancing women's political representation is vital. For providing participatory democratic culture in society, increasing women's conscious and interest about local politics are highlighted most. The underrepresentation of women in local governments when compared with men, creates a dilemma with principle of equal representation. Also, due to low rates of women in local politics, men take their place and start doing the 'job' of women. If a group of people (men) has right to take decisions about fundamental issues concerning the lives of another group of people who face with different problems than the first, the democratic nature of relationship between the representative and the represented becomes controversial. As a result of underrepresentation, the potential of women's raising their voice for conducting their own problems and providing them to be taken serious and embraced as policies decrease. Despite the importance and repercussions of the problem, studies often address women's lack of representation in a limited sense by focusing mostly on the parliament, or trying to evaluate the situation in local politics through analysing cities separately and making comparison within the city itself between the current and previous election results. As there is a gap in the literature about what affects women's participation in local politics and what the results of participation are, especially in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolian parts of Turkey, this study aims to analyse and evaluate women's situation on the basis of municipal council membership and mayorship in this region. The main research questions of the study are "What are the factors that determine the level of representation and effective participation of women in local governments?" and "How does the existence of women members in municipal councils affect policy making in local governments?".

While examining women's participation in local politics, one of the most important thing needed to be highlighted is that the sole objective is not increase in quantity of women in municipal councils or other stages. In different stages of political processes while women aim quantitatively equal level with men, the issues' link with problem of gender inequality in society should not be disregarded. Women's merely



taking part in councils does not guarantee discussing women's problems and transferring social policies that would support women's social status to political sphere. There is no doubt that woman is the most active defender of her own rights. On the other hand, the argument which degrades women's representation to a sexist point and advocates "women's sole representative is herself and she represent women only" may call forth limitation of women in some specific duties when they enter into councils. Also this may prevent female politicians' producing pluralist policies.

In order to investigate the research questions, in-depth interviews were conducted with female municipal council members and mayors from selected municipalities in Elazığ, Gaziantep and Siirt. Field research, pre-research process included, was completed in April-August 2015 in these provinces. The data were analysed qualitatively using NVIVO.

Thesis has been organized in three parts. In order to understand women's participation in local politics, concept of political participation and main theories related to lack of participation of women in politics should be examined. In this regard, following this introduction, chapter two will give a detailed account of women's participation in politics in general sense. By doing these, feminist perspective on gender, notion of social gender and theory of intersectionality are discussed. Moreover, this chapter reviews women's representation in Turkey's national politics, women's participation to local policy issues and investigates the sources of obstacles. The chapter ends with evaluation of the literature and expected contributions of this study.

Then, the third chapter will concentrate on Turkey. This section will focus on the main components of women's local political participation in Turkey. Besides presenting the rate of women in municipal councils, main determinants in women's position in local policy will be discussed, namely actors, resources and priorities. In addition, to deepen those determinants institutions, women branches and civil society

organizations will be discussed as actors while national and international legislation related to the issue will be considered as resources. Moreover, this chapter outlines quota practice as an alternative for enhancing the role of women together with questioning co-presidency practice and whether it is efficacious or not in Turkey.

Subsequently, chapter four will entail a qualitative analysis of the women's participation and representation in local politics by focusing on the municipal councils in the case of Elazığ, Gaziantep and Siirt. In that sense, this chapter will provide an account of women's under-representation in stages of municipal council membership and mayorship. Within this frame, firstly this chapter will focus on the reasons behind the selection of cities in order to explain why they are important to the issue. After presenting the demographic and socio-economic indicators of the sample provinces, the current situation of municipal councils will be framed according to the recent (March 2014 local) elections. Here, not only the number of female city councillors elected are important, but also the number of women nominated is critical for revealing the perspective and impacts of different political parties on women's representation in region. Based on the field research results, the motives behind participating politics, the obstacles in front of women's nomination process, the impact of women in policy making process and women's perception about the issue will be analyzed and evaluated.

Finally, the conclusion chapter will provide a summary of the significant theoretical and empirical findings and offer possible areas for future research and policy conclusions.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS: CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

The main research questions of the study are “What are the factors that determine the level of representation and effective participation of women in local governments?” and “How does the existence of women members in municipal councils affect policy making in local governments?”. For this purpose, this chapter first introduces the concept of political participation, and then reviews the main theories related to lack of participation of women in politics, including feminist perspective on gender, social gender, and theory of intersectionality, a review of women's representation in Turkey's national politics, women's participation to local policy issues, and sources of obstacles. In addition, findings from academic studies on women's representation in local politics are discussed.

#### **2.1 The Concept of Political Participation**

Political participation can be described as people activities which they designed to influence government's process of decision making either the activities do by peaceful or violence (Huntington & Nelson, 1976). In fact, political participation is the main aim of democratic administration, fundamental principle and method of maintenance of democracy. Political participation may appear in the forms of voting in elections, taking office in administration, taking responsibility via cooperating with administration, acquiring political power and benefit, participating to decision making mechanism or passing to a decision maker position (Görün, 2006). The levels and forms of political participation differentiate according to the structure, jurisdictional environment, institutions, political culture and socio-economic structure of political system. Political participation, as an indispensable condition of contemporary, libertarian and democratic regimes, also provides the use of other forms of freedom. The first requirement of individuals' interference to politics is

participating to administration equally and with their own free wills. In addition to need for equality, the environment of participation is important. Even at a minimum, the tools of participation should be based on legal framework (Eroğul, 2012). The main principles of democracy's operability are participation, debate and political education. The embracement of these principles by society opens the door of surveillance of administrators not by specific groups but by whole of the society. In fact, participation is a phenomenon related to legitimacy issue, because democracy, which means the government by people, is substantially different from authoritarian and totalitarian regimes (Akgün, 2007, p.4). The legitimacy of government is based on consent and approval of people and democratic regimes provide all citizens' participation to administration whether directly or not indirectly (Öztekin, 2007, p.229).

Women's active political participation has decisive importance in the realization of gender equality. The reorganization of the political realm as of having a perspective which is responsive to social gender relations and transforms these relations, is both the beginning and the end of road that goes to gender equality. Feminist movement starting with a struggle for suffrage, today in all over the world put up a fight for "feminization of politics." Enfranchisement of women was a revolution by its period; however this was not a big step for the real equality. Women's taking part in political decision making processes is important; in addition, feminization of politics necessitates much more comprehensive regulations and is beyond "the number of noses". Feminization of politics is indispensable for democratization of politics, and today representation crisis of democracy and debates on constructing public sphere which is open to differences considerably feed on the criticism of feminist theory. Hence, acquisitions regarding gender equality in political life are the acquisitions not only for women but for democracy. Here the remarkable words of Bell Hooks, "*feminism is for everyone*" can be remembered.

The struggle for women's active political participation is important for local policy making. Women constitute half of the population of world, nations and even each

tiny local unit; therefore, in politics they stand at two sides as both potential electorates and the elected. Women's political participation is substantial because it contributes providing and pointing out resolutions for women's problems as well as their taking part in local decision making mechanisms. In Turkey female city councilors' existence increase the potential of some critical issues being brought to agenda of municipal councils: Issues related to women's unemployment, violence against women or other type of exploitations they are exposed to. On the other hand, the reason of importance of women's participation could not only be associated with worries about equality and social justice. Women's position is one of the well-accepted indicators of economic growth as well as a determinative aspect on development.

Moreover, in a research comparing İstanbul and Kocaeli in terms of women's participation to local politics, it is found that women's under-representation in local politics is fundamentally important for two reasons. First, it has become almost impossible to reflect the needs and demands of women, who represent half of the population of the city, in urban decision-making processes. Second, women who are in local decision making bodies encounter some problems in political mechanism such as being male-centered. Women are often alone and powerless in the face of these problems (Pınarcıoğlu, 2011).

Gender equality is a principle of democracy as well as a condition of the sustainable development. The realization of gender equality will enhance participation of more citizens to public realm. In this sense women organizations' playing more active and creative roles could help raising public awareness in the issue of gender equality (Seyyar, 2006). Gender equality which has appeared as the extension of equality notion, points out women and men possessing equal rights and opportunities at public and private sphere, and the necessity of providing women and men's visible and powerful participation at an equal rate. This notion facilitates the redefinition of both sexes equally as a result of fictionalization of women and men's duty,

responsibility and roles in a different way in every step of their daily lives (Kara, 2012).

## **2.2 Major Theories Related to Participation of Women in Politics**

In the literature with regard to politics and women's involvement, one group of theories is concerned with the oppression of women in different fields of life. Feminist perspectives on gender, by taking notion of social gender into consideration, view the issue from a different angle which emphasizes oppression of women in general sense. This perspective problematizes gender roles in society and dates it back to the construction of science. Notion of social gender is one of the roots of oppression of women because it challenges the idea of those gender roles' being hereditary and permanent factors shaping relations in society. Both the motives and obstacles behind women's representation in politics stem from social gender concept which draws the 'boundaries' of what women can reach or cannot. In addition, intersectionality theory tries to explain aforesaid oppression with multiple factors rather than social gender roles casted by society, only. These approaches are explained in the following paragraphs.

### **2.2.1 Feminist Perspectives on Gender**

Feminist perspective is one approach that attempts to explain the underrepresentation of women in politics. Feminism is a defending movement of social equality among sexes in order to withstand gender discrimination and patriarchy. Feminist perspective has mainly borrowed especially women's underrepresentation within positions in society empowering individual and the reality of reflection of women's lacking power on their domesticity from conflict theory (Perry & Perry, 2003, p.207). Sancar (2009) expresses that in fact social gender relations are seen as inevitable characteristics that biology imposes or social facts referring to biological obligations has gained gender meanings. Actually in primitive society, differentiation of male and female in terms of biology provided the gender based labor division by differentiation of gender roles. The labor division in the forms of woman's getting

pregnant, pregnancy's bringing limitation of movement, baby-sit after birth and man's animal hunting outside for looking after his family are gender based roles being constituted within primitive community life. However, this labor division based on male and female characteristics has also become the beginning of man's domination over woman. In different societies cultural codes with regard to how 'appropriate' woman should be, are mostly developed in order to keep women at passive position. In societies while women are identified with status like motherhood or being wife, men are identified with status such as occupational title.

Because women could not even be represented in economic life with their professions (aside from 'housework'), their presentation in social and political life stands as a problem. Feminist approach points out that women's underrepresentation in social and economic participation is a fundamental source of political underrepresentation because majority of women could not maintain their education or reach their economic independence, even this turns out to be a "matter of life or death". Therefore expecting their active political representation would actually be an optimist approach (Toksabay-Esen & Memişoğlu, 2007). In this study, via analyzing the single profiles of the municipal council members it is expected to find a relation between obstacles in front of women's political participation and underrepresentation. Also, this study aims to understand to what extent women are represented in those councils, to what extent members raise voices and answer women's problems in the region. Social gender which will be discussed in following section, in fact possesses a meaning which cannot be explained by biological gender only and is related to social class, patriarchy, politics and form of production in society (Savcı, 1999).

### **2.2.2 Notion of Social Gender**

The notion of social gender is another important concept that can be linked with the representation of women in politics. According Eveline and Bacchi, social gender is a notion related to society's vision, perception and expectations from us, as woman

and man (Eveline & Bacchi, 2005, p.497). As a result of reflection of biological differences to social life, women and men's being exposed to unequal conditions within the social relations and sustaining their lives again in unequal conditions have brought provision of gender equality to the agenda. Today, the fact that gender is a different notion from sex and it is achieved later during the adolescence by girls and boys, in other words embracement of these identities by society is accepted by both the fields of sociology and psychoanalysis. Therefore this notion is substantial for different disciplines beyond politics and woman studies. Gender equality is women and men's equal benefit from the opportunities in society, individuals' not being differently treated in use of rights due to their genders and provision of de facto equality at every fields of life. This notion is related to the research question of this study in the sense that it examines women's underrepresentation and lack of participation in local politics due to social gender inequality. It is expected to understand how in specific regions social gender notion constitute a disadvantage for women in their political participation.

### **2.2.3 Intersectionality**

Intersectionality is a theory shows that how different types of discrimination interact with each other. It takes into account the intersection of different discriminations and exploitation systems and processes. It means that none of injustice or discrimination or exploitation operates independent from each other. Racism is not independent from patriarchy neither patriarchy is from classism. Intersectionality is initially put forward in context of black feminism and introduced by Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989 (Crenshaw, 1994). While social gender tries to explain discrimination against women not by biological and fixed factors, rather by changeable and acquired characteristics, intersectionality tries to answer gender equality problem in different geographies. In this study, intersectionality theory will be applied to women in Southeastern part of Turkey who are oppressed because of their gender, ethnicity and social status. For example, a study made on Kurdish women students live in İstanbul, Ensari has found



that the intersectionality of ethnicity, social gender and class dynamics constitute constraints in front of women's education opportunities in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia. Under this circumstance, those female students could develop some strategies to tackle with social oppression (Ensari, 2012). Those aforesaid components of oppression cannot be considered independent from each other. It may be argued that although not at equal rate, all may affect women's political participation and rate and way of representation in Turkey. In Turkey, a woman may be exposed to oppression both because of her Kurdish identity and woman identity and there can be intricate relationship among these oppressions.

### **2.3 Factors Affecting Participation of Women in Politics**

In the literature, factors affecting of women in politics are often associated with social culture, violence against women, and political structure of Turkey (Kaymaz, 2010). In addition, it is often studied with the notions of civic education or class analysis.

Although in the first stages of democratization era women's integration to political process has not been systemically, it is seen that women's achieving political decision mechanisms has occurred via not rising up from downstairs, but a bolt from the blue. Women most of the time involuntarily and at some point for patriarchal interests, get into political process; however, they take part in politics with different incentives. There are reasons why women take part in politics except expressing their political thoughts. These are substituting men who kept away from politics due to reasons such as death, prohibition, political parties' not demanding discard the population constitutes half of society, compared to men women's easier symbolizing functions like democracy or modernity and demand for changing agenda in periods of political crisis (Yaraman, 1999, p.31). However, in general sense the sources of obstacles in women's politicization in Turkey can be grouped under three main titles. Labor division based on gender, socio-economic and cultural structure and political

culture, consciousness and interest are three important major roots which will be examined in detail below.

### **2.3.1 Labor Division Based on Gender**

Women's participation to economic and social life realize inside home as well as outside. However, women's participation to economic life and the forms of enjoying social and economic development and shares are not directly proportional. Although women's this way of enjoying could be associated with countries' development/underdevelopment level, there is an obvious fact that in general in many societies they fall behind men, are less employed and with less wage even working at same job (Aztimur, 2005).

Family has key position in shaping women employment because it plays a series of important role both in women's decision making with respect to working and determination of quality of labor they put in labor market. Family brings up and prepares individuals with different characteristics to labor market and as a result changes its own structure according to individual's changing needs and activities in labor market. Notion of family, with its features of carrying cultural and ideological values exist in society to family members and decision making mechanism, is important institution in terms of women labor's presentation within labor market. While labor division based on gender describes the professions that women and men share, at the same time it makes attributions to power relations between women and men and reproduces those power relations. This division of labor - both in society and at home - corresponds to a differentiation of 'who makes which job'. In every society among sexes, there are important impacts of division of 'reproduction works' such as child/eldercare and housework and intensity of those works on women employment (Dedeoğlu, 2000, p.151). The social gender based labor division in family has a structure which is strict, 'liable to rule' and shaped according to men and women roles' that are accepted by society. This form tightly chains the women and does not leave no chance but playing role casted for them.

Not sufficient but necessary prerequisite conditions for women's empowerment and liberation are earning their own income and the fact that this can be realized mainly by working at jobs having monetary equivalent (Ecevit, 1993). Without disregarding the fact that working life consists many gender-based inequalities, it is needed to express that this situation have double way relationship. When it is gone back in process, women in Southeastern part of Turkey could not have opportunity to be educated since from their early school ages. Therefore they have two chances in front of them: Either doing their 'obligatory' housework without earning money or working at jobs necessitating less educational level, but proportionally bringing fewer wages. In the last instance this directly affects women's representation and visibility in political arena because women who are active in economic life have chance to be active also in political life (in traditional politics in Turkey).

One of the hypotheses of this study foresees that except the female members in municipal councils of People's Democratic Party's municipalities, many female members have minimum high school or undergraduate level of education and middle, middle-upper income level. The exception may arise from different party policies or principles regarding in preparation of nominee lists. This hypothesis points out that political parties' different positioning toward 'educated' nominees and their perspectives preferring more educated women draw profiles of existing female city councilors. At that point, this could help making an inference about decisions taken in municipal council meetings. Also, this study questions whether educated or wealthier women have more chances to take part in lists or councils.

### **2.3.2 Socio-economic and Cultural Structure**

As the necessity of labor division based on gender which is a historical and cultural reality, women and men do different jobs. Majority of women work for fulfill the needs of children, men, elders and ill, and do what is necessary for mother/wife role. This social role obliges women to stay the place family life passes which is house and while women try to fulfill those needs at house, men participate in other fields of

life by dealing with production and trade. The jobs done by women are seen as ‘at private life’, therefore outside of society’s ‘common’ life and are defined as not concerning public, in other words, belonging to an apolitical world. Furthermore, it is not a coincidence that women take part in parliament, are educated and economically free at the same time. Women’s lacking their own financial resources is a major obstacle in political participation. A single woman depending on her father or a married woman depending on her husband (both are assumed as not economically free) could not show themselves politically, so could not gain experience (Akalın, 2009, p.39).

In Turkey, gender based labor division limits women’s social life experiences with family and immediate environment. Thus, claim suggests that problems related to their own life are non-political leaves women defenseless, inexperienced and voiceless. This labor division’s forming basis for social institution and mindset trends makes women’s exclusion from political processes a ‘natural’ fact and leaves it out of questioning. For many times, it is observed that women who want to participate in organized political life waver among two different world’s values and types of behavior. A general opinion concerning women’s traditional roles do not comply with politics causes their restrain by husbands or immediate family circles. Like in many other countries, in Turkey social culture and politics are constituted as male-dominant. Male and female children who are socialized differently become individuals that launch different roles when they grow. In this context, the perception of politics as ‘man job’ and attributing masculine characteristics such as ambition, authority, plot and competition to it constitute obstacles in front of women’s politicization (Arikboğa, Erkan, & Güner, 2010). Aforementioned patriarchal structure show itself in entire society, its institutions and political parties.

Therefore, another hypothesis of this study is about the fact that although social profiles of sample provinces are close, in more conservative and male-dominated provinces women have less chance to participate political life. Women may not be

‘allowed’ to show themselves in different fields of public realm if their family or husband sees their political participation irrelevant.

### **2.3.3 Political Culture, Consciousness and Interest**

*Political culture* in a country can be considered as one of the factors affecting women’s political participation. Because of the fact that women’s free participation to public realm did not exist during the period of Ottoman Empire, there was not any kind of mechanisms that would provide their political participation. Republic Reforms which have introduced right to education, right to work and political participation rights have paved the way of women’s access to public sphere. Many of the discriminatory practices towards women have disappeared by the help of adoption of Civil Code in 1926. Thus women at least on paper have become equal citizens with men. The “bestowment” of political rights was presented as an element that crowned this success. However, the way of giving rights and discourse which is created within this framework constituted paradoxical obstacle before women’s active political participation. Likewise it is seen throughout the nation-building processes, women’s political participation and especially taking part in decision making processes extremely remained weak. The reforms of Republic, along with Turkish women’s dress standards and code of conduct, appeared on the surface to be modern, but women’s relations with men and their self-definition within the family remained traditional. The result was ‘stimulated images of modernity’ (Meriwether & Tucker, 1999, p.78). In addition state’s appropriation of the women’s agenda impeded the development of an autonomous consciousness which is an important notion in terms of women’s political representation. During political and economic crisis in 1980s, there has been development of post-Kemalist as well as anti-Kemalist Islamist currents, which were radically different from the pre-Kemalist traditionalist stance. Nevertheless, these alternative platforms continued to subordinate women’s issues to the larger societal project.

Although women's liberation problem, its degree and forms differ according to the societies, it continues every part of the world. If not, neither United Nations nor European Union had to make so much exhortation in the subject of equality and elimination of violence against women and to take both legal and practical precautions. At this point, in this study women's participation rate to politics and which countries does she get ahead or fall behind will be analyzed. Women's such low rate of representation is not only limited with participation to national parliament, different spheres of politics, especially in local governments there is much more desperate picture which is one the focuses of our study.

Today in Turkey, the rate of representatives in the parliament is much below the world average. By 2011 general elections, 79 women deputies could succeed in getting into parliament which corresponded to 14.4%. In fact Turkey is one of the first countries who introduced enfranchisement of women. She has introduced this right for local in 1930 and in 1934 for general elections, before many of the Western countries and all of Islamic countries. If it is remembered that this right was introduced in France in 1944, in Italy in 1945 and in Canada in 1948, how substantial steps that Turkey has taken with the proclamation of republic could be understood. While women's representation rate in single-party period was relatively better, together with transition to a multi-party system the number of women deputies have decreased. This situation is associated with the symbolic use of women in the early years of republic as part of westernization and modernization process, and explained with the fact that women have lost their symbolic importance by transition to multi-party system and the factors such as market economy, industrialization and democratic regime have become symbols of westernization (Berktaş, 2004, p.110).

***Political consciousness and interest*** are positive preparatory processes in terms of active political participation. Following political agenda, political issues, parties and ideologies preoccupying about those issues are substantial in composition of political information and rise of political consciousness level. Studies have found that in general women are less interested in politics therefore are less informed when

compared to men (Demir, 2002). A research worked on students in Turkey has specified that female students are neither interested internal – foreign policy nor political regimes, and they read newspapers and journals having political content less than male students (Balay, 1999). However this is a changing fact for case in Turkey. It may be argued that women in Southeastern Anatolian part of the country become more politicized day by day. For example, current situation of Kurdish political movement is critical because of identification of Kurdish women's both woman and Kurd identities and their struggle for equality (Arakon, 2015).

As parallel to the general opinion that came out from different researches, a research named "Political Preferences and Vote Change" made in 2010 propounds that in Turkey women's interest for politics is lower when it is compared with men (Tonguç, 2010). 34.5% of women express that they are not interested in politics. According to women's own expression it is found that while age is inversely proportional to political interest, education is directly proportional. Çağlar claims that the underlying social causes are the differences in education level, income level, parental responsibilities and discriminative sexual judgements (Çağlar, 2011). Likewise Çaha argues that in Turkey there is lack of habit toward women's taking part in administrative or political mechanisms because of cultural patterns. This takes the issue to the dual relationship between political interest and aforementioned aspect which is political culture (Çaha, 2010). On the other hand, a project woman organization implemented in 2003-2004 "Woman Participation and Representation in Local Governments" found that women's interest for being candidate of headman, the smallest unit of local administrations, is much higher than other decision making bodies. This difference stems from not only women's being reluctant or uninterested in local politics, but lack of political parties' supportive attitudes or policies for women's nomination (Eser & Dinç, 2007).

Political consciousness and interest issues may also be related with *urbanization*. In some of the studies urbanization and disidentification are shown as the main reasons of lack of participation. However this study challenges the urbanization factor. Does

urbanization really constitute an obstacle before women's political participation or quite the contrary; may it provide enhancement of participation? It may be argued that urbanization may actually increase opportunities in front of women, thus may improve their political consciousness and interest, and may help their canalization in political sphere. Therefore this study will interrogate and challenge the aforesaid idea.

*Strong party discipline* is needed to be expressed which is one of the important aspects of political culture in Turkey because political parties supervise and control their members activities and members of parliament in Turkey's political arena usually reckon on that party for possibility of being re-elected. A research has confirmed that female members of national parliament are limited by party discipline regardless of their party affiliation. The difficulties in collaboration among women is noticed; contrary many female deputies asserted that there was stronger inter- and intraparty cooperation among male members of parliament (Ayata & Tütüncü, 2008, p.465). This study expects that attitudes of female members in municipal councils could change from party to party at the same issue. Female city councilors could act in the line of aforesaid strong party discipline and this could shape or re-shape decisions issued in council meetings.

#### **2.3.4 Women Branches and Participation**

Women branches organizations within political parties are important mechanisms in the sense that they increase women's political participation and their representation in political decision bodies. The position of women organizations within party, their power and their participation to decision processes affect women's participation both at political party level and at whole political realm. Many political parties worldwide have founded organizations like women branches (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 1997).

##### **2.3.4.1 Political Party Women Organizations in Turkey**



One of the political participation and representation mechanisms, political parties where women take part, are organized groups gathering around a specific aim such as gaining political power or sharing (Talış, 1996, p.74). There does not exist a historical heritage which could support women's equal participation at political parties which play determining role in women's local political participation and representation (Sancar-Üşür, 2005, p.226). Although it is not counted as one of the reasons of women's underrepresentation both in national and local councils, in Turkey structure and operation of political parties are another obstacles in front of women. Women's reflecting their problems to political decision making mechanisms is possible with political parties' clear declaration of the fact that women's representation is indispensable principle of democracy and their taking action for meet the case (Sancar-Üşür, 2000, p.209). Although existing political parties in Turkey regard inequality of women and men as one of the major problems of society, they are far away from taking concrete steps in resolutions (KADER, 2006). In other words, political parties neither make an attempt to question male-dominance towards women's underrepresentation nor support these types of initiatives which are already extremely limited (Ayata, 1998, p.248).

A study related to women branches of political parties which is aimed at looking into ways views of woman who are involved in the activities of political branches of two leading parties in Turkey; Justice and Development Party (AKP) and The Republican People's Party (CHP), has examined AKP and CHP' woman branches in Bursa have been studied in order to shed light on the inadequate representation of women within the framework of women's role in Turkish politics. The research found out that woman branches have found it very difficult to eliminate the inadequate representation of women in politics and largely failed to convert the position of women in political life in men dominated political structure (Türk, 2010). Also in aforesaid political parties, participants emphasized that politics is perceived as "male job" in society and regarded the existence of male-hegemonic structure in politics;

however it is attention-getting that most of the participants try to put distance between themselves and feminism or feminist movement, especially.

In Turkey, executive bodies within political parties' organization structure are where important decisions related to political party are taken. It is thought that impact of local organizations with respect to party is limited. In this regard, woman's representation in executive bodies such as chairmanship, party council and administrative boards is vital. In a research among political parties that possess groups in parliament done by experts of Ministry of Family and Social Policies, it is seen that women representation rate in central organizations of AKP (Central Executive Board, Central Decision Board, High Discipline Committee) is changing between 15% and 30%. In MHP women are only represented in Centre Administrative Board. On the other hand, CHP and Democratic Society Party (DTP, latterly BDP and HDP)<sup>1</sup> have quota practices arising from their party statutes. Within CHP 25% quota is implemented whereas in DTP all intra-party boards, 40% gender quota is implemented (Çadır, 2011). Later CHP has scaled up this quota practice to 33% in 2012 with implementing at wide range of stages in the party. By making an amendment of its statute, CHP has decided to implement at least 33% gender quota in determination of nominees who will be specified via central consultation, election of party council, election of executive organs of province, district and town, election of provincial council and municipal council membership and election of congress delegate. The contribution of this study will be related to constructing a relation between political party women organizations and municipal councils in three provinces which are subjects of study. Via statistical analysis impact of women branches on 'selection' (in process of nomination) and election of female members

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<sup>1</sup> On December 11, 2009 Constitutional Court had expressed that the Democratic Society Party (DTP) had become "a focus of actions against the unity of the nation" and ordered the closure of the party. After the DTP's closure, the deputies represented Kurdish movement in parliament have formed a new political party, Peace and Democracy Party (BDP), to continue their political life. On October 15, 2012 People's Democratic Party has founded with a discourse of "demand for becoming Turkey's party." After 2014 local elections, the two parties were re-organised in a joint structure. On 28 April 2014, the entire parliamentary caucus of BDP joined HDP, whereas BDP was assigned exclusively to representatives on the local administration level.

of municipal councils at that province will be evaluated. Women branches are effective in founding network between political party and the nominees in local level. This both strengthens party identity and political affiliation and encourages political participation of women who have not had any opportunity before. Hence, many of participants (who are female members in municipal councils) in field research will be members of women branches, provincial and local woman branches heads at the same time which is not a coincidence.

#### **2.3.4.2 Women Branches in Regulations of Turkey's Different Political Parties**

When the numerical density and municipal council member rates of political parties is considered, this study will focus on legislations of AKP, MHP and HDP.<sup>2</sup> According to the mission determined by AKP Headquarter Women Branches, enhancement of women's political participation also takes part and it is considered that this aspect is an important basis for activities women branches will carry out. Within AKP women branches are positioned as "subsidiary organ." Also, with respect to party statute there is organization of women branches at headquarter, province, district and town levels. It is seen that if necessary it is directed towards neighborhood and village organizations (AKP, 2013). Although party statute of AKP has given some elbow room independent at some, it could be said that women's branches heads' being non-voters at stages of party organization and women branches' being subordinated with regard to party's representation are negative in the sense of intra-party democracy and position of women branches. A similar problem is also seen at "let loose" article which regulated dismissal of women branches organizations. According to aforesaid article due to "the reasons specified in party statute" women branches executive organs and equal level party organization executive organs are authorized to take let loose actions toward heads and members in women branches organizations. The legitimacy of women organizations is

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<sup>2</sup> Felicity Party, Democratic Party and Great Union Party do not have any female members in municipal councils and Republican People's Party has only 1 member. 1 member is relatively few number, so AKP, MHP and HDP are given place more.

doubtful because women branches organizations who take office by election could be dismissed by party's executive organ at same level.

On the other hand, when MHP and its party legislation are examined, a paradox will be seen. MHP contains "provision of Turkish woman's more active participation and representation at parliament with respect to her rate in nation's population" (MHP, 2001) in its bylaw and it is inferred that 50% of representation is foreseen. However, it could be said that within party this provision is not operated in practice when seriously low<sup>3</sup> level of female deputies is considered. Besides central organization, MHP women branches have organizations at province, district and town level. At each level women branches heads and members – different from AKP and HDP – take office by appointment. Here, "forbidden activities"<sup>4</sup> women branches organizations should obey which are counted detail in party statute grab attention. This shows dependent structure and "constraints" of women branches organizations. When the articles related to let loose method are examined it is seen that in circumstances anticipated within bylaw; party leader, Central Executive Board and executive board chairmen and its members at every level could be let loose via procedures they are appointed and could be dismissed by a hierarchically higher executive organ (MHP, 2001).

Lastly, another political party within Turkish Grand National Assembly HDP which is founded in 2012 has identified itself in second article of its party statute as a party "aiming to struggle against elimination of male-hegemonic system and violation

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<sup>3</sup> According to 2015 General Elections, there are 4 female deputies among 80 deputies of MHP, which corresponds to 5%.

<sup>4</sup> "County, district and province chairman and members of the executive board,

a) Cannot make false statement with regard to party programme and constitution. They cannot make statement about "Women Branches General Policy" without having permission of Women Branches Central Executive Board.

b) Without having necessary permission of one upper stage, they cannot exchange letters with official authorities and make statement about them.

c) They cannot lodge a complaint for upper stages without obeying basis of stage. Yet, if they have a complaint about the stage they depend, they can apply to stage upper of it.

d) They cannot decide for their disconnection with upper stage they depend."

against women by objecting inequalities among sexes at every fields of political, economic and social life” (HDP, 2014). It would not be wrong counting HDP as pioneer of co-presidency system in Turkey. DTP is the first party has implemented this system and as HDP is a party institutionally and ideologically derived from DTP, this is not a coincidence. In its party program, one of the main approaches of HDP “make social gender equality and ecological society approach dominant in local governments”. At present, Figen Yüksekdağ and Selahattin Demirtaş carry co-presidency task. Because of the fact that in HDP’s party statute there has not been a detailed regulation related to women yet, here the roots of the party, namely DTP’s “Women Council Regulation” will be discussed. It is a political party who has first implemented co-presidency practice in Turkey. According to its regulation, women councils are founded with the aim of “tackle existing discrimination against women, provide women’s equal participation to every field of society, extend positive discrimination and quota practices, combat violence against women, provide mental transformation in society and enhance women’s being organized in every field” (DTP, 2006). Increase number of women that are party’s member and work for their organization in the pivot of “woman identity”, carry on a work that will reflect woman perspective to politics, raise awareness in providing intrafamilial democracy and social transformation are some of fundamental working fields of women councils. 11<sup>th</sup> article of DTP Women Councils Regulation expresses that it is obligatory to positively support woman until provision of equality of woman and man and take precautions such as quota. Aforementioned article says that “in elections for each level of executive membership take part in DTP bylaw, gender quota at the rate of 40% is applied. This principle is applied in municipal council membership, provincial council membership, deputyship and delegacy of district, province and congress” (Çadır, 2011). Province, district and headquarter of women councils work as nomination committees in positive support practice. It is seen that both intraparty decision organs and elections gender quota is determined. It is ensured that women councils at each level could be dismissed by decision of the higher women council; even women council headquarter could solely be dismissed

by “Women Council General Assembly”. Unlike from other parties’ practices, party organization at same level or party executive organ at a higher level is not authorized for dismissal of women councils. This is positive regulation for women councils’ intraparty legitimacy and position. Via structure of women branches, locality, women and democracy notions go hand in hand in legislations of political parties.

## **2.4 Evaluation of the Literature and Expected Contributions of the Present Study**

When the results of the studies are analyzed, a picture of the field can be drawn better. Studies on women’s participation to local politics mainly focus on separate cases. For example, provinces of Şanlıurfa or Isparta were examined separately and independent results were presented (Çelik & Uluç, 2009). However, one of the common points among the studies is the low rates of participation (Türeli & Çağlar, 2010). In a study analyzing women’s local participation in district municipalities of İstanbul (Bakırköy, Esenyurt, Kadıköy, Avcılar, Güngören, Tuzla), qualitative method has been used and it is found that women in municipal councils in some topics by leaving other differences aside and gathering on the basis of gender have impact on a decision (Kara, 2012).

Most of them use the party in power and the main opposition party as the research tools, however because of the ethnical structure of the region and effectiveness of Kurdish movement, one of the minor parties will be examined. Their achievements and success, if exists, in women’s participation will be questioned. Unfortunately, co-presidency system which is too new for Turkey is one of the missing areas in this field. Therefore, by this study the lacking point about it will be completed.

As a possible theoretical contribution, this study may contribute to Şerif Mardin’s center-periphery notions. Here the ones, who are the periphery of the periphery, are Kurdish women. They lose their visibility by double layer. First factor is about gender and second comes from their ethnicity. This brings the issue to theory of intersectionality which is also new for the field. Beside intersectionality looks the

problem from relatively feminist point of view, the notion of center-periphery also affirm the discrimination Kurdish women are exposed in the sense that both being excluded by men and most frequently referred white Turk women.

Previous studies focus more on the participation on national politics, the comparison of Turkey and other countries and the examination of the historical process of enfranchisement of women. However the difference between participation to national and local politics, how they are far from each other, how women are far/put distance between politics and themselves are not analyzed in literature. Here the contribution of this study could be about questioning the fact that the introduction of enfranchisement in municipal elections is historically earlier than the enfranchisement of women in national politics. In this study it is expected to analyze this historical evolvement of women's local political participation process by examining how and when being a municipal council member idea has started, and how long they have been interested in politics. The difference between participating national and local politics is critical because the services provided and visibility of representation may change between the two. Why this reform in Turkish politics was seen as priorities is important.

In the literature, how does women's increased political participation in local government, stimulated through quotas, challenge the patriarchal structure of a society (for example Pakistan), especially focusing on the long standing trend of elite women's selective political participation is studied. For instance this study explores whether the long observed patriarchal trend of the elite women's selective political participation in Pakistan also applies to the large mass of women who entered the newly introduced local governments in the country recently (Tabassum, 2011). This study identified a broader pattern of social dynamics; the majority of women entered in local councils are not elite, rather lower and middle class less educated housewives, who entered the local politics from within the very patriarchal structures as a result of competition among masculine power centers and these women's strategies to use and manipulate the patriarchal setups as resources.

Moreover, in TÜBİTAK study of Koyuncu-Lorasdağı and Sumbas, it is found that contribution of female mayors is really effective in combatting violence against women and produce important outcomes in protection of women. One of the in-depth interviews in scope of the study a participant expressed that *“When female mayor comes, first she looks at the issue with the eye of a woman. She immediately realizes where is disorganized, where is ordered. She behaves her town, district, province as same as she behaves inside of her house; therefore she become successful”* (Koyuncu-Lorasdağı & Sumbas, 2015).

In conclusion, there are important findings from various studies related to the issue and although some of them have common points and benefit from each other's theoretical conceptualization, some others have challenging essence. This chapter first presented the notion of political participation, by reviewing the main theories related to lack of women's participation in politics. Then it has reviewed women's representation in Turkey's territorial politics and ended with discussing the literature and findings from academic studies on women's representation in local politics.



## **CHAPTER 3**

### **WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION TO LOCAL POLITICS IN TURKEY**

This chapter focuses on the main trivets of women's participation to local policy in Turkey. Rate of women in municipal councils shows the current state of women's representation and participation level. Women's position in local policy has three determinants as actors, resources and priorities. Actors are composed of institutions, women branches and civil society organizations, resources are legislation related to the issue and quota practice which enhances the role of women is one of the main priorities in the problem area.

#### **3.1 Gender of Politics in Turkey**

In order to understand gender of politics in Turkey, the development and evolvement of feminist movement in Turkey is needed to be regarded. When the evolvement of feminist approach in Turkey is examined, it is seen that there are different periods, breaking points and fractions within the movement itself. First of all, 1980s have witnessed mostly constitution of ideological and political accumulation and public campaigns at journal and book club groups, meetings at home and consciousness raising groups. After 1<sup>st</sup> Women Congress in 1989, a period has started where discovery, passion and excitement have declined but facing with political and ideological problems and effort to found permanent structures gained importance. 1990s can be counted as an institutionalization period and this fact is related to Turkey's general political atmosphere as well as movement's own dynamics. 90s was a period of time when public opposition and spill out into the streets have regressed and political agenda cannot be determined by the opponents. Another important characteristic of 90s is that the women who were not part of feminist movement in 80s have enhanced feminist demands in a relation with Kurdish movement and Islamic movement, and have organized around these demands. Kurdish movement questioned both patriarchy of the nationalist movement and

“Turkishness” of feminism in Turkey. On the other hand, Muslim feminists has objected to elitist-hegemonic attitude of feminist movement and tried to show that there was no contradiction between Muslim women’s beliefs and their rejection of subordination as a woman. In the country’s political agenda, these two topics coded as “divisiveness” and “reactionism” has caused harsh debates and ruptures also among women (Bora & Günal, 2002, p.87).

One of the substantial point here we need to raise is that feminism in 90s have gone considerably beyond being a metropolitan movement. Women have started to organize in Adana, Mersin, Gaziantep, Diyarbakır, Samsun and Eskişehir. In the literature, mainly metropolitan municipalities, especially the ones in west (İstanbul, Ankara) are being studied. Perception of social gender in metropolitan municipalities and female members in municipal councils in different district municipalities under those metropolitans are often analyzed. Smaller provinces like aforesaid Isparta are studies in separate form. Without disregarding the genuineness of the regions, a similarity or generalization among three sample provinces (Gaziantep, Elazığ, Siirt) is aimed to be found, if exists.

Moreover, ‘sources of obstacles in women’s politicization in Turkey’ is the other important aspects in this topic. In the literature, the reasons are often associated with social culture, violence against women, and political structure of Turkey (Kaymaz, 2010). Women’s political participation and the obstacles in front of it are often studied with the notion of civic education or class analysis. However, urbanization and local characteristics stand at important point of the problem. This lacking part could be completed by giving reference to local democracy issues and regarding sui generis features of different regions in Turkey. In some of the studies urbanization and disidentification are shown as main reasons. However this study challenges urbanization factor. Does urbanization really constitute an obstacle before women’s political participation or quite the contrary; it provides the enhancement of participation? It actually increases the opportunities in front of women and helps

their canalization in political sphere; therefore this will interrogate and challenge the aforesaid idea.

### **3.2 Rate of Women in Local Governments: Example of Municipal Councils**

Increasing women's political representation in local governments is seriously important issue for this group who wants to enhance their existence in political realm. According to Kara, local governments which are directed to reproduction and collective consumption, have direct "results" on women's daily lives (Kara, 2012, p.67). Therefore their representation in local governments will alter the quality of local services at great deal. There are two dimensions of women's participation: Having a voice as political actors in local governments and participation of women who are affected by decisions of local governments in the scope of urban services and their use of city. As Koyuncu-Lorasdağı and Sumbas assert local governments are important in terms of services presented to women. Female mayors play active role in fighting against violence against women (Koyuncu-Lorasdağı & Sumbas, 2015). Also, as female local politician, they can contribute to change in mindsets, encourage the centers for women and woman councils and prepare social gender responsive budget and labor contract practices.

According to Heywood, political representation points out a group who defends something on behalf of individual, groups or large mass of people (Heywood, 2004, p.233). Although in ancient times when human population was not crowded members of society could participate every decision related them via voting, today's condition does not enable direct representation. In indirect representation method, representation is based upon an election where people elect a fraction of public who has specific characteristics and are nominees for this duty (Yıldırım, Öner, Aksu & Melike, 2011). In terms of political representation, important issues such as election system, position of power, party system, nomination committees, identity, responsibilities of representatives, and political information of voters come to the

forefront. This study calls attention to identity, especially “women identity” in the scope of its impact on political representation and participation.

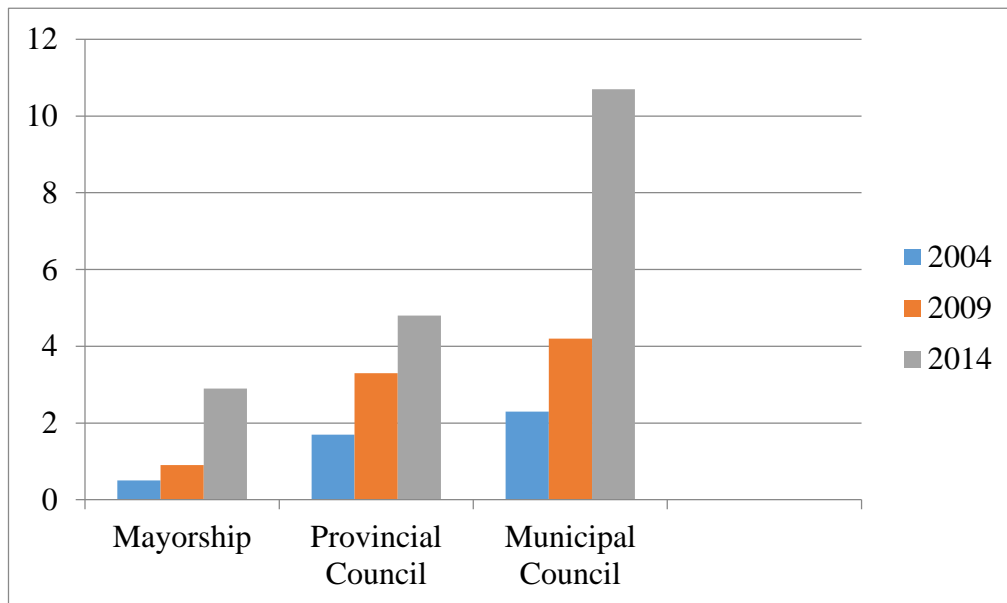
Because of the fact that local governments are seen as closest administrative units to public, many theorists point out that representation function could more easily realize in these administrative units. Therefore, local administrations have higher potentials in democratic participation when it is compared with other administrative units because of its unique structure. Individuals here could find most suitable platform for themselves in terms of representation. In addition, local governments are important because of administration-control process in policy making procedure. Whether people make wrong choices in elections, it is assumed that they do not repeat it again. This stems from nature of locality and local politics because in local elections people know nominees better and have closer relationship with them (Eryılmaz, 2007, p.133).

A council of a local government has three main functions: representation, decision making and control. According to the legal statute “the municipal council shall be the municipality’s decision-making body and comprise members elected according to the principles and procedures provided for by the relevant law.” In Turkey municipal councils are important in individuals’ participation and representation in local politics. Municipal councils are effective in the sense that

Although the elections are held regularly for five years in order to form municipalities’ elected organs, the expectation for existence of face-to-face relations and healthier and closer nominee-voter relationship in local government elections is open to criticism. In literature it is claimed that on the one hand national problems and policies determine voting behavior in local on the other local voter’s effectiveness is too limited in determination of local representative nominees (Yıldırım, Gül, Akın, Şen, & Ersöz, 2015). However, this study foresees that the ‘same’ voter could behave different in local elections and general elections. At the same time, when it is looked from opposite side of the issue, a nominee could prefer

behaving service-focused rather than having ideological or party-based attitudes. Therefore not every political party in Turkey embraces same method and obliges people to confirm “prepared lists”.

In the previous section women’s representation in Turkey’s territorial politics is examined. Although this does not have direct impact on rate of women in local governments, women’s underrepresentation and low visibility in national politics have potential to affect local policy making mechanisms. In Turkey mayorship, provincial council and municipal council are those mechanisms. In the graph below, total rate of women elected in last three local government elections is shown.



**Figure 1:** Rate of Women Elected in Turkey’s Local Government Elections (percent)  
Source: YSK.

When the data related to women representation in local governments are examined, it is seen that in spite of the low rates of women’s representation in 2004 and 2009 local elections, there is continuous increase in rate of women members in three groups. It can be said that women’s political participation rate shows a marked improvement when it comes to 2014, as the increase rate in 2009-2014 is significantly more than the one in 2004-2009. The rate of women’s taking part in mayorship is 0.9%, whereas membership in provincial councils is 3.3% and

membership in municipal councils 4.2%. In 2014 local elections, these numbers scales up to 2.9%, 4.8% and 10.7% respectively. The state of female representatives as result of 2014 elections can be seen in more detailed in the table below.

**Table 1:** Local Government Election Results, 2014

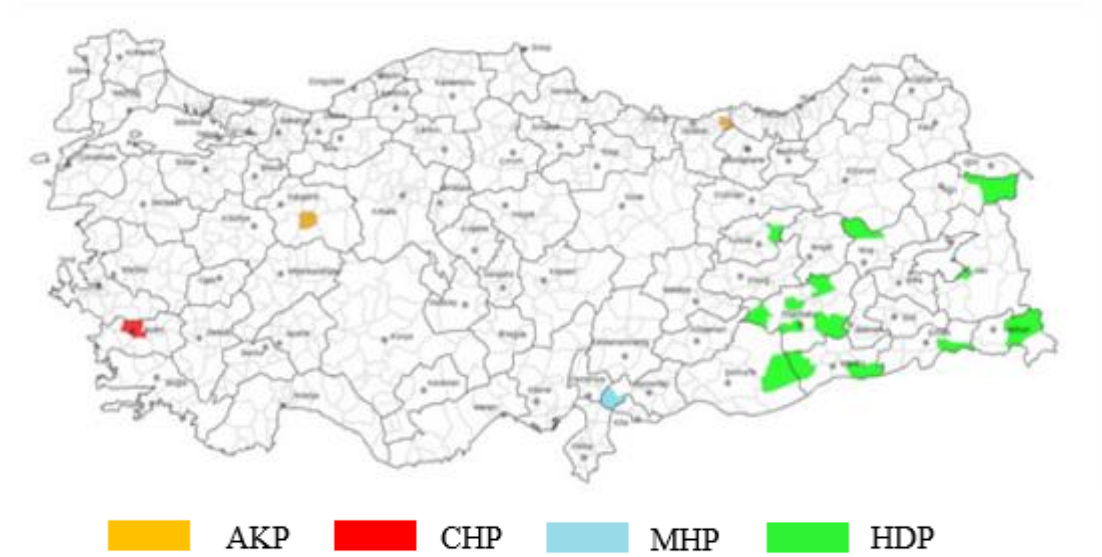
	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female (%)</b>	<b>Male (%)</b>
<b>Metropolitan Mayorship</b>	3	27	10%	90%
<b>Mayorship</b>	37	1.314	2.74%	97.26%
<b>Provincial Council Membership</b>	60	1.191	4.8%	95.2%
<b>Municipal Council Membership</b>	2.198	18.300	10.72%	89.28%

Source: YSK.

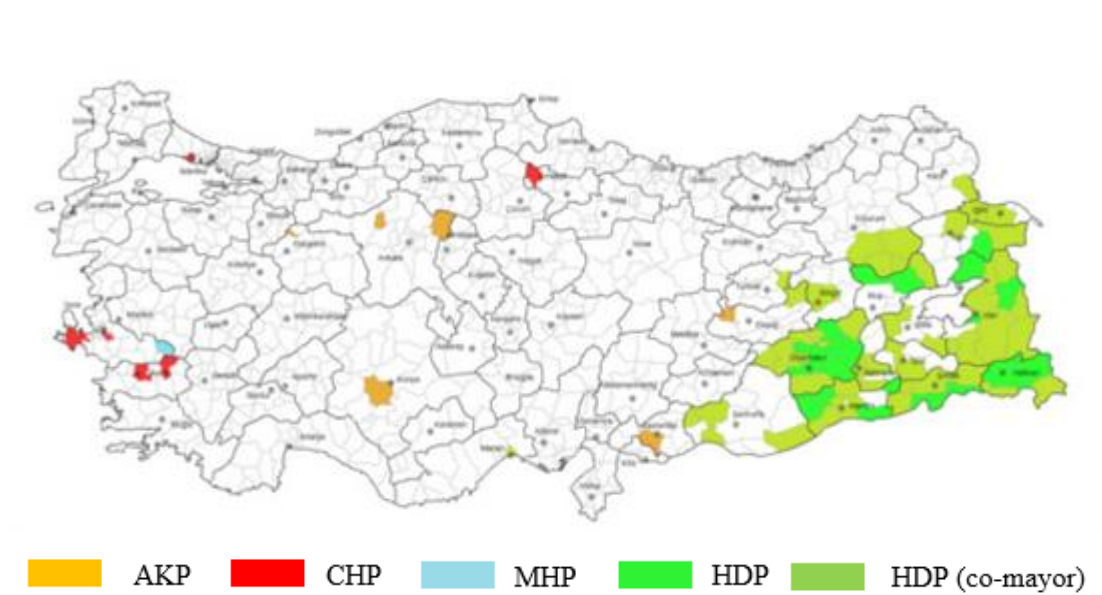
When the table is analyzed, it is seen that female candidates has been successful in being elected for mayorship in last local elections. However, more interestingly the success in being elected for municipal council membership grabs more slice of the cake (with 10.7%) when it is compared with achievement in other groups of categorization. This is one of the important dimensions of both reason and result of participation problem. This situation can be interpreted in the sense that political parties in Turkey still abstain from presenting female candidates for positions which are “few” in quantity, but politically having more power in decision making mechanisms. Also, this shows the fact that municipal council membership is more achievable for female candidates who want to take part in active political life.

According to the study evaluating last local elections in 2014, it is seen that in Çanakkale, nomination and election rates in municipal council membership are higher when it is compared with mayorship or provincial council membership. Regarding mayor as “one man” in the administration of city, parties’ attaching importance to the nominees who have more chance to be elected and male nominees’ higher percentage of seeking this position show that women are pushed into the background (Bozatay & Kutlu, 2014).

Two figures below show the geographical and party-based distribution of female mayors elected in 2009 and 2014 local elections.



**Figure 2:** Distribution of Female Mayors According to 2009 Local Elections



**Figure 3:** Distribution of Female Mayors According to 2014 Local Elections  
Source: KA-DER.

In fact, these maps show that there are no dramatic numerical or proportional change in BDP's presenting women as candidates between 2009 and 2014 periods. One of the hypotheses of the study investigates whether political parties' attitudes and realization of co-presidency system in local governments are factors determining level of representation and effective participation of women in local policy. These data and in-depth interviews will help shaping the answer of this research question. When elected female candidates of political parties are compared, it is seen that in categories of metropolitan mayorship and mayorship (central district, district and town municipalities) there are 8 female mayors from AKP, 7 from CHP, 1 from MHP and 24 from HDP (together with 55 co-mayors this number scales up to 79) ("Seçimin Kazanan Kadınları," 2014).

### **3.3 Women's Position in Local Policy**

Local governments are the units obtaining their authorization from central government and using it in a way restricted by law (Ertan, 2002, p.22). When looked more closely, local governments are units that are self-administered and close to public. Their regarding and fulfilling people's needs make them important actors in democratic processes. These local units are active in people's life styles and conditions. The fact that their decision organs take office by election increases the power and effect of those units (Türeli & Çağlar, 2010).

Although women's obtaining political rights in Turkey date back to first years of foundation of republic, it is observed that rate of women is really low in issues of participation and representation. Especially in rural areas the roles of husband, father or brother is still dominant in women's voting decisions. It can be associated with social position of women because despite of the fact that women's existence concretely has increased in various fields of social life, in political realm it is not possible to mention a similar hope. In the previous chapter, sources of obstacles in women's politicization are discussed in three subtitles. The important question of this part is: Where do women stand in Turkey's local policy? Rather what those subtitles



express, why they are substantial for providing justification of underrepresentation of women is significant. Labor division based on gender is important because in societies where extended family type exists, politics is perceived as “male-job” and women’s life space is drawn by borders of home. This has dual relationship with other two factors; socio-economic, cultural structure and political culture, consciousness. Those three factors affect each other in the sense that women’s level of interest and affinity declines. As a result of it, it is seen that activism of women, their networks and mobilization decreases from home to local governments (even central government) (Negiz & Üçer, 2012). In circumstances where their citizenship rights are even protected by law, women have minute amount of relation with state organs (Alkan, 2005, p.78). Woman’s position in local policy is indirectly ‘determined’ by different actors, becomes effective by resources like legislation prepared by different stakeholders and has prior issues as quota practice.

### **3.3.1 Actors: Institutions / Women Branches / Civil Society Organizations**

There are important actors in formation of women’s participation to local policy. These can be grouped under three subtitles; institutions, women branches and civil society organizations. Ministry of Family and Social Policies, Ministry of Interior, General Directorate of Local Administrations and State Personnel Department are the institutions which have potential to raise awareness and increase level of information and consciousness for increase women representation in authority and decision making mechanisms. For example, General Directorate of Women’s Status is substantial for informing public about women’s taking part in parliament, local governments and village headman duty (Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü, 2008a). Likewise, General Directorate of Local Administrations has important operability in working with women councils at local level, which are platforms gathering women from different fractions of society in order to create awareness in women’s participation to politics. However, these institutions could be effective if they work together with same aim and equal responsible attitude towards the issue.

In the previous chapter, women branches' effectiveness and political parties' different legislations related to issue are discussed. In spite of their paving the way for achievement of different kind of opportunities, the weakness of women branches of political parties is another dimension of problems occurs in women candidates' political representation. Almost all of the political parties in Turkey see women branches as units which will do the low-return jobs rather than structures that can increase women's participation to political processes. Women who take part in women branches of that party – with few expectations – could not success to 'accede to' party. In other words, there is no transitivity among women organizations and party organizations. Although women organizations are elected, they are subjected to party and possess very limited decision-making and implementation authority in subjects fall into their remit. In many cases, there are no representation relationship between women representatives and women waiting for being represented.

Moreover, within the scope of Rio Earth Summit held in 1992, notion of 'sustainable development' has been specified as fundamental principle of 21<sup>st</sup> century. In order to provide sustainable development, all actors' (starting from local level) efforts and participation to process are needed because participation is the main necessity of local democracy and philosophy of governance. For realization of this principle, action fields were determined with various articles and a report named "Agenda 21" which has covered those articles, was accepted by all UN countries. In Turkey Local Agenda 21 process has started in 1997 as a project approved by Council of Ministers. Local Agenda 21 Women Councils are one of the most favorable platforms which would actualize provisions toward women stated in UN Millennium Development Goals, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and international papers, in local level. In this context, women councils on the one hand focus on women's active participation to decision making processes and every fields of urban life, on the other they aim to improve communication among organized and disorganized women and constitute a common

solidarity network which would empower the information and experience sharing (Emrealp, 2005).

Civil society organizations and women organizations are other important actors who carry on important studies about this issue. Besides local associations organized at provincial level, especially Union of the Turkish Bar Associations, Association to Support and Educate Women Candidates (KADER), Turkish Industry and Business Association (TÜSİAD) and Women Entrepreneurs Association of Turkey (KAGİDER) have workouts in this context. In its report, TÜSİAD has put forward suggestions that particularly government and parliament, civil and public institutions should be obliged to take specific precautions, special provisions toward gender equality are needed to be brought to the laws regulating political life, positive discrimination/quota practices are needed to take part in election law, political parties law and local governments law, specific precautions toward gender equality needed to be identified in internal regulation, by-law or other means which regulate every type of councils' operation; local, regional, national and international and actions are needed to be taken during implementation of decisions taken in "Gender Equality Commissions" that could be formed in parliament or municipal councils (TÜSİAD, 2000).

### **3.3.2 Resources: Legislation**

In Turkey although the process of women's reaching equal rights with men has started more quickly compared with European countries, not a long distance could be covered in time. Struggle for equality has started in 1930s, continued with women's enfranchisement for being headman and councilor in board of alderman in 1933 and resulted in 1934 via women and men's obtaining equal political rights in general elections. A series of laws and institutions are formed after this period. In Turkey institutionalization process towards providing gender equality within state has started with establishment of Advisory Board for policies with regards to Women in 1987. After that Directorate General on the Status of Women is established in 1990. This

institution is affiliated to the Prime Minister and restructured in the form of a state ministry in 1993. Yaraman claims that ANAP's leading its implementation as a right party, and after that its being supported by leader of another right party DYP and Turkey's first female Prime Minister Tansu Çiller are the indicators of the fact that electorates' demands also coincides with women's political acquisition (Yaraman, 1999).

In order to provide gender equality in different fields of social life as well as legal system, amendments were made in constitutions and laws in time and in 2004 a series of changes were adopted in 1982 constitution. According to article Article 83 of the Constitution, *"Equality between men and women must be ensured in all areas, including employment, work and pay. The principle of equality shall not prevent maintenance or adoption of measures providing for specific advantages in favor of the under-represented sex"* ([https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/anayasa/anayasa\\_2011.pdf](https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/anayasa/anayasa_2011.pdf)). Also, a subparagraph of Article 10 was added to the Constitution and in accordance with this provision *"Women and men have equal rights. The State shall have the obligation to ensure that this equality exists in practice."* As a result of this, *"principle of possession of equal rights of women and men"* acquired a constitutional basis. Latest in 2010 this principle was guaranteed with expressing that measures taken for this purpose shall not be interpreted as contrary to the principle of equality. In addition, in Political Parties Law it is specified that political parties could not pursue a goal which is against to the principle of equality before law no matter of language, race, gender, political belief, religion, sect or other differences (Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü, 2008b).

When the international legislation related to the issue is examined, a wide range of laws and agreement will be seen. The public opinion worldwide has started to preoccupy with Universal Declaration of Human Rights and continue with European Social Charter with specifying *"The enjoyment of the rights set forth in this Charter shall be secured without discrimination on any ground such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national extraction or social origin,*

*health, association with a national minority, birth or other status*” in fifth part of 1988 dated additional protocol (<http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/EN/Treaties/Html/163.htm>). While The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) has drawn the general framework for resolutions against any kind of discrimination women are exposed to, European Charter of Local Self-Government specifically emphasizes notion of local self-government and local administrations’ right to regulate and conduct a significant part of public affairs under their own responsibility. European Council whose 16 member states has signed European Urban Charter with specific subtitles such as security, employment, housing, participation, equality, has an organ named The Congress of Local and Regional Authorities. This formation is important with the aspect precisely related to this study; adopting Resolution 179 on women's participation in local and regional democratic life in 1986. Lastly, The European Charter for Equality of Women and Men in Local Life (CEMR) is addressed to the local and regional governments of Europe and opened to their signature in 2006 ([http://www.ccre.org/docs/charte\\_egalite\\_en.pdf](http://www.ccre.org/docs/charte_egalite_en.pdf)). The signatories of this Charter from Turkey are Bornova, Bursa, Kars, Trabzon and Denizli Municipalities by February 2014. In time, two of the sample cities of this study Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality and Siirt Municipality have signed the Charter (“Meclisimiz, Avrupa Yerel Yaşamda Kadın Erkek Eşitliği Şartını Kabul Etti,” 2015) whereas Elazığ has not yet. In fact, the Charter has six main principles and each of them addresses directly to the obstacles expressed in previous chapter and resolutions proposed by this study. For example, “*The ‘balanced’ participation of women and men in decision making is a pre-requisite of a democratic society*” brings the issue to the quota practices and paving the way for increase in women’s participation. Likewise, fourth principle states “*The elimination of gender stereotypes is fundamental to achieving equality of women and men*” and this underlines the structural labor division based on gender and perception of notion of social gender in Turkey.

### **3.3.3 Priorities: Quota as a Practice for Enhancing the Role of Women**

Quota system is a positive discrimination system towards maintaining women's right of equal representation in politics. Quota can occur in two ways; either women quotas at national or regional level that are prescribed by constitution and election laws or a type of quota embracing principles according to number of women nominated by parties and way of nominees' listing. According to data European Union has revealed the "critical mass", in other words a representation threshold, in national parliaments is 33%. This number is the minimum level of different groups' providing necessary representation in political parties (Aydemir & Aydemir, 2011).

According to Aydemir, both in national assembly and municipal councils, gender quota practice is needed to be implemented and this will provide positive discrimination for women at different stages of political participation and equal representation. However, in order to function effectively, the quota system, way of nominee listing or election process should be supported by laws. In spite of Turkey's positive attitude towards the issue in international arena, social infrastructure of legal ground could not be formed yet.

Phillips asserts that there are two main opinions about women's underrepresentation in elected organs (Phillips, 1995, p.85). The rate of women is not important according to first opinion because representation is an objective and abstract notion and everybody can represent everybody. On the other hand, the second group claims that women's underrepresentation is substantial problem and should be eliminated. Quantitative representation is important; however, it is needed to regard that all mechanisms of representation are not the objective but tool (Alkan, 2004, p.6). Nevertheless, women's participation alter the face of politics and appears as more qualitative political processes. According to Esen and Memişoğlu, there is perception that in political units in women's supervision, corruption decreases and transparent administration improves (Toksabay-Esen & Memişoğlu, 2007). In India where 33% quota is being implemented in local government level, it is stated that by the help of

effective functioning quota there is slow but steady evolution from corruption tendency to good governance (“Fact Sheet: Women's Political Participation,” 2008).

When the political parties’ perspectives on quota practices is examined, it will be seen that they stand at different places. Duverger claims that according to many researches the analysis of right and left parties’ approaches to women’s representation tells that left is the fraction embracing women most (Duverger, 1995). In a study that tries to examine perspectives of AKP and CHP on gender quota, Cansun asserts that in Turkey center-right and center-left political parties’ approaches are similar in practice in spite of their discourses different from each other (Cansun, 2012). Although there is verbal support of party executives for women politicians, a gender quota does not exist in regulation of AKP. On the other hand, 25% gender quota of CHP where it has been implemented since 1989, has increased to 33% (minimum) in 2012 party regulation (Atılğan, 2012, p.2). According to CHP regulation (Article 61a) the party has applied quota to its nominee lists for the national and the sub-national elections (CHP, 2012). Yet, these voluntary nominee quotas concern solely 15% of the total number of nominees on the nominee list which are selected by the party’s central committee and not the entire lists. In fact, the rest 85% of nominees on the list is filled through primary elections held in districts. Here it is needed to state that another party which is like AKP, also in power in one of the sample cities of the study, BDP has 40% gender quota in its nominee lists both for the national and local elections (Sayın, 2007, p.10). MHP who comes to the forefront with nationalist and conservative identity, has opposed the campaign presented by Association for Supporting and Educating Woman Political Candidates (KA-DER) in 2009 general elections and has negative attitude toward quota practice in politics (Gökulu, 2013, p.364).

Quota practices are criticized because of preventing electorates’ deciding who to elect and being antidemocratic. Yet, because there is gender based discrimination in politics, quota is a practice in line with the abolishment of this discrimination. The

opponents of quota highlights that quota does not dictate electorates in their preferences, but underlines at what rate genders needed to be represented.

### **3.4 Co-presidency Practice and Its Efficacy for Turkey**

*Co-presidency* or *co-chairmanship* is a system which has earlier come to agenda by German Green Party. While implementing this, the party has aimed to provide Turkish origin Cem Özdemir and German woman Claudia Roth's party leadership together. At that point, Greens become a party in leadership of both a woman and a man, and a German origin German citizen and a Turkish origin German citizen. The system has served for grabbing votes of Turkish origin citizens living in Germany and pacifying the reaction of German chauvinism against Cem Özdemir. In fact co-presidency is a method of administration used by supranational organizations or initiatives which try to provide coordination between states in resolution of international problems. OSCE Minsk group and Greater Middle East Initiative are the examples where co-presidency are implemented.

In Turkey, among four parties which make their presence felt in three sample provinces, HDP implements co-presidency system in different positions of party administration. The party highlights that it is model which needs to be implemented not only in national politics but also – especially – in local governments. It is claimed that this method will eliminate the male-hegemonic way of making politics and provide women's playing active role in local decision making mechanisms. This system may pave the way for driving women's voluntary power forward and have impact on transforming social life with all fields of male-hegemonic system, foremost family. In that sense co-presidency may be considered as revolution in mindsets. With this motive, one of the deputies of BDP (HDP) has presented a legislative proposal in November 2013. They claim that power's distribution among woman and man via co-presidency is substantial as the presidency is the most centralized form of power (<https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/d24/2/2-1828.pdf>). They emphasized the need of change in first Municipality Law and Political Parties Law in



order to legislate co-presidency. The party asserts that Turkey is far from critical mass objectives about women's representation in political arena when it is compared with OECD countries. One of the hypotheses of this study investigates whether by the help of this initiation gender inequality and women's traditional social status which causes being exposed to inferior treatment will be abolished or not.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **FIELD RESEARCH**

#### **4.1 Methodology and Implementation of the Field Research**

In this section first of all, the aim of the study is explained, then population and sample provinces are introduced. The limitations of the study are also explained. After that the characteristics of provinces are described separately. The comparison of municipalities according to election results is made and it is moved through the detailed analysis of in-depth interviews.

##### **4.1.1 Aim**

In the first part of the study, women's under-representation in Turkey's territorial politics, sources of obstacles in their politicization and impact of women branches have been mentioned. In following section, women's participation to local policy which is the main focal point of study, role of municipal councils and co-presidency practice with its efficacy are discussed.

Within the scope of the study, questions related to women's entrance to politics, positive and negative circumstances they witness during their political life, how they feel in decision making mechanism and increasing women's participation via quota or other tools are asked to female municipal council members. In this context, it is aimed to put forward how the existence of female members in municipal councils affect policy making, in the sense that when it is "allowed" women's existence have serious potential to affect the content and the way decisions are taken. The other objective of the study is to explore whether women's socio-economic status, activism of identity politics in the region and efficacy of co-presidency system may be the factors that determine the level of representation and effective participation of women in local governments.

Although the study does not posit any hypotheses regarding the differences based on political party affiliation or about the selected provinces, for some interview questions the results are analyzed comparatively according to political parties of the participants or their provinces as an exploration.

#### **4.1.2 Population, Sample, and Limitations**

The context of study is specified according to municipal councils of the three selected provinces in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolian part of Turkey, which are Elazığ, Gaziantep and Siirt. There are reasons behind selection of those cities. Their geographical proximity is the first reason for potential contribution to making generalization in the region. Also, it is aimed to provide diversity in political sense because the political party in power (according to distribution of votes in 2014 elections) Siirt is different from Elazığ and Gaziantep. These cities are not studied before which makes this study unique.

First of all, the reasons behind selection of Elazığ are related to ethnical and more importantly ideological differences in the city. Elazığ with districts it contain is composed of different ethnical backgrounds, namely Turks, Zazas and Kurds. This different structure reflects on political tendency. Because of migration from nearby cities such as Tunceli, Bingöl and Erzincan, Elazığ also contains sect differences which are Sunni and Alevi beliefs. All these cultural and religious differences result in variations in political opinions. Secondly, Gaziantep is important province for this study because of being the most developed city among aforesaid three cities. It has serious industry and trade infrastructure which is one of the reasons of being a crowded city. Third city of this study, Siirt is also important because it is the most heterogeneous city among three samples (also in the region together with Mardin) in terms of ethnical identities. Turk, Arab and Kurd citizens live together in Siirt.

The population of the research is determined as central and district municipalities where female city councilors exist in Elazığ, Gaziantep and Siirt provinces. The focus of the research is women's participation to local politics and those three

provinces with different dynamics but located in same region are selected as samples. The rates of female members in municipal councils are 8.1%, 5.6% and 15.4% in Elazığ, Gaziantep and Siirt respectively. In selection of cities, the party in power is taken into consideration because Siirt differentiates with having Peace and Democracy Party (BDP) in power from other cities which have Justice and Development Party in power. Thus, the impacts of political power is tried to be reflected to results of research. On the other hand, Gaziantep's special status with being metropolitan municipality and having female metropolitan mayor will contribute to reaching different findings at the end of the study.

The research was tried to be conducted in all district municipalities, Elazığ and Siirt municipalities and metropolitan municipality of Gaziantep. However, the research could not be conducted in all district municipalities. There are 40 female council members in total in these cities and the interviews could be conducted with 20 of them. Because the object of study is women's roles in decision making processes, sample is selected among municipalities where rate of female members are relatively higher. Besides, members in districts such as Maden, Oğuzeli and Pervari cannot be reached. Nevertheless, the municipalities whose female members were interviewed are important with regards to their population and possessing city councilors from different political parties.

Concordantly, in Elazığ municipality and district municipalities having female members most among 10 districts are determined, and Elazığ, Ağın and Karakoçan are selected as samples. In Gaziantep two central district municipalities (Şahinbey and Şehitkamil) and one of the municipalities having female members most among 7 districts (İslahiye) and in Siirt, Siirt municipality with some (Baykan, Eruh) of 6 municipalities having female members are determined.

In the determination of municipalities, political party composition of the municipal councils was also taken into consideration. With this regard, in two of aforementioned municipalities (Elazığ, Ağın) of Elazığ, AKP dominated the council

whereas in Karakoçan the dominating party is HDP. In Gaziantep's all municipalities AKP is in power; however İslahiye is important in the sense of having a female city councilor from CHP. In Siirt HDP is in power in all municipalities. Thus, the impacts of political power on the findings of research may also be explored in the study. In the scope of the research, interviews with 20 female members from 9 municipalities out of 40 members from 13 municipalities located in the region were completed. Although the number of interviewees may seem low at first view, it should be noticed that it corresponds to ½ of female city councilors of the selected provinces.

#### **4.1.3 Methodology**

The possible range of methodologies which are utilized in tackling the research topic are qualitative and quantitative methods. Using qualitative and quantitative methods together in this research is advantageous. Women's lack of representation in local politics in Turkey can be easily derived from statistical data; however, even in few numbers, the local politics experience process and forms of existing in local governments of women who take responsibility of representation via being elected and seek for this task are complicated as other social facts. They cannot easily be comprehended through quantitative research and data. Qualitative method enables understanding complex structure of social facts and interpreting relation between concepts and processes. It is one of the convenient methods that suits for aim of this study. Women who have experienced process of participation in local governments and are willing to share it take part in the focal point of the study.

Qualitative method which would provide asking open-ended questions will help supporting quantitative method and getting healthier results. As a form of quantitative method, likert scale questionnaire is used in order to obtain the female municipal councilors' perception rankings on a variety of issues. Qualitative method is conducted via in-depth interviews. In-depth interviews provides the forgotten or disregarded components or variables in short questionnaires. SPSS and NVivo programmes are used for the analysis and evaluation of data.

Because the research is conducted via in-depth interviews and questionnaires, one-to-one meetings were held. However, during the process some problems related to both reaching members, convincing them and other circumstances during appointment/planning calendar process occurred. Sometimes their workload or reluctance to participate in study had posed a challenge. Most of the meetings are realized in municipalities just before or after council meetings, offices of council members, associations, social facilities or different places such as restaurant or café. Within this framework, apart from questions consisting their demographic characteristics, questions toward objective of research are addressed to participants. A question form composed of 36 questions is used.

During the interviews, members' opinions are tried to be learnt in main fields listed below:

- Demographic characteristics of female members in municipal councils
- Learning the process and motives behind women's participation to local politics
- Evaluating women's underrepresentation and prominent suggestions for increasing it
- Evaluating decision making process, the way of council's operating and link – if exists – between women's existence and content of decisions.
- Discussing whether women's underrepresentation in councils is related to characteristics of political parties.

The study expects to find that in municipal councils' decision making mechanisms, by leaving other differences aside and gathering on the basis of gender, female council members have potential to shape or have impact on a decision.

#### **4.2 Demographic and Socio-economic Indicators of the Cities**

Demographic and socio-economic indicators of cities are important for understanding reasons behind the selection of cities. Three sample provinces of this study, Elazığ, Gaziantep and Siirt are located in East and South-eastern Anatolian Region of Turkey. Although they contain ethnical, denominational and economic differences, three cities have common characteristics. Geographical proximity and conservative social structure can be observed in all. In June 7<sup>th</sup> General Elections

right parties won the election in all these provinces; therefore, social and political profile of city-dwellers can be inferred according to the results.

Different variables are used in measuring social and economic development rates of the provinces. When an average evaluation is made it is seen that demographic indicators like population and population growth rate, fertility rate, economic indicators like labor force and employment/unemployment, income per capita, tax revenue and education indicators like literacy, student/teacher rates and university graduates are used. In the lights of those indicators, ranking of development levels of provinces come out. Development ranking of Turkey's 81 provinces which is compiled via various data is shown below.

**Table 2:** Development Ranking of Provinces (DIP), 2012

Rank	City	DIP	Rank	City	DIP	Rank	City	DIP
1	İstanbul	36.56	31	Kırklareli	-0.64	61	Batman	-1.80
2	Ankara	12.54	32	Malatya	-0.77	62	Sinop	-1.84
3	İzmir	8.84	33	Nevşehir	-0.89	63	Mardin	-1.86
4	Antalya	6.85	34	Afyon	-0.90	64	Kilis	-1.97
5	Bursa	4.14	35	Erzurum	-0.91	65	Çankırı	-1.98
6	Kocaeli	3.40	36	K.Maraş	-0.96	66	Van	-2.16
7	Muğla	2.64	37	Düzce	-0.96	67	Gümüşhane	-2.19
8	Adana	2.09	38	Karabük	-0.97	68	Adıyaman	-2.22
9	Konya	2.07	39	Uşak	-0.98	69	Yozgat	-2.28
10	<b>Gaziantep</b>	<b>1.79</b>	40	Kırıkkale	-1.01	70	Bayburt	-2.34
11	Eskişehir	1.74	41	Diyarbakır	-1.05	71	Kars	-2.39
12	Denizli	1.28	42	Bilecik	-1.06	72	Tunceli	-2.47
13	Mersin	1.26	43	Karaman	-1.08	73	Şırnak	-2.54
14	Kayseri	1.17	44	Rize	-1.10	74	Bingöl	-2.67
15	Trabzon	0.76	45	Sivas	-1.12	75	<b>Siirt</b>	<b>-2.72</b>
16	Tekirdağ	0.65	46	Burdur	-1.18	76	Iğdır	-2.91
17	Sakarya	0.52	47	Şanlıurfa	-1.29	77	Muş	-2.98
18	Balıkesir	0.49	48	Bartın	-1.43	78	Bitlis	-3.02
19	Samsun	0.43	49	Kırşehir	-1.44	79	Ağrı	-3.02
20	Manisa	0.39	50	Amasya	-1.47	80	Ardahan	-3.04
21	Aydın	0.37	51	Tokat	-1.47	81	Hakkari	-3.15
22	Hatay	0.37	52	Çorum	-1.48			
23	Isparta	0.23	53	Ordu	-1.55			
24	Çanakkale	0.13	54	Aksaray	-1.56			
25	Yalova	-0.05	55	Erzincan	-1.57			
26	Bolu	-0.09	56	Artvin	-1.62			
27	Edirne	-0.24	57	Osmaniye	-1.63			
28	<b>Elazığ</b>	<b>-0.51</b>	58	Kastamonu	-1.64			
29	Kütahya	-0.54	59	Giresun	-1.71			
30	Zonguldak	-0.56	60	Niğde	-1.73			

Source: Gül & Çevik, 2014<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> DIP values reflect the development distribution of provinces around "0" and negative values do not represent any terms of unfavourableness.

Although socio-economic index is important for understanding the big picture, there are other important factors in determining social status of the region and specifically three provinces. Region-wide it is observed people are considerably behind Turkey average in terms of education and literacy rate. There are serious differences in education levels in terms of equality of opportunity for women and men in education. In addition to high level of illiterate population, women's lack of education draws the attention. Higher education and graduate education female population is behind male population and it is seen that while education level increases numerical values decrease. In East and South-eastern Anatolian regions it is observed that illiteracy is related with gender factor. Kinship is important and tribe system maintains its effectiveness. In order to protect current structure, consanguineous marriages are prevalent and low marriage age triggers increase in population. A structure supports fertility and male child still maintains its existence (Ökten, 2009, p.311). Therefore, this reflects on level of education and girls' schooling rate. The hegemony of patriarchal structure in the region and parents' not attaching much importance to girls' education are the reasons of low rates of illiteracy.

Likewise illiteracy rate and education level, indicators like satisfaction from public services in general or satisfaction from services by municipality are important because these factors could give information about people's view in the region. According to data obtained by life satisfaction survey made by TurkStat in 2013, among three provinces Gaziantep is the city where people are most satisfied with the green belt services. This can be related to the fact that while World Health Organization's green space per capita is 9 square meters, in Gaziantep this is 8.2 square meters (Özbadem, Okkırın, Gökçek & Doygun, 2014, p.239). Turkey's largest and most equipped park, 100<sup>th</sup> Year Park is established in Gaziantep and according to 2015 Strategic Plan of Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality, 250.000.00 TL is allocated for organization of this park and new green belt recreation projects ("2015 Mali Yılı Performans Programı," 2015). Also, the



province is pioneer because of demolishment of shopping mall in order to construct a park in city square (“Gaziantep'te AVM Yıkılıp Park Yapılacak,” 2014).

**Table 3:** Satisfaction from Services by Municipality Assistance the Sick and the Poor Services, Green Belt Services and Arrangements for Disabled Persons Services by the Province in 2013

	Province	Elazığ	Gaziantep	Siirt	Turkey
Green Belt	<b>Satisfied</b>	<b>36.5</b>	<b>72.9</b>	<b>27.0</b>	57.1
	<b>Neither satisfied, nor unsatisfied</b>	11.6	5.4	6.9	9.2
	<b>Not satisfied</b>	42.0	16.5	38.1	28.3
	<b>No idea</b>	5.6	3.6	17.3	3.2
	<b>Service does not exist</b>	4.5	1.7	10.7	2.2
Arrangements for disabled persons	<b>Satisfied</b>	<b>26.4</b>	<b>61.2</b>	<b>14.5</b>	48.9
	<b>Neither satisfied, nor unsatisfied</b>	7.8	4.4	4.0	7.9
	<b>Not satisfied</b>	31.2	14.5	19.1	18.5
	<b>No idea</b>	23.8	18.4	50.8	19.1
	<b>Service does not exist</b>	10.9	1.5	11.7	5.6
Assistance the sick and the poor	<b>Satisfied</b>	<b>34.4</b>	<b>63.2</b>	<b>15.3</b>	53.3
	<b>Neither satisfied, nor unsatisfied</b>	8.3	4.6	4.8	7.8
	<b>Not satisfied</b>	24.7	14.8	22.5	15.6
	<b>No idea</b>	28.0	16.9	46.8	20.9
	<b>Service does not exist</b>	4.6	0.5	10.6	2.4

Source: TÜİK<sup>6</sup>.

According to the table above, it is remarkable that with 50.8% and 46.8% Siirt is unconsciousness or unaware about what their municipality do and which services it provides for disabled, sick and poor. Although it seems that people live in Gaziantep are most satisfied among three provinces, level of hope by province survey made in 2013 says that the highest number of people desperate for the future live in Gaziantep. This dilemma is more apparent among women; in Gaziantep 73.9% of females are hopeful for the future, while this ratio rises to 76.1% in Siirt and 79.7% in Elazığ. This shows that aside from indicators such as services by municipality or

<sup>6</sup> Drawn by the writer by basing on TÜİK, 2013; Life Satisfaction Survey, TÜİK, 2014.

determinants of people's daily necessities, there are other factors affect people's level of hope for the future.

**Table 4:** Level of Hope by Province, 2013

Province	Total (%)		Male (%)		Female (%)	
	Hopeful	Not hopeful	Hopeful	Not hopeful	Hopeful	Not hopeful
<b>Elazığ</b>	76.6	23.4	73.3	26.7	<b>79.7</b>	<b>20.3</b>
<b>Gaziantep</b>	73.1	26.9	72.3	27.7	<b>73.9</b>	<b>26.1</b>
<b>Siirt</b>	74.3	25.7	72.5	27.5	<b>76.1</b>	<b>23.9</b>
Turkey	77.0	23.0	76.5	23.5	77.5	22.5

Source: TÜİK<sup>7</sup>.

Within the scope of Social Gender Equality Report, TEPAV has prepared Gender Equality Index for Locals which is formed by adaption of Social Gender Inequality Index (GII) (is used by United Nations) to provinces. Index is prepared by predicating on indicators such as representation in municipal councils, high school/university graduate women population, adolescence motherhood.

**Table 5:** Gender Equality Index for Locals, 2014

Province	Gender Inequality Index	DIP	Adolescence Motherhood (from best to worst)	Representation	Employment	Education
<b>Elazığ</b>	0.5074	39*	21	22	63	42
<b>Gaziantep</b>	0.5921	30*	55	72	55	60
<b>Siirt</b>	0.5916	77*	69	26	75	75

Source: Demirdirek & Şener, 2014<sup>8</sup>.

As a candidate country of the European Union, Turkey is included in the Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics (NUTS). Although three sample provinces of the study are located in close geographies, they are subject to this specific categorization named as Classification of Statistical Regions, Level 1 (12 Regions), Level 2 (26 Regions) and Level 3 (81 provinces). According to the

<sup>7</sup> Drawn by the writer by basing on TÜİK, 2013; Life Satisfaction Survey, TÜİK, 2014.

<sup>8</sup> These are the values of Development Index of Provinces updated in 2014, so they are different from data above, obtained in 2012.

classification, Gaziantep and Siirt are located in Southeast Anatolia Region (TRC) in the scope of NUTS-1. However, they are classified in different subregions; Gaziantep is under Gaziantep Subregion (TRC1), while Siirt in Mardin Subregion (TRC3). On the other hand Elazığ is located under Central East Anatolia Region (TRB), under Malatya Subregion (TRB1). In order to make more detailed analysis, the demographic and socio-economic indicators of three sample provinces will be specifically explained below.

#### **4.2.1 Elazığ**

Elazığ, after Erzurum and Malatya, is one of the developed provinces situated in Eastern Anatolian Region of Turkey. Mining and agricultural industry come forefront in Elazığ and it hosts Turkey's third biggest hydroelectric power plant, Keban. It has a population of 568.239 consists Turks, Kurds and Zazas as pointed out previous part. There are different groups within Zaza population who identify themselves as Turks, as an arm of Kurds or a separate ethnical identity (Varol, 2012).

Together with central district, Elazığ has 11 district municipalities. In terms of political profile of the city, it is needed to specify that city has some district municipalities who are really different from each other and take part in the opposite side. For example in March 30<sup>th</sup> Local Elections, HDP took 51.7% of votes in Karakoçan. However, MHP which is a party identifying itself as nationalist took 50.9% in Ağın. Within the scope of this study it is aimed to reach the city councillors of those politically different districts. This situation can be associated with different ethnical identities of the community or the matter of 'action-reaction', still this shows why Elazığ is an interesting sample for this study.

#### **4.2.2 Gaziantep**

In terms of landforms, Gaziantep is 6<sup>th</sup> and in terms of population it is 8<sup>th</sup> biggest province of Turkey. Also, Gaziantep is the most developed city in Southeastern Anatolian Region which is important for this study. Gaziantep is a metropolitan

municipality since 1989 and city divides into two metropolitan districts including Şehitkamil and Şahinbey. It has high potential in terms of natural and cultural landscapes which are tried to be protected. Gaziantep is one of the oldest settlements known in earth and Gaziantep takes part in UNESCO world heritage tentative list with archeological site of ("Zeugma Archeological Site of Zeugma," 2012). According to the 2014 dated survey made on provinces' level of development (with 2010 and 2012 data), it is found that with regard to 2010 level of development significantly has risen in Gaziantep. Rise in economic activities in the city draws the attention. While in 2010, 52 of companies operating in the city have taken part in ISO-1000 list, this number increased to 71 in 2012. In addition, foreign trade data of recent years tell that the city is net exporter. Those aspects of development reflect on banking business, increase in housing as well as cultural development.

Gaziantep is more successful among three sample provinces in the sense that it has lots of women organizations. Center of Women Association (KAMER), Future's Productive Women Organization (GÜKAD), Gaziantep Entrepreneur Business Women Organization (GAGIKAD), Gaziantep Silk Business Women Organization (GİKAD) are few of them. The white hope number of women organizations can be associated with women's high social and political awareness and participation to labor force in Gaziantep. The city has interesting characteristic related to income difference in registered economy. According to Social Gender Equality Report of 81 Provinces, in Turkey the provinces where women generate more income than men are Gaziantep, Mardin, İstanbul and Şanlıurfa respectively. While among 81 provinces, in 75 provinces men earn more than women, in Gaziantep men generate 92% of income women generate (Demirdirek & Şener, 2014). On the other hand, one of the other different aspects of Gaziantep is the status of Syrian women refugees. According to research prepared by Prime Ministry, The Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency of Turkey in 2014, after Hatay Gaziantep is the second city where the most sheltering centers are situated. 56.7% of women refugees are housewives and 30.2% of them do not have a profession. Moreover, 27.8% of

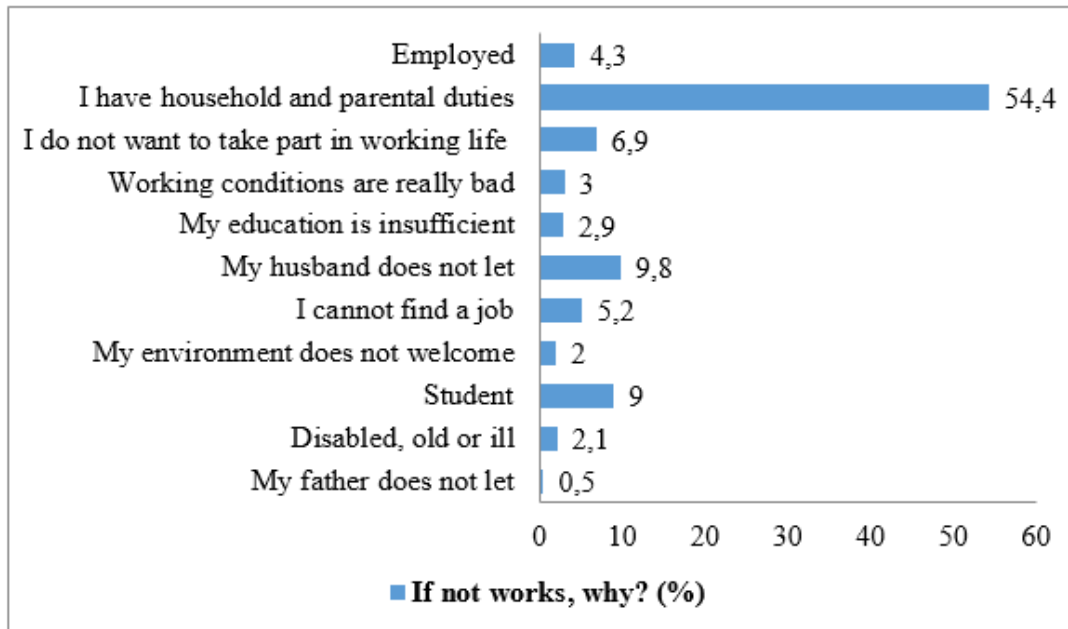
Syrian refugees are single and 4.6% of them lost their husband (Afet ve Acil Durum Yönetimi Başkanlığı, 2014) which reveals their difficult living conditions and probable abuse they may be obliged to face with.

#### **4.2.3 Siirt**

Siirt is a city whose lands are located within Dicle basin, the fourth catchment areas of Turkey. In Siirt together with central district there are 7 district municipalities. With a population of 318.366, Siirt is the least populated province among the samples. It contains 0.4% of Turkey's total population and young population of the city grabs attention. According to December 2014 "Address Based Population Registration System Results", 60.4% of Siirt's population is younger than 25 and it is really higher than Turkey ratio (41%) (TÜİK, 2014). Because of underdevelopment of industry, people earn their living from agriculture (peanut, fig and Pervari honey) and animal husbandry. Unemployment rate of the city 20.5% and participation to labor force is 37.5% according to 2013 data (TÜİK, 2014). Among 81 provinces, Siirt is 79<sup>th</sup> with a low (34% on average) level of labor force participation and 3<sup>rd</sup> with high (20% on average) unemployment rate (Yıldırım, Gül, Akın, Kırış & Kırış, 2015, p.24).

Women's social status is related to women's political status and awareness; therefore in order to understand aspects of underrepresentation, women profile is important for this study. In this context, a report of a research on women profile in Siirt and violence against women will be mentioned. The findings of face to face interviews made with 1011 women in 19 neighborhoods say that 56.9% of women are married via prearranged marriage, 16.8% via falling in love, 1.3% via bride exchange, 1.1% via family pressure, 1.1% via kidnapping, 0.6% betrothed in the cradle and 0.2% via being second wife (*kuma*). Except from 16.8% saying that "I am married my own accord", none of the marriage types are based on women's own preferences. Most of women in Siirt fulfill the necessities of patriarchal family and society structure. Moreover, 31.8% of women states that they are illiterate, 3.8% literate without a

diploma, 28.6% having primary school education, 13.2% having secondary school education, 16.6% high school education, 5.8% having university education and only 0.3% having graduate education. By looking the same circumstance from the viewpoint of married women's husband, how they are devoid of education opportunities could be seen. Yet, men at almost all education levels have taken more education than women. Except from primary school education (girls cannot continue school after primary school), men are apparently superior in education levels. One of the important outcomes of education levels, women's participation to labor force in city can be analyzed by the graph below.



**Figure 4:** Rate of Different Reasons behind Women's Non-Working in Siirt  
Source: SAMER<sup>9</sup>.

Household and parental duties have the highest ratio among all reasons which actually points out the intersectionality theory stated first chapter of the study. More than half of interviewed women mentioned that because of household responsibilities and having child they cannot/do not work. This data reveals the 'problematic' of Siirt

<sup>9</sup> Drawn by the writer by basing on SAMER, 2014; Siirt Belediyesi Kentteki Kadın Profili ve Kadına Yönelik Şiddet Araştırma Raporu, SAMER, 2015.

women's being wife, mother and worker at the same time. An important data about this study tell that 22.6% of women think that women actively participate in urban life in Siirt but 77.4% think the opposite. Those data shows how Siirt women face with a series of interconnected problem in social, economic and political life.

### 4.3 Municipal Councils in Cities of Elazığ, Gaziantep and Siirt

The numbers of female and male members in municipal councils in Elazığ, Gaziantep and Siirt elected in March, 2014 local elections are shown in tables below.

#### Elazığ

- Elazığ Municipality – 5 council members
- Ağın Municipality – 2 council members
- Alacakaya Municipality – Not existing
- Arıcak Municipality – Not existing
- Baskil Municipality – Not existing
- Karakoçan Municipality – Co-mayor and 1 council member
- Keban Municipality – Mayor
- Kovancılar Municipality - Not existing
- Maden Municipality – 1 council member
- Palu Municipality – Not existing
- Sivrice Municipality – Not existing

**Table 6:** Members of Municipal Councils in Elazığ According to 2014 Local Elections

	AKP		HDP		Great Union Party (BBP)		Democrat Party (DP)		Nationalist Movement Party (MHP)		SP		Total Number of Council Members
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	
Elazığ	4	24	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	8	-	-	37
Ağın	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5	-	-	9
Alacakaya	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	9
Arıcak	-	2	-	-	-	2	-	4	-	-	-	1	9
Baskil	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	9
Karakoçan	-	3	2*	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	11
Keban	1**	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	9
Kovancılar	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	15
Maden	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	9
Palu	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	9
Sivrice	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	9

Source: YSK.

\* Within the total number of council members in this cell, co-mayor also exists.

\*\* Within the total number of council members in this cell, mayor also exists.

## Gaziantep

- Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality –Metropolitan Mayor & 3 council members
- Araban Municipality – Not existing
- İslahiye Municipality – 2 council members
- Karkamış Municipality – Not existing
- Nizip Municipality – Not existing
- Nurdağı Municipality – Not existing
- Oğuzeli Municipality – 1 council member
- Şahinbey Municipality – 5 council members
- Şehitkamil Municipality – 6 council members
- Yavuzeli Municipality – Not existing

**Table 7:** Members of Municipal Councils in Gaziantep According to 2014 Local Elections

	AKP		CHP		DP		MHP		SP		Total Number of Council Members
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	
Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality	4***	39	-	5	-	1	-	4	-	-	50****
Araban	-	10	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	15
İslahiye	1	16	1	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	25
Karkamış	-	6	-	2	-	-	-	3	-	-	11
Nizip	-	27	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	31
Nurdağı	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	1	15
Oğuzeli	1	4	-	3	-	-	-	7	-	-	15
Şahinbey	5	30	-	8	-	-	-	2	-	-	45
Şehitkamil	6	30	-	8	-	-	-	1	-	-	45
Yavuzeli	-	11	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	15

Source: YSK.

\*\*\* Within the total number of council members in this cell, mayor of metropolitan municipality also exists.

\*\*\*\* Here, the total number of council members should arithmetically be 53. However, the reason of its being 50 is related to the article expressing “the metropolitan municipal council is formed with the participation of 1/5 of all district council members in local elections” according to law. Female members counted in



Şahinbey and Şehitkamil Municipalities are not repeated in line of metropolitan municipality.

## Siirt

- Siirt Municipality – 4 council members
- Baykan Municipality – Co-mayor and 2 council members
- Eruh Municipality – Co-mayor and 1 council member
- Kurtalan Municipality – 3 council members
- Pervari Municipality – 2 council members
- Şirvan Municipality – Not existing
- Tillo Municipality - Not existing

**Table 8:** Members of Municipal Councils in Siirt According to 2014 Local Elections

	Justice and Development Party (AKP)		People's Democratic Party (HDP)		Republican People's Party (CHP)		Felicity Party (SP)		Total Number of Council Members
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	
Siirt	1	11	4	15	-	-	-	-	<b>31</b>
Baykan	-	3	2 *	4	-	-	-	-	<b>9</b>
Eruh	-	3	2 *	4	-	-	-	-	<b>9</b>
Kurtalan	-	9	3	3	-	-	-	-	<b>15</b>
Pervari	-	5	2	1	-	1	-	-	<b>9</b>
Şirvan	-	5	-	4	-	-	-	-	<b>9</b>
Tillo	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	3	<b>9</b>

Source: YSK.

\* Within the total number of council members in this cell, co-mayor also exists.

## 4.4 Municipalities and Women: Comparison of Municipalities According to Election Results

When the rate and total number of members elected in 2014 local elections are analyzed, it will be seen that among three sample provinces Siirt is the one who has female members in municipal councils at most, with percentage of 15.4.

**Table 9:** Members of Municipal Councils in 3 Sample Provinces According to 2014 Local Election Results

	<b>Total Number of Female Members in Municipal Councils</b>	<b>Total Number of Members in Municipal Councils</b>	<b>Rate of Female Members in Municipal Councils</b>
<b>Elazığ</b>	11*	135	<b>%8.1</b>
<b>Gaziantep</b>	15*	267	<b>%5.6</b>
<b>Siirt</b>	14*	91	<b>%15.4</b>

Source: YSK.

\* Mayors are included here.

However, in order to understand political parties' views on the issue, female candidates' nomination opportunities and potentials of representation, total number of women nominated and total number of women elected are needed to be evaluated together.

**Table 10:** Total Number and Rate of Female City Councilors *Nominated* and *Elected* in Elazığ (2014)

	<b>Total Number of Nominees</b>	<b>Total Number of Women Nominated</b>		<b>Total Number of Women Elected</b>	<b>Nomination Rate of Women</b>	<b>Election Rate of Women*</b>
<b>Elazığ</b>	207	AKP	16	5 (4 AKP, 1 MHP)	<b>17.4%</b>	<b>13.5%</b>
		BBP	2			
		HDP	3			
		CHP	7			
		DP	3			
		İP	1			
		MHP	4			
		<b>Total</b>	<b>36</b>			
<b>Ağın</b>	46	AKP	1	2 (1 AKP, 1 MHP)	<b>6.5%</b>	<b>22.2%</b>
		İP	1			
		MHP	1			
		<b>Total</b>	<b>3</b>			
<b>Alacakaya</b>	37	-		-	<b>0%</b>	<b>0%</b>
<b>Arıcak</b>	50	AKP	2	-	<b>4%</b>	<b>0%</b>
<b>Baskil</b>	44	İP	1	-	<b>2.3%</b>	<b>0%</b>
<b>Karakoçan</b>	59	AKP	3	2 (HDP)	<b>10.2%</b>	<b>18.2%</b>
		HDP	3			
		<b>Total</b>	<b>6</b>			

**Table 10 (continued)**

<b>Keban</b>	36	AKP	3	-	<b>11.1%</b>	<b>0%**</b>
		TKP	1			
		<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>			
<b>Kovancılar</b>	77	İP	1	-	<b>2.6%</b>	<b>0%</b>
		TKP	1			
		<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>			
<b>Maden</b>	55	AKP	1	1 (AKP)	<b>7.3%</b>	<b>11.1%</b>
		MHP	2			
		TKP	1			
		<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>			
<b>Palu</b>	67	İP	1	-	<b>1.5%</b>	<b>0%</b>
<b>Sivrice</b>	47	TKP	1	-	<b>2.1%</b>	<b>0%</b>

Source: YSK.

\* Election rate is calculated through elected women out of total number of districts' municipal councils. For example Maden municipal council has 9 members, only 1 of them is woman, so the rate is 11.1% in Maden.

\*\*Although the rate of elected female municipal councils seems 0%, in Keban mayor is women. In YSK's lists she takes part in "list of mayor nominees".

**Table 11:** Total Number and Rate of Female City Councilors *Nominated* and *Elected* in Gaziantep (2014)

	Total Number of Nominees	Total Number of Women <i>Nominated</i>	Total Number of Women <i>Elected</i>	Nomination Rate of Women	Election Rate of Women	
Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality	Metropolitan Municipalities are tied on special status.*					
Araban	89	HDP	1	-	1.1%	0%
İslahiye	175	AKP	2	2 (1 AKP, 1 CHP)	9.1%	8%
		BBP	9			
		HDP	1			
		CHP	1			
		MHP	3			
		Total	16			
Karkamış	81			-	0%	0%

**Table 11 (continued)**

<b>Nizip</b>	202	AKP	4	-	<b>5.4%</b>	<b>0%</b>
		BBP	1			
		HDP	2			
		DP	3			
		ÖDP	1			
		<b>Total</b>	<b>11</b>			
<b>Nurdağı</b>	104	-		-	<b>0%</b>	<b>0%</b>
<b>Oğuzeli</b>	114	AKP	1	1 (AKP)	<b>3.5%</b>	<b>6.7%</b>
		BTP	1			
		ÖDP	1			
		TKP	1			
		<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>			
<b>Şahinbey</b>	273	AKP	11	5 (AKP)	<b>14.3%</b>	<b>11.1%</b>
		BBP	6			
		HDP	2			
		CHP	15			
		İP	1			
		MHP	1			
		ÖDP	1			
		SP	1			
		TKP	1			
		<b>Total</b>	<b>39</b>			
<b>Şehitkamil</b>	287	AKP	18	6 (AKP)	<b>14.6%</b>	<b>13.3%</b>
		BBP	5			
		HDP	3			
		CHP	12			
		MHP	4			
		<b>Total</b>	<b>42</b>			
<b>Yavuzeli</b>	71	-		-	<b>0%</b>	<b>0%</b>

Source: YSK.

\*“The metropolitan municipal council shall be composed of councillors at the total number to be found by including one fifth of the number of councillors designated for each electoral district based on the administrative district within the municipal boundaries. Candidates shall be identified starting from the top in their rank of being elected going down until the requisite number is reached. The top rankers of those elected from among quota candidates as municipal councillors shall also become councillors in the metropolitan municipal council; a quota candidate so designated shall be included within the number corresponding to the ratio of one fifth” (<http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.2972.pdf>). Metropolitan district mayors are natural members in the metropolitan municipal council.

**Table 12:** Total Number and Rate of Female City Councilors *Nominated* and *Elected* in Siirt (2014)

	Total Number of Nominees	Total Number of Women <i>Nominated</i>		Total Number of Women <i>Elected</i>	Nomination Rate of Women	Election Rate of Women
Siirt	148	AKP	7	5 (4 HDP, 1 AKP)	10.8%	16.1%
		HDP	7			
		CHP	1			
		TKP	1			
		<b>Total</b>	<b>16</b>			
Baykan	32	HDP	2	2 (HDP)	6.25%	22.2%
Eruh	50	AKP	2	2 (HDP)	14%	22.2%
		HDP	2			
		HÜDAPAR	3			
		<b>Total</b>	<b>7</b>			
Kurtalan	60	AKP	1	3 (HDP)	26.7%	20%
		HDP	1			
		TKP	6			
		<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>			
Pervari	42	HDP	2	2 (HDP)	4.8%	22.2%
Şirvan	36	TKP	1	-	2.8%	0%
Tillo	37	-	-	-	0%	0%

Source: YSK.

## 4.5 Research Findings

### 4.5.1 Demographic Characteristics of Female City Councilors

Before analysing women's representation in politics and active participation in local politics, it is needed to evaluate demographic characteristics of female members of municipal councils first. For understanding women's profiles taking part in decision making mechanisms, it is critical to examine data related to age, profession, education level and the relationship between participants' political parties and their professions.

**Table 13: Age of Participants**

		<b>20-30</b>	<b>30-40</b>	<b>Older than 40</b>
<b>Elazığ</b>	Elazığ	-	1	3
	Ağın	-	-	1
	Karakoçan	-	1	-
<b>Gaziantep</b>	Şahinbey	-	1	2
	Şehitkamil	-	-	3
	İslahiye	-	-	2
<b>Siirt</b>	Siirt	1	2	1
	Baykan	-	1	-
	Eruh	-	1	-

When the average of ages of female city councillors is calculated, it is found that it is 47 in Elazığ, 49 in Gaziantep and 34 in Siirt. The oldest participant is 60 and from Gaziantep Şehitkamil Municipality, while the youngest is 23, from Siirt Municipality. Also, it is obvious that Siirt has younger members than other two provinces.

**Table 14: Education Level of Participants**

		<b>Primary Education</b>	<b>Secondary Education</b>	<b>High School</b>	<b>Higher Education and Undergraduate</b>	<b>Graduate</b>
<b>Elazığ</b>	Elazığ	-		2	2	-
	Ağın	-	1	-	-	-
	Karakoçan	-	1	-	-	-
<b>Gaziantep</b>	Şahinbey	-	-	-	1	2
	Şehitkamil	-	-	-	3	-
	İslahiye	-	-	-	2	-
<b>Siirt</b>	Siirt	-	1	1	2	-
	Baykan	1	-	-	-	-
	Eruh	-	1	-	-	-

The table above shows the education levels of city councillors in three provinces. Councillors in Elazığ (from AKP) and Gaziantep (from AKP and CHP) express that their parties present themselves as candidates and they are elected thanks to their education levels. Different answers given by participants related to this question are included below.

“I am an awarded architect. They elected me because it is thought that I could be beneficial for Elazığ Municipality.” (Interview 2)

“Social status, being good at my job, being presentable. Foreign language and my past...” (Interview 8)

“An educated woman always carve out a niche for herself. Foreign language is must.” (Interview 10)

“Because I am a woman... We did not have another female candidate in İslahiye, the second reason is my educational background.”(Interview 14)

In fact, Sancar-Üşür’s evaluation supports the findings coming from participants. She claims that while political parties select women for their executive and decisive organs, they usually prefer women who are educated, polite, consentient, good-looking and knowing foreign language but lacking of political experience and power of representation (Sancar-Üşür, 2008).

On the other hand, when the ratio is considered, it is seen that in Siirt where the councillors’ having lowest academic education, women’s participation to local politics is the highest with percent of 15.6.

**Table 15:** Crosstabulation of Profession \* Party Membership

	Party Membership				Total
	AKP	CHP	MHP	HDP	
<b>Profession</b> Accountant	1	0	0	0	<b>1</b>
Architect	1	0	0	0	<b>1</b>
Attorney	1	0	0	0	<b>1</b>
Engineer	1	0	0	0	<b>1</b>
Farmer	0	0	1	0	<b>1</b>
Housewife	1	0	0	4	<b>5</b>
Pharmacist	0	1	0	0	<b>1</b>
Retired	4	0	1	0	<b>5</b>
Secretary	0	0	0	1	<b>1</b>
Teacher	2	0	0	1	<b>3</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>20</b>

When the profile of participants' professions is analysed, it is seen that women who are far from active working life are elected to municipal council membership. The highest rate in table are composed of retired and housewives, whereas private sector employees or teachers whose working hours are "relatively" less strict when compared to civil servants come second. Women described above are selected for municipal council membership rather than women who have more economic gain and much workload. In the question analyses the difficulties in membership, the expression of a member who is attorney reveals the differences among female and male members' perspectives on municipal council membership in terms of professionalism:

"We are in commission, the man says 'Quick, quick tell me what I should put signature to', but really, very important decisions are taken there... I wonder for days which decisions will be taken, which of them will pass. That man says 'I have 10-15 minutes, what I will sign?' If you say this is wrong, you are the bad boy." (Interview 8)

In addition, another result stem from table shows that city councillors who are members of HDP, to a large extent do not have economic independency whereas city councillors from AKP prefer self-employment and possess professions with different profiles such as engineer, attorney, and architecture.

#### **4.5.2 Motives behind Participating in Politics**

During the research, 20 in-depth interviews have been totally made. 11 of participants are from AKP (7 in Gaziantep, 3 in Elazığ and 1 in Siirt), 2 from MHP (both in Elazığ) and 1 from CHP (in Gaziantep), and 6 from HDP. Women branches membership is one of the important factors in terms of having impact on female municipal councils' nomination and election process and political culture and consciousness. Participants' state of women branches membership are tabled below.



**Table 16:** Women Branches Membership

	Frequency	Percent (%)
<b>Yes</b>	14	70.0%
<b>No</b>	6	30.0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

It is seen that most of the participants are also members of their parties' women branches. However, this is not the sole aspect affecting women's state of election. No matter how, from the beginning of the interview, participants is aware of the fact that the object of the interview is women's participation to local politics, and all of them agree upon woman's taking part in politics just due to her 'woman identity', only 30% of participants have responded as "being woman".

**Table 17:** The Most Important Aspect Affecting Nomination and Election Process

	Frequency	Percent (%)
<b>Political participation past</b>	1	5.0%
<b>Family support</b>	6	30.0%
<b>Party</b>	5	25.0%
<b>Party woman branches</b>	1	5.0%
<b>Personal characteristics</b>	1	5.0%
<b>Being woman</b>	6	30.0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Family support plays as important role as participants' woman identities in their nomination and election process and just after it, the impact of political party itself comes with percent of 25. 18.2% of participants from AKP asserted that women identity is the most substantial determinant while this factor affected the half of participants from HDP. This can be interpreted as follows; participants from HDP (no matter which provinces they reside) act with more feminist motives in local political participation. When the word frequency is examined in Nvivo, it is seen that different participants from HDP have used concepts as "*being ignored*", "*subordination*", "*revolt*", "*freedom*" (Interview 6) "*feudal structure of this city*"

(Interview 15), “*masculin mind-sets*” (Interview 20), “*equal representation*” (Interview 20) while they describe reasons behind women’s political participation in local governments.

According to the nodes specified in NVivo, participants’ views on motives behind local political participation can be grouped in 7 categories. Women participate in local politics because of

- **women’s need and demand for liberty (6 responses)**
- **gender based differences (6 responses)**
- combatting male-hegemony (2 responses)
- women’s having better dialogue with women (2 responses)
- family and cultural structure (1 response)
- consubstantiating cities with their homes (1 response)
- political parties’ viewing them as ‘showcases’ (1 response).

Thirty percent of the participants express that women want liberty and try to prove themselves in feudal, traditional social structure. The other category being responded most, “gender based differences” can be divided into two subcategories. 4 participants within this group think that women’s existence change the goings-on in the council meetings in these words; “*Women work in more meticulous/neat way than men*” (Interview 2), “*Their vision is broader and deeper and they are more moderate*” (Interview 3), “*I support women’s taking part in politics because they are more sensitive and emotional*” (Interview 4) and “*When women exist, this reflects on the ambiance of municipal council meetings, there is politeness*” (Interview 14). The other 2 participants approach the issue from different perspective and claim that woman and man cannot think in the same way because of their structural differences; “*Women should exist in politics because none of men can think as women*” (Interview 9) and “*Men act more with considering personal or familial interests but women look to the issue from social utility perspective*” (Interview 16).

It is interesting that one of the participants from Elazığ Municipality describes women’s motivation to participation with masculine adjectives generally used for showing men’s power; “*They (women) are emotional but they must not. They must*

*do their job well, as lions*” (Interview 4). She uses a simile which is generally used for power and durability of men. Leonine metaphor is here used for making an analogy among women and men in politics.

Likewise in TÜBİTAK study referred in second chapter, one of the participants of this research said:

“... In Turkic tribes generally men are the head, administrator; men administer but women govern in fact. They govern countries, houses. Basically when we consider our home, the one who governs the house is woman, man administers but the governor is always woman. I think it is same in local governments. As we perceive the city as our home, women are *sine qua non*...” (Interview 7)

This shows that although women can be from different political parties and in different context, they view the issue from similar perspective and substantiate their cities with their homes.

Furthermore, how and when the idea of being a city councillor has started and shaped are important in understanding the aspects paving the way of women and easing the process. According to the nodes specified in NVivo, the stories of women’s being a member of municipal councils are due to six reasons tabled below.

**Table 18:** Factors Affecting Shaping Participants’ Idea of Municipal Council Membership

	Elazığ	Gaziantep	Siirt
<b>Party / ‘Ankara’ has offered</b>	3	3	
<b>Political network</b>	1	1	1
<b>Producing new projects for women and city</b>	1		1
<b>Being pioneer for women in the region</b>	1	1	1
<b>Reaction against nomination of another figure in party</b>		2	
<b>Not have tendency but family/friends have offered</b>		1	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>6</b>

It is obvious that in Elazığ and Gaziantep the attitudes of political party and role of ‘Ankara’, in other words party headquarter, are dominant in shaping of participants’

idea of membership. Political network and aim of being pioneer for women in their region are the common rationale expressed by participants in all sample provinces. With political network it is meant that relationship among the party and status in different stages of party executive. For example, one of the participants have stated *“My husband was presumptive nominee for mayorship. Therefore I did neither consider being city councillor nor to have chance. Two of us would not have chance. After my husband did not become nominee, party offered, so I accepted”* (Interview 1). Also, if a woman has a relative or friend in party executive and this relative is an important figure in local or national politics, this increases the chance of her election as municipal council member:

“I have made an application. Because I am not from Gaziantep and I am from Malatya, I wrote down that I was born in Malatya. They have not put me in for Gaziantep’s list. They have flattered me here and encouraged me by saying ‘You will be presented’ but then the list has come with deputies and provincial heads, my name did not exist in that list. The head of supreme board is my cousin. You may have heard her name, Güldal Akşit, she is head of women branches. I have talked with her. When the list was sent to her, she could not see my name and asked them why they did not put Songül in for the list. She told them to write my name also. In short, they thought to play homeland nationalism but they could not succeed.” (Interview 11)

Moreover, 10 of participants have important mission in different stages of party executive both today and in past. It can be interpreted as being head of provincial women branches, district women branches or vice president of provincial women branches are strategic in being presented as nominees in following local elections. Another important detail is that 9 of those participants are members of AKP and 1 of HDP which shows AKP’s attaching importance to organizational structure of women intraparty.

#### **4.5.3 The Obstacles in Front of Women’s Nomination**

In order to understand the obstacles in front of female mayor and municipal council member nominees during election process, it is asked which difficulties they had to face with are. It is understood that rather than advantages, they have felt the disadvantages of being a female candidate which is tabled below.

**Table 19:** Advantages and Disadvantages of Being a Female Candidate

<b>Advantages of Being a Female Candidate</b>	<b>Disadvantages of Being a Female Candidate</b>
Municipal council membership is not competitive as mayorship (1 participant)	Male hegemonic mind-sets do not want women in politics (5 participants)
Women open the door easily to us (2 participants)	Parental responsibilities (5 participants)
	Opportunity inequality among gender (1 participant)
	Government (1 participant)

Three of the participants has asserted that being female candidate is neither advantageous nor disadvantageous. They are neutral to the issue. 2 of the participants did not respond to the question so this is missing data. 1 participant answered the question ironically and said that she did not have difficulty because there was not something like “being a female candidate”. According to the most (25%) of participants, male hegemonic mind-sets do not demand women’s participation to politics. Likewise, parental responsibilities which has same ratio with aforesaid aspect, stand as obstacle in front of women’s nomination process.

In fact, this points out two important sides of the issue and reminds one of the theories discussed in the second chapter. Parental responsibilities can be counted as housework, childcare or responsibilities related to women’s husbands. Here most (25%) of participants express that responsibilities arose from their status in house constitute disadvantages for them;

“We have ignored home a little. Although there is need for me at home, I ignored of course.” (Interview 4)

“You have to be divided in two pieces, you both work and look after home so you cannot do this much.” (Interview 14)

“It is harder for women of course. We have to participate all meetings. Meetings end in late hours.” (Interview 2)

Furthermore, the second importance of the result of in-depth interview lies in its link with notion of social gender. One of the city councillors from metropolitan districts of Gaziantep, Şahinbey says that *“It is hard to be woman in politics. Both housewife, both employee and making politics.. Carrying three of those out is difficult together”* (Interview 9). This sentence directly corresponds with one appearance of social gender. Women have to perform all three ‘jobs’ together just because of being ‘woman’. She claims that it is hard to be wife and mother at home, employee in active working life and member of the municipal council at the same time. Literature supports this data with discussing the fact that aside from biological or fixed differences among genders, women are exposed to discrimination due to changeable and acquired characteristics in social structure.

Female politicians’ turning back their homes after specific time in evening constitutes a problem. For example in Argentina, female politicians complain about evening meetings (Franceschet & Piscopo, 2008). Similar to expressions of Interviewee 2 (from Elazığ) took part above, one of the participants from Gaziantep, Şahinbey also complain about the time of council meetings. Yet, while she was sharing one of the anecdotes, she said that she was not afraid of male members’ reactions and in a dominant and determined way she has stayed there and participated in discussions no matter the time has extended to late hours.

In the lights of those advantages and disadvantages, questions consisting rating are asked for understanding the perception and attitudes of participants’ about women’s representation and participation in local governments. There are 3 participants give 1-4 points, 7 participants give 5 points, 9 participants give 6-9 points and 1 participant give 10 points out of 10 as response to *“To what extent do you think female members in municipal councils could be effective?”* However, in more general question parallel to this which examines to what extent they think women are represented in local governments, 13 of participants give 1-5 points, 4 of them 6 and 3 of them give 10 points. This situation may be correlated to the fact that there is

perception in Turkey women are represented more effectively in municipal council membership rather than mayorship or other stages in politics.

#### **4.5.4 The Impact and Effectiveness of Women in Policy Making Processes**

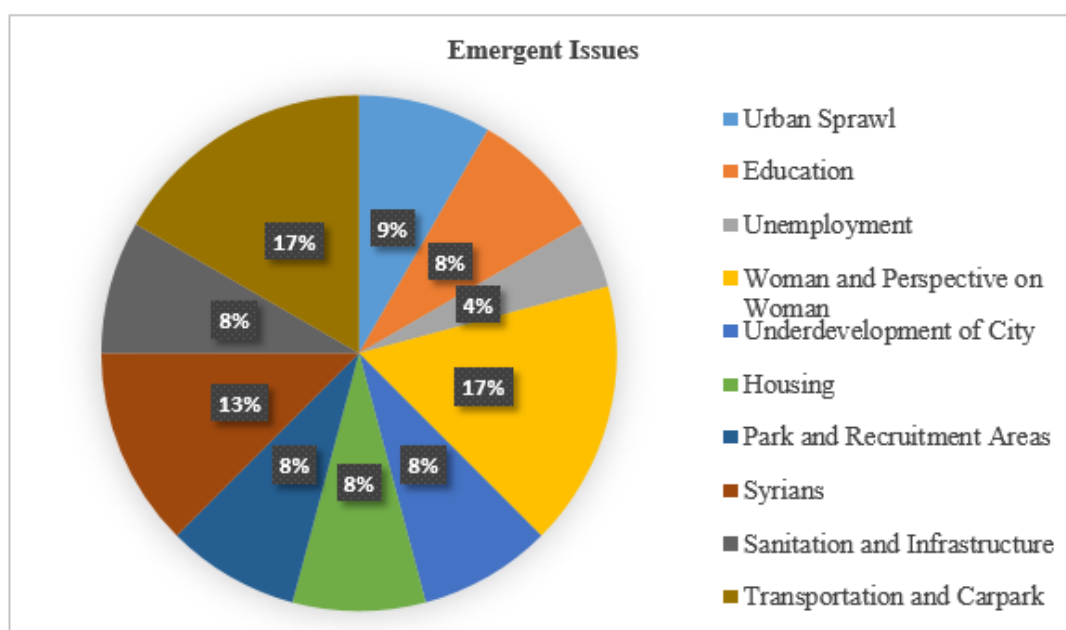
By the help of advantages of being a female candidate, women become able to have impact on policy making processes after being elected. In order to understand their impact, it is needed to regard two determinants. First one is the motives behind the way of acting in municipal council meeting and second is the content of decisions. According to the responses of “*Which identity be more effective in taking part in municipal council decision mechanism, ‘woman identity’ or ‘party identity’*”, 65% of participants stated that party identity is in the foreground decision making processes.

**Table 20:** Motives behind the Way of Acting in Meetings

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent (%)</b>
<b>Woman Identity</b>	5	25.0%
<b>Party Identity</b>	13	65.0%
<b>Neutral</b>	2	10.0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Furthermore, not all the participants interviewed in the scope of this study are from the same political parties. Except for Elazığ Karakoçan, Gaziantep Şahinbey and Şehitkamil, and Siirt Baykan and Eruh Municipalities, participants interviewed have different party profiles and backgrounds. 65% of city councillors state that their party identity come forefront. Yet, 55% of participants assert that they could have a common attitude with female members from other parties at some context. AKP and CHP’s members in İslahiye express that they are friends for many years. In Elazığ most of AKP’s members think that they can act in collaboration with member from MHP. However in Siirt participants think that they cannot work in harmony and adopt common attitude. Even one of the participants criticize the member from a party which stands at opposition, with making “male politics” (Interview 16).

The second determinant is the content of decisions discussed in council meetings. According to NVivo, most frequent words and problems stated in the expressions of the participants are extracted and shown in pie chart below. At a first glance, issues related to urbanization and infrastructure of city grab the attention which is not unexpected. Besides, it can be interpreted as white hope that woman and perspective on woman constitute as same rate as transportation and carpark when participants answered for the emergent issues needed to be discussed in meetings.



**Figure 5:** The Emergent Issues Needed to Be Discussed in Meetings

The pie chart above illustrates the main problem areas participants think to bring for agenda of council. According to the participants, the emergent issues needed to be discussed in council meetings are mostly composed of services which are called “classical municipal services” such as housing (8%), park (8%) and infrastructure (8%). However, together with transportation and carpark problem city councillors’ mentioning the woman and perspective on women grab attention with ratio of 17%, equal to transportation problem is important. This shoes the priorities of female city councillors in their vision related to problems of their cities and perceiving “woman problems” as serious problems need to be resolved urgent.



As a result of the study, consequences arose from sample provinces tell that the answers of “*Decisions are mostly taken about which issues in council meetings?*” form one of the common characteristics of three provinces. In all three cities participants express that decisions related to zoning and infrastructure are taken in meetings without exception. It could be said that this situation is closely related to “growth model based on construction” which is used for describing 2002-2014 period in Turkey.

#### **4.5.5 Female City Councilors Perceptions on Level of Representation in Municipal Council and Their Impact on Local Politics**

During the interviews, rating questions are asked to the participants. In this section the answers of participants about their perceptions and attitudes on women’s representation and participation are analysed. In question of “*To what extent is women’s representation in local governments important?*” by giving 7 and more points, all participants make an evaluation as 9.5/10 on average. Their common answers show that there is consensus on importance of the issue.

**Table 21:** “*To what extent is women’s representation in local governments important?*”

<b>Points</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent (%)</b>
<b>7</b>	2	10.0%
<b>8</b>	2	10.0%
<b>9</b>	1	5.0%
<b>10</b>	15	75.0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Average rate: 9.5 points

However, 11 of participants in one of the questions asking “*To what extent do you think women are represented in local politics?*” in other words in practice, make an evaluation of lower than 5 points. The average rate here is 4.6/10. Therefore, female municipal councils and mayors see more desperate picture about existing situation in Turkey.

Analysing the question of “*To what extent do you think women are represented in local politics?*” and understanding whether it differs according to party identity are important in comprehending attitudes of city councillors about the issue. 4 municipal council members from HDP out of 6 give 6 and more (10) points to this question while 72% of municipal council members from AKP give 5 and lower points. When it is considered in the sense of sample provinces, half of city councillors in Siirt Municipality and district municipalities give the highest point (10). City councillors of central and district municipalities in other sample provinces do not give this point for this question. On the other hand, one of the lowest pointed (1 point) 2 answers in this category is again given by a city councillor in Siirt Municipality.

**Table 22:** Crosstabulation of “*To what extent do you think women are represented in local politics?*” \* Party Membership

		Party Membership				Total
		AKP	CHP	MHP	HDP	
<b>Points</b>	<b>1</b>	2	1	0	0	<b>3</b>
	<b>2</b>	1	0	1	1	<b>3</b>
	<b>3</b>	1	0	0	0	<b>1</b>
	<b>4</b>	3	0	0	1	<b>4</b>
	<b>5</b>	1	0	1	0	<b>2</b>
	<b>6</b>	3	0	0	1	<b>4</b>
	<b>10</b>	0	0	0	3	<b>3</b>
<b>Total</b>		<b>11</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>20</b>

Average rate: 4.6 points

Moreover, “*To what extent increasing women’s rate of representation could affect the resolution of women’s problems?*” question is asked to the participants and the average of points given is high (8.05/10). Here without exception based on party or province differences, it is seen that all participants give common answers and attach importance to representation.

In order to understand the current state and opinions of the participants, “*To what extent do you think female members could be effective in municipal councils?*” is asked and participants give 5.9 points on average. In addition to low rate, it could be said that this situation is related to perception about in Turkey women’s being more effectively represented in municipal council membership as compared with mayorship or other positions.

On the other hand, not every participants give an answer to “*To what extent do you think you can affect local politics?*” question. 3 of 20 participants express that giving point for themselves would not be ethical and highlight the importance of extrinsic evaluation; therefore they did not answer the question. When it is considered that 15 of 17 participants give 7 and more points and it is 7.7 on average, it could be said that participants find themselves fairly successful in affecting local politics.

**Table 23:** “*To what extent do you think female representatives in local politics could work out women and problems of women?*”

<b>Points</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent (%)</b>
<b>3</b>	1	5.0%
<b>5</b>	7	35.0%
<b>6</b>	4	20.0%
<b>7</b>	2	10.0%
<b>8</b>	2	10.0%
<b>9</b>	1	5.0%
<b>10</b>	3	15.0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Average rate: 6.6 points

Furthermore, a more specific (when compared with ‘local politics’) question of “*To what extent do you think female representatives in local politics could work out women and problems of women?*” is asked for participants. Table above shows the participants’ answers between 1-10 points. With average of 6.6, it can be said that participants are less optimistic about this issue. On the other hand, when it is analyzed with party identity basis, in Siirt 66.7% of participants from HDP give 3 and 5 points out of 10, while solely 27% of participants from AKP give 5 points

without taking province differences into consideration. Also, there are no participants from AKP giving lower than 5. With in-depth interviews the reasons of it tried to be understood and the reasons behind HDP's participants giving low points in female representatives' role in this issue are set forth as:

"We have not yet reached completely at that level which can respond to their problems. This is seriously a failure. We even could not have reached at that level, how can I level up you? Women who make politics have inadequacy. Maybe it arises from the agenda or geography we live in. For example, we have woke up in morning, 32 young people have passed away. We are about them for 2-3 days. Maybe we have a lot of work to do in municipality as a woman or as a council member, but we cannot do." (Interview 16)

"Because our male friends are put first more. No matter the problem is related to women, men wear the pants more on us, women. Because we have lived like that, we have perceived like that so far." (Interview 20)

As a result, according to outcomes from sample municipalities one of the common characteristics of three cities arises in how female city councilors have impact in municipal councils as distinct from male members. Most of participants answer through two main lines. First group attach importance to women's existence in the sense of environment of council meetings; *"Women are more compassionate, more moderate, they can get inside the issue more, they are more considerate"*, *"It brings a level for men, sometimes slang may escape from their lips, they restrain themselves at there"*, *"Men could not be too relaxed in the presence of a lady, their attitudes are restricted, they are obliged to speak in a way selecting their words carefully"*, the other group points out the potential changes which could appear in content of decisions taken; *"The resolution of problems would become more fast"*, *"More decisions related to women and children could be taken."*

In order to understand whether there is differentiation among sample provinces in scope of rating questions or not, the average rates need to be observed separately.

Q1: *"To what extent is women's representation in local governments important?"*

Q2: *"To what extent do you think women are represented in local politics?"*

Q3: *"To what extent increasing women's rate of representation could affect the resolution of women's problems?"*

Q4: “To what extent do you think female members could be effective in municipal councils?”

Q5: “To what extent do you think you can affect local politics?”

Q6: “To what extent do you think female representatives in local politics could work out women and problems of women?”

**Table 24:** Results of Rating Questions on the Basis of Sample Provinces

	<b>Q1</b>	<b>Q2</b>	<b>Q3</b>	<b>Q4</b>	<b>Q5</b>	<b>Q6</b>
<b>Elazığ</b>	9.7	4.2	8.2	6.5	8	6.8
<b>Gaziantep</b>	7.6	3.5	8	5.6	7.6	7
<b>Siirt</b>	10	6.5	8	5.7	7.6	5.7

\*The rating is constituted out of 10.

Aside from rating questions, in order to understand whether participants find themselves successful or not it is asked that how much they could realize the projects they have planned before being elected. When three sample provinces are compared, it is seen that half of members in Elazığ and 37.5% of members in Gaziantep could not realize their plans. Even worse, none of the participants in Siirt consider that they succeed in bringing the projects into action. The fundamental difficulties they face with are categorized in Nvivo. Female city councilors assert that they cannot realize their plans because of upcoming (2015 General Election) elections, limitations of municipality’s capacity, being minority in municipal councils due to being positioned in opposition, bureaucratic procedures and male-hegemonic point of views.

One of the participants from Gaziantep Şahinbey Municipality where all female city councilors coming from ruling party, in addition to bureaucratic procedures highlights other members’ persistent pointing out the need of negotiation with her own party before entertaining an idea;

“You have an idea. When you say that you have an idea, they respond as ‘Talk with your party first.’ However, I am no longer a party member, you say that you are now council member. I am not party representative, I am an individual representing Antep. Why should I go to party? Women branches? We are 30 people at the council and we have right to make decision. I asked that why I should go to. They respond as ‘You should go and talk anyway.’ It is unnerving. A state of incapacity for doing something.” (Interview 8)

In fact she complains about without considering nature of subject taking side according to party identity and challenges other councilors' views which cause ideological differences' forming a barricade in front of new projects. On the other hand, similar to politicians' ideological point of views, citizens' perspectives may form an obstacle in future of female members' projects. A city councilor from Siirt Baykan Municipality states that;

“We as two co-mayors... There is responsibility of the things we can do in the power of our male co-mayor; therefore, now in Baykan as the power, people show respect-sympathy towards our male friend. Because he is at the place what we call as ‘power.’ Our people still have not been conscious of its importance or content. In Baykan the embracement of co-presidency system has been difficult. For instance, we are seen as vice president. They perceive like that.” (Interview 19)

Moreover, the responds of participants to the question of “*What are the main problems and needs of women in your city?*” are revealed in the table below. Although there are 6 participants from Elazığ and Siirt, 8 from Gaziantep, in this table numbers show that how many times those problems and needs are repeated by participants.

**Table 25:** Main Problems and Needs of Women in Sample Provinces

	<b>Elazığ</b>	<b>Gaziantep</b>	<b>Siirt</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Education</b>		2	1	<b>3</b>
<b>Employment and economic independence</b>	4	2	5	<b>11</b>
<b>Women’s feeling free and undisturbed in street</b>	1		1	<b>2</b>
<b>Social activities and social reinforcement areas</b>	2	4	3	<b>9</b>
<b>Syrians</b>		1		<b>1</b>
<b>Violence against woman</b>	1	1	1	<b>3</b>

It is seen that the most often repeated problem of women is employment and women’s lack of economic independence. Social activities come second with being repeated by nine times. Violence against women is expressed by participants from all sample provinces which is a fundamental problem of the region and Turkey also. Another important detail seems at “women’s feeling free and undisturbed while

walking in street”. Because Gaziantep is relatively less conservative territory when compared to Elazığ and Siirt, participants in Gaziantep do not speak out women’s prosperity in their daily lives outside as a problem.

**Table 26:** The Content of Planned / Current Activities for the sake of Women

	<b>Elazığ</b>	<b>Gaziantep</b>	<b>Siirt</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Education</b>	1	2		<b>3</b>
<b>Economic independence</b>	3		3	<b>6</b>
<b>Parks and Cultural Centres</b>	2		1	<b>3</b>
<b>Health Services</b>		1		<b>1</b>
<b>Social Activities</b>	2	1	1	<b>4</b>
<b>Ease the Life of Mothers having Disabled Child</b>		1		<b>1</b>

The content of current and planned activities for the sake of women in the region is shown in table above. It is important for comprehending effects of female city councilors in changing direction of council meetings. When this table is evaluated simultaneously with table 25, it is seen that education and economic independence are the most predicated issues as main problems and needs of women. However, it is promising that those are top two areas where municipal councils as institution or female members as individual work on. When it is gone deep into “education” issue, education and preparing seminars toward violence against woman, health and pediatric development occur.

#### **4.5.6 Women’s Policy Recommendations for Increasing Representation**

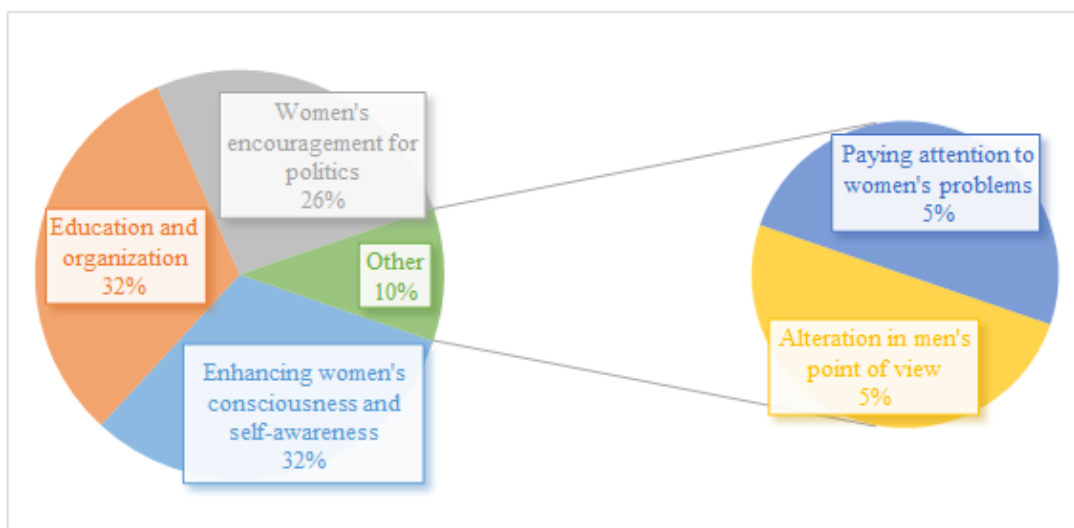
As a result of the analysis of “*What kind of results or affects women may have as being city councilor and showing active participation?*” question in Nvivo, basically 6 titles are reached:

- easier conduct of citizens’ problems (6 participants)
- women’s encouragement (4 participants)
- more courteous environment of council meetings (2 participants)
- being dominant at least men in decision making mechanisms (2 participants)
- having ‘a prestigious personage’ (1 participant)
- making a circle of friends (1 participant)

Among the answers of 16 participants who responded to the question, it is seen that those 6 titles are sometimes repeated or intertwined; however, most repeated and remarkable ones are included. Here party identity does not stand out in this categorization. Hence, 38% of participants responded assert that conducting problems of citizens living in the region and having different profiles (woman, elderly, child, craftsman) have important role in women's political participation but in this slice of 38% there are both AKP and HDP's city councilors. Likewise, both AKP, HDP and MHP's city councilors take part in slice of  $\frac{1}{4}$  who see women's further encouragement as one of the results of women's active participation.

Moreover, with the analysis and categorization of *"What can be done or which methods could be used for increasing women's local political representation and effectiveness?"* question again in Nvivo, those titles are clearly implicated:

- awakening consciousness and awareness therein woman (6 participants)
- providing women's education and being organized (6 participants)
- women's encouragement for enhancing interest and desire for politics (5 participants)
- altering men's point of view (1 participant)
- paying attention to women's problems (1 participant)



**Figure 6:** Methods that could Enhance Women's Representation in Politics



The meaning of “enhancing women’s conscious and self-awareness” that 32% of participants mention may be interpreted as “*providing women’s awareness about the power within themselves*” (Interview 8) and “*awakening the consciousness within women herself*” (Interview 13). In the scope of methods could enhance women’s representation in politics, solely 1 participant refer alteration in men’s point of view. One of the city councilors in Elazığ Municipality who responds to the question as “increasing women’s own awareness”, at the same time refers to necessity of political parties’ taking initiative in this issue. This is attention-grabbing because female representatives in fact search for a solution at again female electorate/candidate living in the local and claim that those women should take most of the responsibility. However same member with more elitist discourse express that women who would enter politics or be encouraged for participation should be educated, well-known and trustworthy women and political parties should prefer them;

“As I said before, while doing this it is always important to prefer knowledgeable, self-confident, well-known, confiding people. Both in terms of moral grounds and in terms of being successful.” (Interview 4)

Likewise the statement of one of the council members from MHP in Elazığ, a city councillor from HDP in Siirt Municipality assert that preferring female candidates who have significant characteristics and political consciousness, play important role in enhancement of representation;

“It should be given more place to conscious women.” (Interview 15)

This at the same time is related to “women’s encouragement for enhancing interest and desire for politics” which comes at second as 26% of female city councilors expressed. Because the participants giving this answer think that by taking step in this issue, some women in society may provide other women’s pursuing themselves. Those participants exemplify pioneer female mayors and metropolitan municipality mayors who constitute a role model in their own regions.

On the other hand, one participant from AKP in Elazığ Municipality, who suggests “paying attention to women’s problems” claims that *“Women’s demands should be met at least. It should be paid attention to women, be listened to understand what they want.”* (Interview 1) In fact it is seen that even women who do politics in the region and hold office at politically important positions such as provincial and local woman branches heads, adopt abstinent attitude with “at least” in satisfaction of women’s demands. Surely this has to do with ongoing, prevailing and stereotyped point of views in the region against women. This coincides with answer of one of the participants from HDP in Siirt; *“Actually at first, being a women is a difficult job here. Therefore, being a municipal council member or a mayor are also difficult. A lot of men have not been still accepted”* (Interview 15). This may show the reflection of more conservative and male-hegemonic perspective on women in the region, regardless of the province or political party affiliation.

#### **4.5.7 Perception on Co-presidency**

One of the interesting findings of the study is the participants’ different perception and attitude about co-presidency. The city councillors in municipalities where co-presidency system is already implemented lean to this practice without exception; however, there is not an agreement among city councillors in municipalities where this system is not implemented. There are some participants although whose party do not implement co-presidency, they – not in line with their parties – lean to this system due to its potential for increasing women representation and finding resolution for women’s problems.

**Table 27:** Perception and Attitude toward Co-Presidency

	Municipality	Council Member	Party	Co-presidency	Reason
<b>Elazığ</b>	Elazığ	I-1	AKP	No	This system is better.
		I-2	AKP	Yes	There should be, if a female co-mayor exist, she can understand women's problems better.
		I-3	AKP	Yes	Of course, nevertheless there should be a lady.
		I-4	MHP	Yes	Preferring our woman is beneficial. Didn't Çiller succeed?
	Ağın	I-5	MHP	No	It is not the issue. Women again could make progress with their own efforts.
	Karakoçan*	I-6	HDP	Yes	This system should exist for making women feel as self-confident and they also exist as an individual.
<b>Gaziantep</b>	Şahinbey	I-7	AKP	No	There can be 1 President and 1 Vice President, the other is not so logical.
		I-8	AKP	No	It is not needed, you are already an individual, you do not need to be a 'co-' of someone.
		I-9	AKP	Yes	It depends on parties' views, there could be.
	Şehitkamil	I-10	AKP	No	"A little woman, a little man" is not appropriate, if it is woman she would carry the responsibility.
		I-11	AKP	No	There cannot be something as co-mayor, mayor is one.
		I-12	AKP	Abstainer	I cannot give a clear answer.
	İslahiye	I-13	AKP	No	If a selected mayor is male, he should prefer his vice president as a lady.
		I-14	CHP	No	These are grandstander, it will not change the situation.

**Table 27 (continued)**

<b>Siirt</b>	Siirt*	I-15	HDP	Yes	Women should be more effective and show more powerful reaction in decision making.
		I-16	HDP	Yes	When I come to the municipality, I can easily darken female co-mayor's door, I can conduct my problem.
		I-17	HDP	Yes	A woman could not explain her distress to our male friends easily.
		I-18	AKP	Yes	Actually again they cheated woman, in practice there are 1 <sup>st</sup> and 2 <sup>nd</sup> mayor, not co-mayor but this system can exist as like as two peas in a pod.
	Baykan*	I-19	HDP	Yes	The embracement of this system depends on negotiation and being organized of two co-mayors.
	Eruh*	I-20	HDP	Yes	The right of woman and equal representation should be given. In fact I think they should not "give" it, we should take it.

\* In those district municipalities, co-presidency system has started to be implemented by 30 March 2014 local elections.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **CONCLUSION**

#### **5.1 Evaluation of the Findings**

In this study, the aim was to analyse the factors affecting women's participation in local politics, and how female mayors/co-mayors and municipal council members influence the policy making processes in local governments. In this context, in-depth interviews made with female politicians in three sample provinces; Elazığ, Gaziantep and Siirt. As discussed in detail, when political participation is evaluated through gender based point of view, it is seen that women's political participation could not exceed a specific level and women are not represented enough. Therefore, many countries have developed various policies and strategies in order to enhance women's participation. However, in current situation Turkey falls short of developing those policies and strategies. Yet, women's political participation including authority and decision making processes have positive impact on politics in regard to quantity and efficacy.

The findings from the field research analysis show that in Elazığ, Gaziantep and Siirt, female city councillors think that representation of women in local governments is seriously important. However they consider that they cannot affect local politics enough.

Firstly, as it is discussed in theoretical findings part, the outcomes from sample provinces show that women in East and Southeastern part of Turkey feel the interdependent components of oppression which constitute obstacles in front of their political participation. No matter which party's member they are, even municipal council members and mayors assert that being a spouse/mother, worker and politician at the same time is so difficult. Another dimension of this shows itself in the scope of Kurdish women's movement. Participants from HDP in Siirt

Municipality and district municipalities claim that a woman may be exposed to oppression both because of her Kurdish identity and woman identity. Also, they consubstantiate feminist movement with Kurdish movement by seeing themselves as not independent and they believe that there is vagueness in the future of their language, culture, identity and children. Throughout the in-depth interviews, they prefer using “a Kurdish woman” while expressing their opinions about woman’s political participation and they also do not disregard the challenge and effort of women in the region for enhancement of representation and overwhelming male-hegemony’s suppression.

According to participants, the existence of female members in municipal councils create an impact different vis-a-vis male members. This impact occurs in two ways; by the help of existence of women council meetings run in moderate and refined atmosphere, and women’s existing there may shape the content of decisions taken. For instance, women’s problems could be brought to agenda of council as priorities. More decisions toward women and resolution of their problems could be taken. Citizens could more easily conduct their problems.

One of the objectives of the study was to investigate whether women’s socio-economic status, activism of identity/ethnic politics in Southeastern part of Turkey and embracement of co-presidency are the aspects determine the level of women’s representation. Because the income levels were not asked to the participants within the scope of study, there cannot make a direct inference about it. However, if the education profiles of women are remembered, it can be said that some participants correlate their party’s preference with their own education and relatedly socio-economic status in society. Some participants especially in Siirt identify women’s representation equal with acquiring rights of Kurdish people. They see the issue as holistic problem. Nevertheless, with different incentives women in that region demands to participate in local politics and activism of identity politics becomes one of the critical aspects which can trigger the rise of their political interest.

Moreover, for enhancement of women's local political representation, women in the region suggest that political consciousness which they believe existing within women should be awakened. They also believe the importance of increasing number of women represented. Women can seriously shape policy making and decision mechanisms about certain issues related to themselves and use of their city. They need to be aware of their own potentials. Not only self-awareness but also, women's education and being organized are needed to be taken into consideration.

As well as the services such as electricity, road, natural gas which are first come to mind, municipalities need to make attempt for elderly, ill and child care services, foundation of Women's Health Centres and Women's Shelter. Thus, the expansion of local services through responding women's problems will directly and positively affect women's fragility in economic and social life. When it is asked what the emergent issues regarding their cities and need to be discussed in council meetings are, female city councillors point out "woman and perspective on woman" at equal rate with classical municipal services such as traffic congestion and carpark. This is one of the promising outcomes of the study.

One of the premises of the study is the efficacy of co-presidency system for women's political representation in local governments. Most of participants are for co-presidency system in local governments. When the participants' perception on co-presidency practice is evaluated in detail it is seen that the city councillors in municipalities wherein co-presidency system is already implemented, agree upon the benefit of this implementation. The views of rest of the participants do not have rigid opinions parallel to party membership. It means that as some of city councillors from AKP or MHP could support co-mayorship system which is being implemented in municipalities where HDP is in power. It means that though political party headquarters or leaders view this practice negatively, female city councillors and mayors could favour it. The rationales of participants are related to fact that women may understand problems of women better and due to lack of representation in Turkey, increase in quantity and profile of female candidates are important. On the

other hand, with regard to male city councillors' perception and attitudes, one of the participants (from HDP) wherein co-mayorship implemented utters that even the one (man) who says that he is the most democratic may not accept the existence of women in municipal councils. This is remarkable because nevertheless aforesaid participant supports co-mayorship, she is desperate about the current situation in councils and meetings. Even so, like other city councillors from same political party with her, she claims that if the male co-mayors in real terms accept the existence and capacity of women in local politics, there can occur more and more efficacious examples of co-mayorship practice.

## **5.2 Theoretical Implications**

In literature, in the subject of women's underrepresentation and low rates of participation in local politics, main theories especially based on feminist perspectives have highlighted fixed and resigned gender roles in society. The motives and obstacles behind women's representation in politics stem from social gender concept which draws the 'boundaries' of what women can reach or cannot. As it is touched upon in second chapter, one of the studies have found that women in municipal councils in some topics by leaving other differences aside and gathering on the basis of gender have impact on specific decision. Likewise, the findings of this study support that one in the sense that despite of their different socio-economic, political and educational profiles, the participants from three sample provinces assert that they are able to act collectively in decision making process regarding women and women's problems. This may be interpreted as women's solidarity. Nevertheless, it is important that without regarding their political parties' views they can act with motivation of being woman solely, at the risk of facing up to potential sanctions their parties may apply. In addition, when the theory is considered, one of the supportive findings of this study occurs in difficulties that female politicians' are obliged to face with in case of council meetings. As it is derived from in-depth interviews, most of participants complain from male members' views and challenge to take part in council meetings no matter what time it is. Female members in municipal councils



and mayors in Southeastern part of Turkey confront dilemma between two things: If they do not participate in meetings, there is potential to lose their prestiges in front of men and be ignored in decision making processes and whereas if they participate, they have to be cautious about their behaviors in order to not to be defamed in terms of their femininity.

Theoretical contributions of this thesis could be outlined as follows; firstly, as indicated by the participants of the present study, gender discrimination does not only mean possessing different sexes as male and female. At the same time it means possessing different social roles as man and woman that are differentiated from each other with rigid lines. This causes women's falling behind men in social, economic and political realm which is discussed in the literature within the framework of social gender concept. Since from their birth, women continuously lag behind men due to lack of education, economic dependence or social/peer pressure. Because of those kinds of stereotyped attitudes they cannot integrate into political life also.

Secondly, theory of intersectionality which shows how different types of discrimination interact with each other, is taken into consideration within scope of this study. Women especially in Southeastern part of Turkey are exposed to oppression because of their gender, ethnicity and social status. According to the findings from the study, not only as electorates but as politicians women feel this discrimination during process of participation in local politics. This is one of the differences of this study from previous ones which do not include this debate in theoretical discussion.

Thirdly, for as a requirement of gender equality and a channel for abolishment of inequalities, women's participation in national and local politics have critical significance. Empowerment of local governments, maintenance of democratization, reflection of demands and expectations of two gender; woman and man properly to administration and making presence of the ruled felt in decisions at least through representatives will provide the realization of democratic representation. Because

local governments are the closest authorities to people, politicians can understand their needs easier, resource allocation and decision making can be provided through the citizens' needs and demands.

Fourthly, in order to increase women's representation in national and local politics, previous studies suggest quota practices. Quota is important in the sense that it is a positive discrimination method for enhancement of equal representation of genders in political arena. However, not only quota but also other methods may help increase in women's representation and their impact on decision making mechanisms. For example, co-presidency practice is efficacious because it implies "co-" which means representation at equal/same level. Hence, co-presidency – 'co-mayorship' with its name in local administrations – provide increase in women's visibility in local political leadership and eliminate the prevalent perception that mayorship is a position pertaining to men and women may not be able to be elected for such strategically and politically important stage.

The findings of this study point out that quota is one of the alternatives in enhancement of women's representation in councils or other stages. It is important that all participants are aware of this method and its being used in different countries. However, besides those methods participants believe that the success of attracting women to local politics or easing their job to take part in municipal councils depends on women's own characteristics and efforts. As a result of this study it is figured out that female representatives in fact search for a solution at again female electorate/candidate living in the local. This is important because they continue with it if they believe themselves for being successful, they may also convince and encourage other women.

Furthermore, the findings with regard to co-presidency alternative show that women are not in consensus about this new system. However when the ratio is considered, it is seen that the one who support the implementation of this system are more than the opponents. While the proponents of the system accept the current inconveniences,

they claim that this may increase the rate of women in local councils and ease the way of women's confiding their troubles to female mayor. On the other hand the opponents have different reasons for objecting. One group finds it unnecessary and have worries about its potential for division of power and creating a chaotic structure in local government administrations. Apart from this point of view, another group thinks that it is unnecessary because women are already individuals and they do not need to be positioned at peer or partner of someone/men.

### **5.3 Policy Implications**

Women's participation and representation in local politics is still not enough in Turkey, especially in Southeastern Anatolian region, because of male-hegemonic mind-sets, parental responsibilities and opportunity inequality among genders. Municipal councils do not equally represent all fractions in society. In this regard, the lack in representation may be eliminated by empowerment of women councils and city councils. In order to change labour division based on gender and 'casting' within society or each tiniest unit, namely family, there is need of generating new social values through family, school, advertisement or media organs.

Correspondingly, quota is an alternative but due to some views on quota as the source of discrimination itself, encouraging political parties' preference of candidates from different groups of societies (women, aged, disabled, people possess different professions, ethnical identities, religions) may be efficacious. Making representation operational via enhancement can be provided by reform in election systems. Like some political parties pursue those kind of strategies in general elections, in determination of candidates for municipal council membership a pre-election can be done by participation of party members/delegates.

Throughout the in-depth interviews it is seen that especially in Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality, the women who have social and political networks in the region or Turkey, she has more opportunity to being presented as candidate. However, if a female candidate can express herself better in front of citizens and in

local elections candidate is prioritized rather than party, people can be able to know who they vote for. This should be continued after being elected. This is the possible way of interaction between the community and city councillor and may unlock the lack of representation problem.

In previous works it is founded that female students are not interested in politics and do not prefer reading newspapers containing political news or articles. However this is one of the broad generalizations which can be challenged. Whether this situation is same for Kurdish women or not can be analysed and evaluated. Furthermore, one of the previous works related to issue it is claimed that women's interest for being candidate of headman is much higher than other decision making bodies and it is correlated to not only women's being uninterested in local politics, but also lack of political parties' supportive attitudes or policies for women's nomination. One of the different findings of this study stems from participants' contributions through powerful support of their political parties they feel. This support is sometimes related to party policy like occurs in HDP or sometimes coming from party leader, which is seen in AKP case. Thus, political parties' reluctance in Turkey about female candidates issue is open to debate.

One of the unexpected findings of this study point out the attitudes of female city councilors about Syrians whose situation actually constitute a serious sociological and political problem in not only Gaziantep but Turkey and the world. None of the participants from municipalities in Gaziantep have touched upon the 'woman' dimension of this issue. The Syrian refugee crisis is often referred in the sense of poverty, discrimination, property relations, their adaptation and education in their new country.

Moreover, in Gaziantep most of municipal council members state that they could be able to participate in politics by virtue of President of the Republic. They claim that men make room for women again on account of another man. His statement or decision has an impact on other men in the scope of women's political participation.

In addition, another unexpected finding is about one of the common points or three sample provinces. In Elazığ, Gaziantep and Siirt many of participants complain about again women in participation and decision making process in local governments. They assert that if a woman does not become an evil of woman and try to make empathy by enhancing communication, the problematic issues could be solved more easily and quickly. It is surprising that one of the participants from Gaziantep make a reference to Thomas Hobbes' conceptualization of *Homo homini lupus*, with a slight amendment: *Femina feminae lupior*, by trying to mean that a woman is a wolf to a woman.

#### **5.4 Further Areas for Future Researches**

This thesis has several limitations from which further areas could be derived for future researches. First, this thesis has focused on the factors determine the level of representation and effective participation of women in local governments in three sample provinces. Although those provinces are not selected randomly and propound a significant picture of the region, analyzing and evaluating women's situation in other Eastern and Southeastern cities of Turkey is important. Due to time and space limitations, other provinces have been kept out of the scope of this study. About other Southeastern cities and comparison among themselves, there is a huge gap in the literature.

Second, the other focal point of this thesis is the affect of existence of female members in municipal councils in policy making with regards to local administrations. However, as discussed in earlier, not only local governments but also women's representation in national politics is substantial in Turkey's reaching critical mass taken as reference point at worldwide.

Third, in this thesis it is not intended to provide a full picture of women's representation at every stages in local administrations. For example, women's level of representation in village headman and provincial council membership positions

are not analysed within the scope of this study. However as municipal council membership and mayorship, those stages are also important in local politics and have so far remained relatively unexplored in the literature.

Fourth, this study concentrates on understanding the issue through female city councillors and mayors/co-mayors' perception and attitudes. However, reading the obstacles behind women's local political participation and significance of their existence from eyes of male politicians is vital. The analysis of how they comprehend the issue and take how much of the responsibility could enrich the arguments of these thesis.

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## **APPENDICES**

### **APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS**

#### **Interview Questions**

**Party membership:**

**Commissions city councilor has attended:**

**Women council membership in municipality: Yes / No**

**Membership in party women branches: Yes / No**

**Membership in city council: Yes / No**

**Place of birth:**

**Age:**

**Education:**

**Profession:**

**Marital status:**

**Size of household (children):**

**Is there any individual necessitates domiciliary care:**

**A. Why do women participate in local governments? What are their motivations?**

**B. Which factors affect women's membership nomination and election positively?**

**Which do constitute obstacles?**

- 1) How long have you been interested in politics actively?
- 2) How long have you been a member of municipal council?
- 3) How and when has your idea of being city councillor started?
- 4) Which factors have had impact on your willing to be a city councillor?
- 5) Could you tell about process of your nomination process?



6) Which of your characteristics do you think were effective in your nomination by the party?

7) Which of your characteristics/opinions do you think were effective in electorates' electing you? (Which of your characteristics could have been closer to them?)

8) Could you tell about what were the advantages and disadvantages of being a female candidate during election process?

9) Could you rank following from most important to least (10 to 1) according to impact on your municipal council membership nomination and election process? (List will be shown to participant)

- Political participation past.....
- Family support.....
- Support of friends or other relatives.....
- Electorate support.....
- Party itself.....
- Party woman branches.....
- Women organizations.....
- Municipality women council.....
- Personal characteristics.....
- Being woman.....

10) What are the reasons of women's not taking part enough in decision making mechanisms and nomination lists of political parties? Do you think that there are obstacles in front of women's entrance into local politics? If there, what are those obstacles in your opinion?

### **C. To what extent can women be effective after being elected as city councillor?**

1) To what extent do you think you can affect local politics? Could you make an evaluation among 1-10?

2) How much of it do you think that you can accomplish your plans now (after being elected) as council member? What are the main difficulties you face with?

3) Do you think that these difficulties pose an obstacle also for men?

4) Was/Is there any sides of being a female city councillor which ease your job? If there, in which ways it eases?

**D. In which ways do female members have impact on council decisions? What are the results of participation?**

1) In the municipality you are in, what are the emergent issues that need to be discussed?

2) Decisions are mostly taken about which issues in council meetings?

3) Up until now, as a council member what kind of issues you have brought/plan to bring to the council agenda?

4) What are the main problems and needs of women in your city?

5) Are there any activities you have being/plan to conduct for women? (Could you tell about those activities?)

6) Are any decisions related to women taken in meetings? (What kind of decisions are taken?)

7) In those decisions' being taken / come to the fore to what extent you or another woman have impact?

8) Is there any difference between the attitudes of female and male members while an issue concerning women is being discussed in council?

9) Have you ever brought an issue to the council meetings that concerning women (which will meet any of their demands)?

10) Have you ever had common attitude with female members from other parties at some context? If there are issues you have decide commonly, what are these?

11) Which identity is more effective in taking part in municipal council decision mechanism, 'woman identity' or 'party identity'? Are there any times that they contradict?

12) What kind of results or affects women may have as being city councilor and showing active participation?

13) Do you think that the existence of female members in councils create an impact different then male members? If your answer is yes, how so? If female members would be represented in half and half, do any changes occur in quality and quantity of activities and resolution of problems? Why?

**E. Female city councillors' perception and attitudes related to women's representation and participation in local governments**

1) To what extent is women's representation in local governments important? 1-not important at all 2-very important

2) Why do you think women's representation is important? Due to which of their characteristics women should exist/not exist in local governments?

3) To what extent do you think women are represented in local politics? 1-minumum level 2-very good level

4) To what extent do you think female members could be effective in municipal councils? Could you make an evaluation among 1-10? 1-minumum level 2- very good level

5) To what extent do you think female representatives in local politics could work out women and problems of women? Could you make an evaluation among 1-10? 1-minumum level 2- very good level

6) To what extent increasing women's rate of representation could affect the resolution of women's problems? Could you make an evaluation among 1-10? 1-minumum level 2- very good level

**F. What can be done for increasing women's participation level and effectiveness in local governments?**

- 1) What can be done or which methods could be used for increasing women's local political representation and effectiveness?
- 2) What do you think about co-presidency system? Is it a system that could be implemented in Turkey? To what extent female mayors that have been elected within this system are efficacious in decision making mechanisms?

## APPENDIX B: QUOTATIONS IN TURKISH

*“Ben ödüllü bir mimarım, Elazığ Belediyesi’ne faydam olacağı düşünüldüğü için beni seçtiler” (Mülakat 2).*

*“Toplumsal statü, mesleğimde iyi olmam, presentable olmam. Yabancı dil ve geçmiş...” (Mülakat 8).*

*“Eğitimli kadın her zaman kendine yer buluyor. Yabancı dil şart” (Mülakat 10).*

*“Bir bayan olduğum için... İslahiye’de başka bayan adayımız yoktu, ikincisi tahsil durumum.” (Mülakat 14).*

*“Komisyondayız, adam ‘Çabuk çabuk nereye imza atacağım onu söyle’ diyor, orada ne kadar önemli kararlar alınıyor. Ben düşünüyorum günlerce acaba ne karar alınacak ne geçecek diye adam ‘Benim 10-15 dakika vaktim var ben nereyi imzalayacağım?’ diyor. Bu böyle olmaz dersin sen kötü çobansın” (Mülakat 8).*

*“Yok sayılmak”, “ezilmişlik”, “başkaldırı”, “özgürlük” (Mülakat 6).*

*“Feodal bir kent burası” (Mülakat 15).*

*“Erkek zihniyeti” (Mülakat 20).*

*“Eşit temsil” (Mülakat 20).*

*“Daha hassas düşünüyoruz bence bayanlar daha titiz çalışıyor her konuda” (Mülakat 2)*

*“Hani kadınlar bazı konulara daha ince bakıyor, daha detaylı görebiliyor. Bazı konularda daha ılımlıdır” (Mülakat 3).*

*“Bayanların siyasette yer almasından yanayım çünkü bayanlar daha hassas. Duygusallıkları var...” (Mülakat 4).*

*“Kadınların olduğu ortam daha nezih oluyor. Daha yumuşak. Bu memleketteki meclis için de aynı şey geçerli, başka yerlerde de böyle. Kadınların olduğu yerde daha kibarlık, yumuşaklık nezaket hakim” (Mülakat 14).*

*“Kadınlar olmalı çünkü hiçbir erkek kadın gibi düşünemez. Kaldırımlardan bebek arabası geçişini talep ettik, onları erkekler bilemez” (Mülakat 9).*

*“Erkekler daha çok kişisel, ailesel çıkarlar için hareket ediyor ama kadın öyle bakmıyor daha çok toplumsal çıkarlar için” (Mülakat 16).*

*“Duygusallıkları var ama duygusal olmayacaklar kesinlikle. İşlerini düzgün yapacaklar, aslanlar gibi” (Mülakat 4).*

*“Türk boylarında genelde erkekler yöneticidir idarecidir, erkekler idare eder ama kadınlar yönetir. Ülkeleri, evleri. Kendi evimize en basitinden baktığımızda bile, evi yöneten kadındır, erkek idare eder, yöneten kadındır her zaman. Bence yerel yönetimlerde de. Şehri biz bir evimiz olarak gördüğümüzden, kadın da olmazsa olmaz....” (Mülakat 7).*

*“Benim eşim belediye başkan adayıydı. Onun için benim öyle bir düşüncem yoktu şansımın da olacağını düşünmüyordum. Hani ikimize birden olmazdı yani. Kesinlikle öyle bir düşüncem yoktu. Eşim olmayınca sonradan bana söylendi ben de kabul ettim” (Mülakat 1).*

*“Ben başvuruda bulundum. Ben buralı olmadığım için. Malatyalıyım, Malatya doğumluyum diye yazmıştım oraya, benim burada listede adımlı göstermemişler. Burada beni pohpohladılar, “varsın, varsın, varsın” dediler ondan sonra buradan liste geldi vekiller ve il başkanlarıyla, o listede benim adım yokmuş. Üst kurul başkanı da benim kuzenim, Güldal Akşit belki duymuşsunuzdur adını, kadın kolları genel başkanı, ona ben söylemiştim, liste ona gidince benim ismini görmemiş, niye Songül’ü yazmadınız demiş Songül’ü de yazın. Yani burada akılları sıra bir memleket milliyetçiliği oynadılar ama o da olmadı” (Mülakat 11).*

*“Evi biraz ihmal ettik. Evde bana ihtiyaç olmasına rağmen o seçim çalışmalarında evimi ihmal ettim tabi ki” (Mülakat 4).*

*“Sadece evle fazla ilgilenemiyorsun, hem çalışıyorsun hem evle ilgilenmen gerekiyor, birkaç parçaya bölünmek durumunda olduğun için. Biraz evi ihmal etme çocukları ihmal etme gibi bir durum oldu” (Mülakat 14).*

*“Bizim için daha zor tabi ki. Bütün toplantılara katılmak zorundayız. Geç saatlerde de bitiyor toplantılar” (Mülakat 2).*

*“Ama siyasette kadın olmak zor. Hem ev hanımı, hem çalışan hem de siyaset, bu üçünü bir arada yapmak zor” (Mülakat 9).*

*“Biz daha tam anlamıyla onların sorunlarına cevap olabilecek düzeye gelmedik. Bu büyük bir eksikliktir. Biz daha kendimiz o düzeye gelmediğimiz için ben nasıl senin seviyeni yükselteceğim? Biraz siyaset yapan kadınların hepsinin eksikliği var. Belki de hani gündemden kaynaklı, yaşadığımız coğrafyadan kaynaklı. Örneğin bir sabah uyandık 32 tane genç paramparça oldu. 2-3 gündür onlar için ayaktayız, belki bir sürü işimiz var belediyede, bir kadın olarak, bir meclis üyesi olarak. Ama yapamıyoruz” (Mülakat 16).*

*“Çünkü erkek arkadaşlar daha ön planda tutuluyor, ne kadar kadın sorunu da olsa erkeklerin sözü biz kadınlara daha çok geçiyor. Çünkü öyle yaşamışız öyle algılamışız” (Mülakat 20).*

*“Kadınlar daha şefkatli, daha ılımlı, olayların içine daha çok girebiliyorlar, daha ince düşünüyorlar” (Mülakat 7).*

*“Erkeklerle bir seviye getiriyor, ağızlarından argo bir şey kaçabiliyor orada kendilerini tutuyorlar” (Mülakat 10).*

*“Erkekler çok rahat olamıyor, bayan olunca hareketler kısıtlanıyor, kelimeleri seçerek konuşmak zorunda kalıyorlar” (Mülakat 13).*

*“Sorunların çözümünü daha hızlandırır” (Mülakat 11).*

*“Daha fazla kadınlara çocuklara yönelik kararlar çıkabilirdi” (Mülakat 14).*

*“Bir fikrin var, bir fikrim var desen, “git partinle konuş” diyorlar. Ama ben artık parti değil meclis üyesiyim diyorsun, ben parti değilim, Antep’i temsil eden birisiyim. Ben niye partiye gideyim, niye kadın kollarına gideyim, meclisteyiz 30 kişiyiz karar verme hakkımız var niye gideyim diyorum. “Sen yine de bir partiye git” diyorlar. Çok sinir bozucu. Bir şey yapamama hali” (Mülakat 8).*

*“Biz iki eşbaşkan olarak, erkek eşbaşkanımız kendisi iktidarında yapabileceklerimizin yükü vardır, ondan dolayı şu an Baykan’da iktidar olarak saygı sevgi gösterimi erkek arkadaştaadır. Hani iktidar dediğimiz yerde kendisi olduğu için. Bizim halk hala onun önemi ve bilgisinde değildir. Eşbaşkanlık sisteminin oturması zor oldu Baykan’da. Mesela biz başkan yardımcısı olarak görüliyoruz. Öyle algılıyorlar” (Mülakat 19).*

*“Kadınların içindeki gücün farkına varmasının sağlanması” (Mülakat 8).*

*“Kadının kendi içindeki bilincin uyandırılması” (Mülakat 13).*

*“Bunu yaparken de dediğim gibi bilgili, kendine güveni olan tanınan güven duyulan insanların tercih edilmesi her zaman önemli. Ahlaki yönden de olsun başarı yönünden de olsun” (Mülakat 4).*

*“Bilinçli kadınlara da daha çok yer vermek gerekiyor” (Mülakat 15).*

*“Kadının istekleri az da olsa yerine getirilmeli. Kadınlara kulak verilmeli, ne istiyor diye dinlemeli” (Mülakat 1).*

*“Aslında başta, kadın olmak biraz zor buralarda. O yönden belediye meclis üyesi veya başkan olmak da zor. Halen birçok erkek kabullenmiş değil” (Mülakat 15).*



## APPENDIX C: TURKISH SUMMARY

Yerel yönetimler, demokrasinin gelişmesinde, ekonomi, eğitim, sosyal hayat alanlarında kadın sorunlarının çözülmesinde anahtar bir role sahiptir. Özellikle belediyeler tarafından sağlanan yerel hizmetlerin büyük oranda kadınların gündelik yaşamlarını doğrudan etkileyen sonuçları vardır. Bu nedenle, kadınların yerel yönetimlerde temsili, yerel yönetimlerin bu türden işlevlerinin kalitesi üzerinde etkili olabilmektedir. Kadınların yerel siyasete aktif katılım mücadelesi yerel politikaların oluşması ve şekillenmesi açısından oldukça önemlidir. Kadınlar dünyanın, ulusların ve hatta en küçük yerel birimin dahi yarısını oluşturmakta ve potansiyel seçmen ve seçilmiş olmak üzere siyasetin her iki tarafında da durmaktadır.

Son yıllarda Türkiye’de yerel yönetimlerdeki kadın üye oranlarında gözle görülür bir artış mevcut olsa da, kadınların yerel siyaset örgütlenmelerindeki katılımı ve temsilinin yetersizliği açıktır. Türkiye’de kadınların gerek ulusal düzeyde gerek yerel düzeyde temsil oranı, 1934’te bu hakkı elde etmiş olmalarına rağmen hala çok düşüktür. Kadınların özellikle yerel seçimlerde çok düşük bir temsil oranına sahip olması, kentte ya da bölgede kadına dair sorunların ele alınmamasına, sorunların erkek merkezli belirlenip çözülmesine sebep olmaktadır. Yazın, düşük katılım düzeyinin nedenlerini sorgulayarak cinsiyet eşitliği kavramına vurgu yapmış ve katılım sorununu şimdiye dek bu kavram ile açıklamaya çalışmıştır. Ayrıca, kullanılan klasik yöntemler, Türkiye’de ulusal parlamentodaki kadın oranı ile yerel birimlerdeki oranın karşılaştırılması veya Türkiye ve diğer ülkelerin bu anlamda kıyasıdır. Ancak kadınların belediye yönetimlerine dahil olmasının veya olmamasının nedenleri ile kadın katılımının yerel politikaları nasıl etkilediği hali hazırdaki çalışmalarda yeterince anlaşılmamış ve sorgulanmamıştır. Bu sorun önemlidir çünkü kadın üyeler meclis gündemindeki konulara ilişkin birtakım politika ve hizmetlerin yerine getirilmesinde ve bunların “belediye politikası” olarak benimsenmesinde aktif rol oynamaktadır.

Belediye meclislerindeki kadın üyeler bir kararı şekillendirebilmekte veya parti üyeliği, yaş veya eğitim gibi diğer tüm ayrımları dışarıda bırakarak cinsiyet temelinde o karara etki edebilmektedir. Örneğin, Türkiye’de kadın belediye meclis üyelerinin varlığı kadınların emek piyasasında yeterince yer alamaması, kadına yönelik şiddet ve maruz kaldıkları diğer sömürüler gibi belirli bazı kritik konuların belediye meclislerinin gündemine getirilmesi olasılığını arttırmaktadır.

Bu sorunların ışığında, çalışmada iki temel araştırma sorusu incelenmektedir. Bunlar, Türkiye’de belediye meclislerinde kadınların temsilini etkileyen unsurların neler olduğu ve kadın belediye meclis üyeleri siyaset yapım sürecini ve belediye meclisindeki siyasi temsili ne derece ve ne yönde etkilediğidir. Çalışmada, yerel yönetimlerde kadınların siyasal katılımı, belediye meclislerindeki karar mekanizmasına olan etkileri ve kadınların katılımını arttırabilecek uygulamalara bakış açıları kadın belediye başkanları/eş başkanlar ve kadın belediye meclis üyeleri gözünden incelenmektedir. Siirt, Elazığ ve Gaziantep şehirlerinin örnek olay olarak seçildiği araştırmada, veri toplama metodu olarak anket ve derinlemesine mülakat kullanılmış, bu şehirlerden temsili olarak seçilen belediyelerden toplam 20 kadın belediye başkanı/eş başkan ve belediye meclis üyeleriyle Temmuz 2015’te yüz yüze görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Çalışmada kadın belediye meclis üyelerine, kadınların siyasete girişi, siyasi yaşamlarında tanıklık ettikleri olumlu ve olumsuz durumlar, karar alma mekanizmalarında ve katılımlarının kota veya diğer araçlarla arttırılması ile ilgili neler hissettiklerine dair sorular sorulmuştur. Bu bağlamda, çalışmanın sonuçlarının, kadınların yerel siyasete katılımıyla ilgili teşvik edici ve engelleyici unsurları ortaya koyması ve kadının yerel siyasete katılımının sonuçlarına ışık tutması beklenmektedir.

Demokratik yönetimin temel amacı ve demokrasinin devamlılığının temel ilkesi kabul edilen siyasi katılım; seçimlerde oy kullanma, yönetimde görev alma, hükümetle işbirliği yoluyla sorumluluk alma, siyasal iktidarı elde etme ve yararlanma, karar mekanizmalarına katılım sağlama veya karar verici konuma geçme şeklinde gerçekleşmektedir. Kadınlar dünyanın, ulusların ve hatta en küçük yerel birimin dahi

yarısını oluşturmakta ve potansiyel seçmen ve seçilmiş olmak üzere siyasi katılımın her iki tarafında da durmaktadır. Buna karşılık, kadının siyasal yaşama katılımının ilk basamağı kabul edilebilecek yerel yönetimlerde kadının temsili sınırlıdır.

Kadınların yerel yönetimlere katılımının arttırılması siyasal alandaki varlığını güçlendirmek isteyen bu dezavantajlı grup için oldukça önemlidir. Kara'ya göre yeniden üretim ve kolektif tüketimi idare eden yerel yönetimlerin kadınların günlük yaşamları üzerinde doğrudan etkileri bulunmaktadır (Kara, 2012). Bu yüzden onların yerel yönetimlerde temsili yerel hizmetlerin kalitesi ve niteliğini büyük ölçüde değiştirecektir. Kadınların siyasi katılımının ise iki boyutu bulunmaktadır; birincisi yerel yönetimlerde siyasal aktörler olarak söz sahibi olan kadınların katılımı anlamında, ikincisi ise kentsel hizmetler ve kentin kullanımı bağlamında yerel yönetimlerin kararlarından etkilenen kadınların katılımı anlamındadır. Kadınların siyasete katılımı üzerinde belirleyici olan faktörlerden bazıları cinsiyet temelli iş bölümü, sosyo-ekonomik ve kültürel yapı, siyasi partilerin kadın kolları ve siyasi bilinç - ilgi olarak sayılabilir.

Mevcut durumu analiz edebilmek adına kadınların yerel yönetimlerde temsiline ilişkin veri incelendiğinde, 2004 ve 2009 yerel seçimlerdeki düşük temsil oranlarına rağmen üç grupta da sürekli bir artış gözlemlenmektedir. 2014 yılına gelindiğinde, 2009-2014 arasındaki artış oranının 2004-2009 döneminden önemli ölçüde fazla olduğu için, kadınların siyasete katılım oranında gözle görülür bir gelişme olduğunu söylemek yanlış olmayacaktır. Kadınların belediye başkanlığında yer alma oranı %0,9 iken il genel meclisi üyeliğinde %3,3 ve belediye meclisi üyeliğinde %4,2'dir. 2014 yerel seçimlerinde bu sayılar sırasıyla %2,9, %4,8 ve %10,7'ye yükselmiştir. 2014 yerel seçim sonuçları büyükşehir belediye başkanlığı, belediye başkanlığı, belediye meclis üyeliği ve il genel meclis üyeliği bazında değerlendirildiğinde, kadın adayların son yerel seçimlerde özellikle belediye başkanlığı seçimlerinde başarılı olduğu görülmektedir. Ancak başarının daha büyük payını (%10,7) diğer kademelere kıyasla, belediye meclis üyeliği almaktadır. Bu katılım sorununun hem nedeni hem de sonucunun önemli bir boyutudur. Durum Türkiye'deki siyasi partilerin nicelikte

az ama karar alma mekanizmalarında siyasi anlamda daha güç sahibi pozisyonlara kadın aday göstermekten imtina ettikleri şeklinde yorumlanabilir. Bu aynı zamanda belediye meclis üyeliğinin aktif siyasal yaşamda yer almak isteyen kadın adaylar için daha erişilebilir olduğunu göstermektedir.

Çalışmada daha önce de belirtildiği gibi Siirt, Elazığ ve Gaziantep illeri belirlenmiştir. Evren bu kentlerdeki kadın belediye meclis üyelerinin bulunduğu merkez ve ilçe belediyelerinin kadın meclis başkan ve üyeleri olarak belirlenmiştir. Örneklem iller rastgele seçilmemiş, Doğu ve Güneydoğu Anadolu Bölgesinde yer almaları ve coğrafi yakınlıkları anlamında dikkat çekicidir. Ayrıca Doğu ve Güneydoğu Anadolu Bölgelerinde kadınların yerel siyasete katılımı üzerine yapılmış çalışmalar az sayıdadır. Tekil olarak ele alındığında ise Elazığ farklı etnik kökenden insanları bünyesinde barındırmasının seçim sonuçlarına yansımaları ve farklı siyasi eğilime sahip olması bakımından önemliken, Gaziantep bu üç il içerisinde iktisadi anlamda en gelişmiş ve sanayileşmesi en yüksek seviyede olan bir büyükşehir belediyesi olması açısından önemlidir. Siirt ise hem Elazığ gibi farklı etnik kökenden insanların (Türk, Arap, Kürt) bir arada yaşadığı hem de çalışmanın alt araştırma sorularından biri olan eş başkanlık sisteminin hayata geçirilmeye çalışıldığı bir kettir. Bu açılardan çalışma örneklemini, karşılaştırmalar yapılmasına da müsaittir.

Çalışma kapsamında, Elazığ, Gaziantep ve Siirt'te yer alan ve kadın belediye başkanı veya üyeye sahip 13 belediyedeki 40 kadın üyeden, toplam 20 kadın üye ile görüşülmüştür. Araştırma bütün ilçe belediyelerinde yürütülmemiş, araştırma konusunun kadınların karar alma süreçlerindeki rolleri olması nedeniyle, kadın üye oranlarının görece yüksek olduğu 9 belediyede gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bunun yanı sıra Maden, Oğuzeli ve Pervari gibi ilçelerdeki kadın meclis üyelerine ulaşılammıştır. Ancak hali hazırda kadın meclis üyeleriyle görüşülen belediyeler, hem ilçelerin nüfusu bakımından hem de farklı siyasi partilerden meclis üyesine sahip olmaları bakımından yeterli görülmüştür.

Bu bağlamda Elazığ'daki merkez belediyesi ve 10 ilçeden en yüksek kadın üyeye sahip olan belediyeler belirlenmiş ve Merkez, Ağın ve Karakoçan Belediyeleri örneklem olarak seçilmiştir. Gaziantep'teki iki merkez ilçe belediyesi (Şahinbey ve Şehitkamil) ve 7 ilçeden en yüksek kadın üyeye sahip olan belediyelerden biri (İslahiye) ve Siirt'teki merkez belediyesi ve 6 ilçeden yine en yüksek kadın üyeye sahip olan belediyelerden bazıları (Baykan, Eruh) belirlenmiştir. Üç kentteki kadın meclis üyesi oranları sırasıyla %8.1, %5.6 ve %15.4'tür.

Belediyelerin seçiminde yerel iktidara sahip parti de dikkate alınmıştır. Bu bağlamda Elazığ'daki söz konusu belediyelerin ikisi AKP (Merkez, Ağın), biri HDP (Karakoçan) iktidardır. Gaziantep'teki tüm belediyeler AKP iktidardır ancak İslahiye CHP'li kadın meclis üyesine sahip olması bakımından önemlidir. Siirt'te ise görüşülen belediyelerin tümü HDP iktidardır. Böylece araştırma bulgularına siyasi iktidarın etkileri de yansıtılmaya çalışmıştır. Görüşmeye katılan belediye meclis üyelerinden 11'i AKP (Gaziantep'te 7, Elazığ'da 3, Siirt'te 1 kişi olmak üzere), 6'sı HDP (Siirt'te 5, Elazığ'da 1 olmak üzere), 2'si MHP (Elazığ'da) ve 1'i CHP (Gaziantep'te) mensubudur.

Çalışmada derinlemesine mülakat yönetimi uygulanmıştır. Bu kapsamda görüşülen kadın meclis üyelerine demografik özelliklerini içeren sorular haricinde, araştırma amacına yönelik sorular yöneltilmiş ve 36 sorudan oluşan bir soru formundan yararlanılmıştır. Mülakatlar 2015 Temmuz ayı içerisinde gerçekleştirilmiştir. Çalışmaların derinlemesine mülakat yöntemi olması nedeniyle üyelerle birebir yüz yüze görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Görüşmelerin temel amacı; belediye meclislerinde karar alma süreçlerinde kadın meclis üyelerinin bazı konularda, diğer farklılıkları bir tarafa bırakıp cinsiyet temelinde bir araya gelerek kararlara etki edip etmediklerinin araştırılması ve belediye meclislerinde kadınların eksik temsiline gerekçeleri ile bu durumun karar alma sürecini nasıl etkilediğinin ortaya konulmasıdır. Görüşmeler sırasında beş temel alanda, üyelerin görüş, öneri ve değerlendirmeleri öğrenilmeye çalışılmıştır: Kadın meclis üyelerinin demografik özelliklerinin belirlenmesi, kadın meclis üyelerinin yerel siyasete giriş öykülerinin öğrenilmesi, kadınların eksik

temsili ve bu temsilin arttırılması için kullanılabilecek yöntemlere ilişkin değerlendirmeler, meclisin işleyiş süreci ve kadınların bu sürece ve alınan kararlara etkilerinin değerlendirilmesi ve eksik temsilin siyasi partilerin özellikleri ile ilgili olup olmadığının değerlendirilmesi. Cevapların değerlendirilmesinde ve gruplandırılmasında NVİVO programından yararlanılmıştır.

Elazığ, Gaziantep ve Siirt illeri merkez ve ilçe belediyelerinde yürütülen çalışma sonucunda çalışmaya katılan kadın üyelerin büyük çoğunluğunun aynı zamanda mensubu oldukları partide kadın kolları üyesi oldukları görülmektedir. Bununla birlikte, katılımcılara meclis üyeliği adaylığı ve seçim sürecine en çok etki eden unsurlar sorulduğunda farklı cevaplar da elde edilmiştir. Katılımcıların tümü genel olarak kadınların sadece kadın olduğu için siyasette yer almaları gerektiği konusunda hemfikir olmakla beraber, sadece %30 oranında ilk sıraya “kadın olmak” unsurunu koymuştur. Öne çıkan diğer unsurlar ise aile ve parti desteğidir.

Katılımcıların mesleklerine yönelik profillerine bakıldığında daha çok aktif çalışma hayatından uzak kadınların belediye meclis üyeliğine seçildiğini görülmektedir. En yüksek oranı emekli ve ev hanımı kadınlar oluşturmakta iken, ikinci sırada özel sektör çalışanı veya mesai saatleri daha keskin sınırlarla belirli olan kamu personeline nazaran “görece” esnek çalışma yaşamına sahip öğretmenler gelmektedir. Belediye meclis üyeliğine ekonomik anlamda kazanç getiren işleri yani meslekleri yoğun olan kadınlardan ziyade yukarıda tasvir edilen kadınlar seçilmiştir. Ayrıca, çıkan bir diğer sonuç ise HDP’li meclis üyelerinin büyük oranda ekonomik bağımsızlığı olmayan kadınlar olduğu, öte yandan AKP’li meclis üyelerinin mühendislik, avukatlık, mimarlık gibi serbest meslekleri icra eden, geniş profile mesleklere sahip olduğudur.

Bundan başka, kadın meclis üyelerinin yerel yönetimlerde kadın temsili ve katılımı konusundaki algı ve tutumlarını anlamak adına katılımcılara derecelendirme içeren sorular sorulmuştur. “*Yerel yönetimlerde kadının temsili sizce ne kadar önemli?*” konusunda tüm katılımcıların 7 ve üzeri puan vererek ortalama 9.5/10 olarak

değerlendirme yapmaları ve ortak cevaplar vermeleri, sorunun önemi konusunda herkesin mutabık olduğunu göstermektedir.

Ancak katılımcılardan 11'i kadınların yerel siyasette ne derece temsil edildiklerinin sorulduğu soruda, bir diğer deyişle pratikte, 5 puanının altında bir değerlendirme yapmıştır. Dolayısıyla kadın belediye meclis üyeleri ve belediye başkanlarının Türkiye'deki mevcut durum ile ilgili olarak daha umutsuz bir tablo gördüklerini söyleyebiliriz. Kadınların yerel siyasette ne derece temsil edildiğine ilişkin sorunun parti kimliğine göre farklılık gösterip göstermediğini analiz edilmesi konuya yaklaşımda meclis üyelerinin tutumlarını anlamak açısından önemlidir. 6 HDP'li meclis üyesinden 4'ü bu soruya, 6 ve üzeri (10) puan verirken görüşme yapılan AKP'li meclis üyelerinden %72'si 5 ve altı puan vermiştir. Örneklemdaki kentlere bazında bakıldığında, Siirt merkez ve ilçe belediyelerindeki belediye meclis üyelerinin yarısı bu soruya verilmiş ve diğer örneklem il ve ilçelerdeki üyeler tarafından verilmeyen en yüksek puanı (10) vermiştir. Öte yandan bu kategorideki en düşük puanlı 2 cevaptan (1 puan) birini yine Siirt'te merkez belediyesindeki bir meclis üyesi vermiştir.

Üç kentin ortak özelliklerinden biri mecliste kadın üyelerin varlığının erkek üyelerden nasıl farklı etki yarattığı konusunda ortaya çıkmaktadır. Görüşmecilerin büyük bir çoğunluğu iki ana çizgide cevap vermektedir. İlk grup meclis toplantılarının iklimi ve ortamı açısından kadınların varlığını önemserken, diğer grup alınan kararların içeriğinde olabilecek değişikliklere işaret etmektedir.

*“Belediye meclislerinde kadın üyelerin ne derece etkili olabildiğini düşünüyorsunuz?”* sorusuna ise katılımcılar ortalama 5.9 puan vermiştir. Oran yine düşük olmakla beraber, bu durumun kadınların belediye başkanlığı veya diğer kademelere nazaran Türkiye'de belediye meclis üyeliği konumunda daha etkin şekilde temsil edildiğine dair bir algıyla ilgisi olduğu söylenebilir. Diğer yandan, *“Yerel siyaseti ne derece etkileyebildiğinizi düşünüyorsunuz?”* sorusuna cevap veren 17 katılımcıdan 15 tanesinin 7 ve üzeri puan verdiği ve ortalamanın 7.7 olduğu göz

önünde bulundurulduğunda ise, katılımcıların yerel siyaseti etkileyebilmeleri konusunda kendilerini başarılı buldukları söylenebilir.

Bununla beraber, yerel siyasetteki kadın temsilcilerin kadın ve kadın sorunlarına ne düzeyde çözüm üretebildikleri sorusuna ilişkin katılımcıların 1-10 arası verdikleri puanlara bakıldığında ortalama 6,6 ile katılımcıların bu konuda daha az umutlu olduğu söylenebilir.

Diğer yandan, katılımcılara sorulan “*Sizce kadınların belediye meclisi üyesi olmalarının ve aktif katılım göstermelerinin ne gibi sonuçları ya da etkileri oluyor?*” sorusuna katılımcıların verdikleri cevapların Nvivo’da analizi ile temelde 6 başlığa ulaşılmıştır: Vatandaşların sorunlarının daha kolay iletilmesi (6 katılımcı), kadınların cesaretlendirilmesi (4 katılımcı), meclis toplantılarının daha seviyeli geçmesi (2 katılımcı), karar mekanizmalarında en az erkekler kadar baskın olma (2 katılımcı), ‘saygın bir kişilik’ kazanma (1 katılımcı), sosyal çevre edinme (1 katılımcı). Bu kategorizasyonda parti kimliğinin ön plana çıkmadığı görülmektedir. Nitekim, soruya yanıt veren katılımcıların %38’i kadınların siyasete katılımının kadın temsilcilerin bulundukları bölgede yaşayan ve farklı profildeki vatandaşların (kadın, yaşlı, çocuk, esnaf) sorunlarının iletiminde önemli rol oynamasıyla sonuçlandığını dile getirmiş ve bu %38’lik dilimin içinde hem AKP hem HDP’li belediye meclis üyeleri yer almıştır. Aynı şekilde kadınların aktif katılımının sonucu olarak kadınların daha cesaretlenmelerini gören ¼’lük dilimde hem AKP, hem HDP hem de MHP’li üyeler bulunmaktadır.

Ayrıca, “*Kadınların yerel siyasal temsilini ve etkinliğini arttırabilmek için neler yapılabilir, hangi yöntemler uygulanabilir?*” sorusuna verilen cevaplar yine Nvivo programında kategorize edildiğinde şu başlıkların net bir şekilde ortaya çıktığı görülmektedir: Kadının içindeki bilinç ve farkındalığın uyandırılması (6 katılımcı), kadınların eğitimi ve örgütlülüğünün sağlanması (6 katılımcı), kadınların siyasete ilgi ve isteklerinin arttırılması için teşviki (5 katılımcı), erkeklerin bakış açısını değiştirmek (1 katılımcı), kadınların sorunlarına kulak vermek (1 katılımcı).



Katılımcıların %32'sinin dile getirdiği, “kadının bilinç ve özfarkındalığının artırılması”ndan kastın kadınların içindeki gücün farkına varmasının sağlanması ve kadının kendi içindeki bilincin uyandırılması olduğu söylenebilir. Kadınların siyasette temsilini arttırabilecek yöntemler ile ilgili olarak yalnızca 1 katılımcı erkeklerin bakış açısındaki değişimden bahsetmiş ve soruya *‘kadınların kendi farkındalığının arttırılması’* şeklinde cevap veren, Elazığ Merkez Belediyesi’ndeki bir üye aynı zamanda siyasi partilerin bu konuda inisiyatif almaları gerekliliğine atıfta bulunmuştur. Özetle, kadınlar kadının sorunlarına yine kadınların çare olacağını düşünmektedir.

Çalışma sonucunda elde edilen ilginç bulgulardan biri ise üyelerin eş başkanlık ile ilgili algı ve tutumlarıdır. Hali hazırda eş başkanlık sistemi uygulanan belediyelerdeki meclis üyeleri istisnasız şekilde eş başkanlık sistemine olumlu bakarken, bu sistemin uygulanmadığı belediyelerdeki meclis üyeleri arasında bu konuda bir mutabakat bulunmamaktadır. Mensubu oldukları parti eş başkanlık sistemini uygulamasa da bu üyeler parti çizgisi dışında, kadınların katılımını nicelik olarak arttıracığı ve kadınların sorunlarına çözüm üretebileceği gerekçeleriyle eş başkanlık sistemine olumlu bakmaktadır.

Derecelendirme soruları haricinde, katılımcılara kendilerini başarılı bulup bulmadıklarının anlaşılabilmesi için belediye meclis üyeliğine seçilmeden önce planladıkları projelerin ne kadarını gerçekleştirebildikleri sorulmuştur. Örneklem üç il karşılaştırıldığında, Elazığ’daki üyelerin yarısının ve Gaziantep’teki üyelerin %37.5’nin planlarını hayata geçiremedikleri görülmüştür. Daha da kötüsü, Siirt’teki katılımcıların hiçbiri zihinlerindeki projeleri hayata geçirmede başarılı olmadıklarını düşünmektedir. Katılımcıların karşılaştıkları temel zorluklar yine Nvivo’da tasnif edildiğinde, kadınların planlarını gerçekleştirememe sebeplerinin kadın belediye meclis üyelerinin yaklaşan (2015 genel seçimleri) seçimler, belediyelerin kapasite ve olanaklarının sınırlılığı, muhalefet partisine mensup olma nedeniyle belediye meclisinde azınlık konumunda olma, bürokratik süreçler ve erkek-egemen bakış açıları olduğu görülmektedir. Gaziantep Şahinbey Belediyesinden bir meclis üyesi

zihninde oluřan bir proje veya fikri dięer partilere mensup üyelerin ile paylařtıęında, öncelikle kendi partisi ile görüşüp mutabakat saęlaması konusunda dięer parti üyelerinin ısrarcı olduklarından yakınmaktadır. Bu yüzden kimi meclis üyeleri konunun doęasına bakılmaksızın parti kimlięine göre tarafgir tutum takınılmasından ve ideolojik farklılıkların yeni projelerin önünün açılması konusunda engel oluřturmasından řikayet etmektedir.

Dięer yandan, kadınların yerel siyasete katılımında karşı karşıya kaldıkları sorunlar düşünöldüğünde, katılımcıların toplantıların geę saatlere kadar sürmesinden řikayetçi oldukları görölmektedir. Doęu ve Güneydoęu'daki kadın siyasetçiler řu ikilemde kalmaktadır: Ya toplantılara katılmayıp erkek üyelerin gözünde saygınlıklarını yitirecek ve karar mekanizmalarında yok sayılacaklar ya da toplantılara katılıp 'hal ve hareketlerinde' dikkatli olacak, kadınlıklarına leke sürdürmeyeceklerdir.

Ayrıca çalıřma kapsamında katılımcılara, bulundukları kent/ilçelerde kadınların en büyük sorunu ve ihtiyaçlarının ne olduęu sorulmuř ve en sık yinelenen sorunların istihdam ve kadınların ekonomik baęımsızlıęı meselesi olduęu görölmüřtür. Sosyal aktiviteler ikinci sırada gelirken, bölgenin olduęu kadar aslında Türkiye'nin de ciddi bir sorunu olan kadına yönelik řiddet örneklem tüm kentlerdeki katılımcılar tarafından ifade edilmiřtir. Biraz daha detaya inildięinde kadının sokakta yürürken kendini özgür ve rahat hissedebilmesi mevzusu dikkat çekmektedir. Gaziantep'teki katılımcıların kadınların günlük yařamdaki huzuru konusunu bu bağlamda dillendirmemesinin, Elazığ ve Siirt kentleri ile kıyaslandığında Gaziantep'in görece daha az muhafazakar bir yer olması ile ilgisi olduęu söylenebilir.

Kadın meclis üyeleri ve belediye başkanlarının meclis toplantılarının yönünü deęiřtirmeleri bağlamında etkilerinin anlaşılması için bölgedeki kadınlara yönelik mevcut olan veya planlanan aktivitelerin ne olduęu öğrenilmeye çalıřılmıřtır. Sorunların ne olduęunu anlamaya yönelik bir önceki soru ile birlikte deęerlendirildięinde, yine eęitim ve ekonomik baęımsızlık konularının en çok üzerine düşünölen iki mesele olmaları gelecek vaad etmektedir. Belediye meclisi

kurumsal olarak veya kadın siyasetçiler bireysel olarak bu konu üzerinde çalışabilmektedir. Katılımcılar kadına yönelik şiddet, sağlık ve çocuk gelişimi gibi konulara ilişkin çeşitli eğitim ve seminerler düzenlediklerini ifade etmektedir.

Sonuç olarak, siyasal katılım cinsiyet temelli bir bakış açısı ile değerlendirildiğinde, kadınların siyasi katılımının ancak alt düzeyde kaldığı ve kadınların nicelik olarak yeteri kadar temsil edilmemesinin yanında nitelik olarak da belirli bir katılım düzeyini aşamadığı görülmektedir. Pek çok ülke, kadınların katılımlarını artırmaya yönelik çeşitli politikalar ve stratejiler geliştirirken, mevcut durumda Türkiye bu politika ve stratejileri geliştirme konusunda yetersiz kalmaktadır. Oysaki kadınların yetki ve karar alma süreçleri dahil siyasal katılımları nitelik ve işlev bakımından yerel siyaseti olumlu olarak etkilemektedir. Eksikliği ise, kentte ya da bölgede kadına dair sorunların ele alınmamasına, sorunların erkek merkezli belirlenip çözülmesine sebep olmaktadır. Araştırmanın bulgularına göre kadın üyeler yerel yönetimlerde kadınların temsilinin çok önemli olduğunu düşünmektedir. Buna karşılık hem temsil oranının düşüklüğünü vurgulamakta hem de yerel siyaseti yeterince etkileyemediklerinden şikâyet etmektedir. Görüşme yapılan belediye meclis üyeleri yerel siyasal temsili arttırmaya yönelik öneriler konusunda, kadınların içinde var olduğuna inandıkları siyasi bilincin uyandırılması ve temsil edilen kadın sayısının artması gerektiğini düşünmektedir. Çalışmanın sonuçlarına göre, kadınlar bulundukları kentteki, kentin kullanımı ve kendilerini ilgilendiren diğer birtakım konularda politika üretimi ve karar mekanizmalarını ciddi ölçüde şekillendirebilme potansiyeline sahiptir ve bu konuda kendi potansiyellerinin de farkında olmalıdır. Fakat bununla eş düzeyde kadınların eğitimi, örgütlenmesi ve siyasi katılım konusunda fırsat eşitliği ve kota gibi uygulamalar da göz önünde bulundurulmalıdır. Özellikle siyasi partilere bu konuda büyük görev düşmektedir.

Katılımcıların kadınların eksik temsil sorununu çözme konusunda kota vb. diğer uygulamalar hakkında ne düşündükleri sorulduğunda, birçoğunun bu tarz uygulamalardan haberdar oldukları ve olumlu baktıkları görülmüştür. Ne var ki, bu tip uygulamalardan öte katılımcılar kadınların yerel siyasete çekilmesi ve yerel

meclislerde daha çok yer alabilmeleri ile ilgili çözümü kadınların kendi kişisel özellikleri ve çabalarında gördükleri aşıkardır. Bu çalışma bulguları değerlendirildiğinde kadının çareyi yine kadında aradığı görülmektedir. Çünkü içinde siyasete girme isteği barındıran, aday olan veya çok ciddi bir siyasi geçmişe sahip olan kadınlar eğer kendileri başarılı olabilirlerse diğer kadınları da buna inandıracak ve teşvik edebilecektir.

Bunun yanı sıra, katılımcıların eşbaşkanlık uygulamaları konusundaki algı ve tutumlarına bakıldığında ise, bu konuda bir mutabakat sağlanamadığı görülmüştür. Bulgular ışığında, her ne kadar bu sistemi olumlu bulanların sayısı oransal olarak fazla olsa da katılımcılar sistemin halihazırdaki işleyiş biçiminde aksaklıklar olduğunu, henüz oturmadığını ve en önemlisi kabullenilmediğini ifade etmektedir. Yine de bu katılımcılar kadınların yerel meclislerde temsil edilebilirliğinin artması ve karşılarında kadın belediye başkanı (eşbaşkan) gördüklerinde sorunlarını daha kolay aktarabilmeleri açısından bu uygulamayı desteklemektedir. Öte yandan, bu yeni uygulamayı olumsuz bulan diğer grubun ise kendi içinde farklı gerekçeleri bulunmaktadır. Bir kesim zaten bir belediye başkanı varken ikinci bir başkanın olması ile ilgili, iktidarın bölünmesi açısından endişe duymakta ve bu durumun kaotik bir yapı oluşturacağını öngörmektedir. Diğer kesim ise böyle bir şeyin gerekli olmadığını, kadınların zaten birey olarak kendilerini temsil edebilecek yetiye sahip olduklarını, birilerinin veya bir erkeğin 'eşi' olmalarının gerekmediğini savunmaktadır.

Katılımcılara göre, belediye meclisinde kadın üyelerin varlığı erkek üyelerden farklı bir etki yaratmaktadır. Bu etki iki türlü olmaktadır; meclis toplantılarının daha seviyeli ve ılımlı bir havada geçmesini sağlamakta ve kadınların orada yer alması alınan kararların içeriğini farklı şekillendirebilmektedir. Örneğin, kadın sorunları meclis gündemine öncelik olarak taşınabilmektedir. Kadınlara yönelik daha çok karar çıkabilmektedir. Vatandaşlar sorunlarını daha kolay iletebilmektedir.

Katılımcıların yaşadıkları kenti ilgilendiren ve bulundukları mecliste öncelikli görüşülmesi gereken konuların ne olduğuna dair soru analiz edildiğinde kadın üyelerin ulaşım, trafik ve otopark sorunu gibi klasik anlamdaki belediye hizmetleri ile aynı oranda “kadın ve kadınlara bakış açısı” konusunu işaret etmeleri umut vericidir. Bu açıdan, belediye meclislerindeki kadın üyelerin varlığının “izin verildiğinde” kararların içeriği ve alınma yöntemine ciddi şekilde etki etme potansiyeli taşıdığı söylenebilir.

Bunlara ek olarak, belediyelerin elektrik, yol, su, doğalgaz gibi akla gelen ilk hizmetlerinin yanı sıra Kadın Sağlığı Merkezi, yaşlı, hasta ve çocuk bakım hizmeti, Sığınma Evi açılması için girişimlerde bulunması gerekmektedir. Çünkü yerel hizmetlerin kadın sorunlarına da cevap verecek şekilde genişlemesi aslında kadınların ekonomik ve sosyal hayattaki kırılganlığını da doğrudan olumlu yönde etkileyecek ve siyasi katılımlarına katkıda bulunabilecektir.

## APPENDIX D

### TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

#### ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü ☐

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü ☐

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü ☐

Enformatik Enstitüsü ☐

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü ☐

#### YAZARIN

Soyadı :  
Adı :  
Bölümü :

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) :

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans ☐ Doktora ☐

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐
3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz. ☐

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: