

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN REPRESENTATION, GENDER AND
SOCIAL CAPITAL: CASE OF FEMALE MUHTARS IN ANKARA

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ABSTRACT

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN REPRESENTATION, GENDER AND SOCIAL CAPITAL: CASE OF FEMALE MUHTARS IN ANKARA

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Although women are expected to be more visible at municipal and neighborhood levels due to its accessibility, their participation to local politics is even lower than the national level in Turkey. This thesis argues that there is a relationship between women's political representation and social capital. The examination of this relationship built on the in-dept interviews with the 22 female muhtars Ankara. In Turkey's administrative structure, position of the muhtarship is described as the bridge between the local citizens and local authorities. Therefore, they're expected to assist local authorities in the process of service provision by giving information about the needs and demands of the neighborhood. This direct contact with both the citizens and authorities can provide an alternative route for women to participate in local politics. As a muhtar these women use their social capital as both enabler during their candidacy and strategy during their incumbency to gain recognition and to be engaged in service distribution processes.

So, this thesis analyzes what are the main motives behind women's candidacy for muhtarship and how does women's social capital, accumulated through their communal

relations as well as individual life experience, help to participate in politics and to overcome the obstacles they've faced. Based on the in-dept interviews, this is found that social capital contributes to women's representation in local politics effectively. However, patriarchal relations, male dominated political culture, gendered division of labor pose some challenges to social capital.

Keywords: Gender Inequality in Local Politics, Gender and Representation, Social Capital and Gender, Muhtarship

ÖZ

SİYASİ TEMSİL, TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYET VE SOSYAL SERMAYE ARASINDAKİ İLİŞKİ: ANKARA'DAKİ KADIN MUHTARLAR ÖRNEĞİ

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Türkiye’de kadınların siyasetteki katılım ve temsillerinin yetersiz olduğu açıkça görülmektedir. Bu yetersiz temsil beklenilenin aksine yerel ölçekte daha da belirgindir. Bu tez kadınların siyasi temsili ile sahip oldukları sosyal sermaye arasında bir ilişki olduğunu öne sürmekte ve bu ilişkiyi Ankara’daki kadın muhtarlarla yapılan görüşmelerden edindiği bulgularla test etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Muhtarın Türkiye’nin yönetim yapısındaki rolü vatandaşlarla üst kurumlar arasındaki köprüye benzetilmektedir. Muhtarın görevi belediye gibi yerel yönetim kurumlarını mahallelerinin ihtiyaç ve taleplerine ilişkin bilgilendirmek olarak belirlenmiştir. Hem yerelde vatandaşlarla hem de kamu otoriteleriyle direk temas içinde olması, muhtarlığı özellikle kadınların yerel siyasete katılımında ulaşılabilir bir alternatif haline getirmektedir. Nitekim son yıllarda kadın muhtar sayısında önemli bir artış gözlemlenmektedir. Kadınların sahip olduğu sosyal sermaye onlara iki şekilde katkı sağlamaktadır; hem adaylıkları sırasında muhtar olmalarını mümkün kılan özellikleri (enabler) oluşturur. Hem de görevleri süresince hizmet dağıtım sürecine dahil olmada strateji olarak kullanılmaktadır. Kadınların yerel siyasete katılımında sosyal sermayenin

rolünü anlayabilmek için Ankara'nın merkez ilçelerinde görev yapan 22 kadın muhtarın katıldığı bir saha araştırması yürütülmüştür.

Tez süresince, kadınların muhtarlığa aday olma kararını almasında etkili olan nedenlerin neler olduğu, yerelde kurduğu ilişki ağları ve yaşadığı tecrübelerin birikiminden oluşan sosyal sermayelerini nasıl yerel siyasete katılmakta ve karşılaştığı zorlukları aşmakta kullandıkları incelenmiştir. Derinlemesine görüşmeler sonucunda sosyal sermayenin kadınların yerel siyasetteki temsiline katkı sağladığı, ancak erkek egemen siyasi kültür, toplumda yerleşen cinsiyetçi iş bölümü gibi ataerkil ilişkilerin sosyal sermayenin sağladığı olanakları kısıtladığı anlaşılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yerel Siyasette Cinsiyet Eşitsizliği, Cinsiyet ve Temsil, Sosyal Sermaye ve Cinsiyet, Muhtarlık

To my beloved family...

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between us, and to Can Berk URAS who has never got tired of supporting me with his mostly encouraging but sometimes critical words.

Last but not least, I hope this study can inspire other researchers who concern about equality of women in all sphere of life and can be a small step for further studies about women's struggle for equal representation.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Understanding and demonstrating how gender inequality has been (re)constructed over time through certain social, cultural, spatial and political arrangements is vital part of the feminist research. Griselda Pollock offers a significant explanation about the purpose of feminist research:

Feminism stands here for a political commitment to women and to change that women desire for themselves and for the world. Feminism stands for a commitment to the full appreciation of what women inscribe, articulate, voice and image in cultural forms: interventions in the field of meaning and identity from the place called 'women' or the 'feminine'. Feminism also refers to a theoretical revolution in the ways in which terms such as art, culture, woman, subjectivity, politics and so forth are understood. But feminism does not imply a united field of theory, political position, or perspective. Feminism has been identified with women's movement and it is important historically that it should be so; but at this moment, its autonomy as the place in which the question of gender is posed acquires a particular political and theoretical significance. (2005, p. v)

This definition indicates the dual function of feminist study. First, feminist scholars, by uncovering the mechanisms of oppression and claiming for gender equality in all spheres of life, have become the main contributors of both; a political struggle and a theoretical analysis. "The connection between theoretical analysis and political mobilization for change" is constructed through the studying women's everyday life experiences. Because the everyday life is where relations of power and oppression are produced from the gender differences. And feminists "not only analyse but also want to dismantle the structures that reinforce the inferiority of women" (Mcdowell, 1999, p. 10). Second point is that the

experiences that women go through, show enormous diversity depending on class, race or context-based conditions. But even so what is common to women is their struggle against the structural mechanism of patriarchy. Yeşim Arat describes the concept of patriarchy by drawing the essence of discussions made by leading feminist theorists such as Kate Millet and Simone De Beauvoir:

Patriarchy...is a structure of power that endorses male supremacy. Society is organized around this patriarchal principle whereby women are subordinate to men. The family, the society, the economy and the polity are interrelated to patriarchal units in which the relationship between the sexes is one of dominance and subordination. Within this system, ...women are disadvantage in regards to participating in politics. In other words, the asymmetrical power relations between men and women help to explain women's socially inferior status and lower level of political participation. (Arat, 1989, p. 17)

Gender inequality has been constructed through the connection of women with private and men with public space that coincided with political engagements. Regarding the women's confinement to private domestic space, Kate Millett defines family as a "patriarchy's chief institution", (2000, 33). Patriarchal society's smallest unit restricts women's position with home, where women's inferior position is reproduced over and over. Arguments about public private distinction, starting from the nineteenth century, paved way for women's subordination in formal institutions, economic relations inside and outside of the family. With the capitalism, economic activities of production are differentiated from social, domestic activities and this separation intensified the public private dichotomy. Women was the one responsible from domestic and leisure activities, belong to private allocation of city space such as urban parks, museums, shopping streets all the sites related with consumption (Davidoff, 1998; Ryan, 1990; Bondi & Domosh, 1998).

However, debate about the public-private split putting everything outside the state (such as women, family, care and reproduction) under the category of private; was highly challenged by feminist theorists. Marston (with Smith, 2001; 2004) for instance explains the relationship between the public and private through the gendered division of labor at home and shows how capitalist state practices are supported by patriarchal relations at home. Institutions of family and household remains its mediating role in the production relations of the public through gendered division of labour in the private sphere. The care and domestic responsibilities of household are given to women in order to facilitate the

labor power which is necessary to maintain capitalist production. So, institutions of capitalist state and patriarchy have made a silent agreement with each other.

Although dualities are the clear distinctions used for a better understanding for complicated concepts, they are the product of political and ideological constructions and can easily fall a mistake of oversimplification. Because such dualisms of public-private, feminine-masculine or man-woman and their use in social and geographical analysis can hide or ignore the political aspects of gendered practices in real life (Fincher, 2004, p. 50). The perception about the separating production/public from the consumption/private prevents to see the interactions between them. Women's lives are mostly shaped within those interaction.

For example, the neighborhood and the social capital produced through the everyday relations, are two central concepts formed by in-between spaces of strict public and private division. Amy Mills in her ethnographic research on how gender has been produced through the spatial organization of Kuzguncuk neighborhood in İstanbul, follows Michel deCerteau's idea of neighborhood; "the urban neighborhood is defined as the link between public and private space created by specific social action" (quoted in Mills, 2007, p. 337). Regarding her field research, she also describes the neighborhood space in Turkey as an extension of the private family space to the residential area where tension between the individuality and conformity to the communal norms and values takes place (Mills, 2007). Its closeness and familiarity offer an alternative way to interact with public life for women.

On the other hand, the social actions that women go through help them to collect social capital. By Bourdieu social capital has been developed in the classed based networks of connections and memberships (1986). For Coleman and Putnam social capital is settled in the structural features such as education to develop human capital and social trust, norms of generalized reciprocity, networks of civic engagement. But in the process of struggle against the patriarchal mechanisms and constituting solidarity for that struggle, both interpretations are accurate and contribute to women's political representation.

The women's struggle for equality continues with political representation as well. It is known that women's participation and representation in politics means so much more than

numbers of voters or candidates. At this point, equal representation of women in politics gains particularly importance. Because presence of women in policy-making process, provides gender sensitive developments in all spheres of life. It enhances the status of all women and protect their rights as equal citizens. Joni Lovenduski defines political representation as “the presence of members of the group in the formal institutions of politics” in order to express the group interests in a wider political arena (2005, p. 14).

The political representation of women has been examined in relation to descriptive and substantive representation throughout the literature of feminist politics (Lovenduski, 2004; Guadagnini & Lovenduski, 2015). Regarding the Pitkin’s types of representation, descriptive representation or as Philips’s named “Politics of Presence; is a claim that women should be present in the decision and policy making based on their proportion in the society (Philips, 1998; Lovenduski, 2005, p. 17). The substantive representation refers to content of the issues discussed in politics. It is the representation of the interests. “The very presence of a woman in a legislature is important for changing its culture and priorities and especially for increasing its range of concerns” (Lovenduski, 2005, p. 18). In this regard, the descriptive representation is related with for whom they are standing for while substantive is for what they are acting for.

The low level of women’s participation links with the lack of women’s interests and women’s issues in political agendas. Although descriptive representation is certainly the precondition of substantial representation, the descriptive and substantive representations are intertwined with each other. The presence of one, promotes the other:

This pattern of under representation is often argued to underline the neglect of gender interests in party politics. However, caution is necessary because it is also possible to argue the converse: the neglect of gender interests in party politics can be cited as a cause of the under representation of women. There is probably some truth in both arguments but further insight can be gained by shifting attention away from the formal arena of party politics. (Bondi and Peake, 1988, p. 35)

Issues of reproduction or concerns about the local public services can be given as an example for informal actions. Since those issues are more addressed by the women, and more accessible to the women, the representation of women at the local might be expected to reach high levels. However, the situation is completely the opposite.

Table 1: Rates of Women's Political Representation in Central Local Governments in Turkey, 2019

	Number of women	Total number	Percentage
Neighborhood offices ¹	1071	50 157	2.14 %
Mayors ²	43	1 389	3.09 %
National Assembly ³	102	600	17.32 %

Based on the data introduced in the table above, it is seen that the reality goes beyond the "lack of representation". Şirin Tekeli has named the situation as an "absence syndrome" for women in politics. She used the term syndrome because these low rates are neither temporary, periodical, nor regional for Turkey (in Alkan, 2004). What is more, the women's local level representation is much lower than the representation at national level. According the results of 2019 local elections, only 43 out 1389 municipalities are governed by the women. While the representation of women in municipalities is about 3 %, the rate decreases even sharper in neighborhood level with 2%.

When the changes in the number of female muhtars over the time are examined according to statistical data gathered by Confederation of Muhtars; after the 2009 local elections, the number of women muhtars in Turkey was 412; in the 2014 local elections, it reached to 674 which is the 1.3% of whole neighborhoods. The increase between 2009 and 2014 is 40.2%. With the recent election of 2019, the number women neighborhood officers has increased to 1071 out of 50 157 in total. Now, 2,14% of the whole neighborhoods In Turkey is run by the female muhtars. Their number again increased 45.37% comparing to previous period ("Türkiye Geneli Kadın Muhtar Sayısı", 2019). The number of female muhtars in

¹ ("Türkiye Geneli Kadın Muhtar Sayısı", 2019)

² (Alan, 2019)

³ ("Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi", 2019)

neighborhood level has increased step by step, year by year. However, it is still not possible to talk about gender equality.

1.2 Aim of the Study

My research interest against the female neighborhood muhtars has started with a field study for another research topic. During that research, an interview with the muhtar of Gülseren Neighborhood was really informative and stimulating for a further study on the female muhtar's role in redistribution practices. In our small talk she mentioned that female muhtars are highly sensitive against needs and problems of the neighborhood residents and together with other female counterparts from different parts of Ankara, they organized a social assistance network for the needy inhabitants.

Regarding the data about underrepresentation of female politicians, I was interested in understanding the factors that motivate them to become a candidate and what are the obstacles they've faced and how do they achieve to overcome. But as the interviews go by, I realized that their social capital acts as a main initiator of their representation. What makes women distinct is their ability to mobilize other women to receive local public services by using their social networks and common interests. Because as Ayten Alkan states the local public services are gender-loaded domain therefore, decline in welfare and service provision directly puts pressure on women (2006). Neighborhoods are the locus of community life and political practices. So, I will try to understand how women, as muhtars of neighborhoods in Ankara, engage in redistributive process of public resources and struggle for recognition by using their accumulated social capital. According to in-dept interviews in the field, social capital works as a precondition of political representation for women. In the field study I've found that women's communal ties and social networks, their lived experiences on their residential areas, occupational and educational status; all of them are working as an enabler for female muhtars especially during the candidacy process. After becoming the representative, I also found that they've applied their social capital to solve the problems of the neighborhood. So for women, social capital is used as a strategy to be included in service provision mechanism and to be recognized as an political actor. However, because of its gendered nature, the social capital also carries risk to limit female muhtars political actions. Therefore, main purpose of this research is to understand the role

of social capital in representation of women at local politics. At the end of reviewing the theoretical discussions and field note, research question is formulated as: How does women's social capital contribute or limit women's representation in local politics?

I argue that there is a relationship between women's social capital and political representation. The basic indicators deduced from the discussions on social capital, such as educational level, work experiences, social networks from neighborhood and work as well as shared problems about their living environment make candidates suitable to represent common interest of their neighborhood. So social capital works as an enabler for female muhtars. Additionally, it is seen that social capital created by the solidarity networks and communal relations within the neighborhood, are effectively used as a strategy to reach local authorities and solve the problems about the service provision by particularly female muhtars.

1.3 Sample Selection

In this study, the motivation behinds women's participation to the politics and in what ways their collected social capital works as a barrier or enabling strategy will be examined in detail. Ritchie and Lewis indicate that one of the basic requirements for sample selection is to reflect diversity as much as possible. Diversity is necessary for two reasons. First, "it optimizes the chances of identifying the full range of factors or features that are associated with a phenomenon". As the situations or characteristics of the samples become diverse, their chances to reflect essential aspects of the research subject have increased. Second, "it allows some investigation of interdependency between variables such that those that are most relevant can be disengaged from those of lesser import" (2003, p. 83). Especially in comparative studies, the diversity enables to show correlations between variables. So, conducting interviews in seven districts can provide diversity for the results of the research.

In the first place, the distribution of women neighborhood officers is listed in the table 2, based on the central districts of Ankara and tried to make a representative selection for my research by including participants from all central districts which are Mamak, Gölbaşı, Keçiören, Sincan, Etimesgut, Yeni Mahalle, Çankaya. Based on the Ankara regional plan report prepared by developmental agency of Ankara, Pursaklar is also included in the

central districts (2015, p. 39), since no female muhtar was working in the neighborhood- it is naturally excluded from the field research.

Table 2: Gender Distribution of Muhtars, Central Districts of Ankara, (2014 and 2019 Local Elections)

Districts	Number of Neighborhoods in 2014	Number of women neighborhood officers in 2014	Number of women neighborhood officers in 2019	Number of Neighborhoods in 2019
Altındağ	38	2	1	26
Çankaya	124	32	47	123
Etimesgut	36	9	15	36
Gölbaşı	54	1	1	55
Keçiören	51	5	16	51
Mamak	66	5	6	64
Pursaklar	21	0	1	21
Sincan	57	3	5	48
Yenimahalle	55	11	20	55
	502	68	112	479
Ankara	1317	77	124	1433
Turkey	50 292	674	1071	50157

Ankara as having second highest female neighborhood officers after İstanbul, is relatively better position ("Türkiye Geneli Kadın Muhtar Sayısı", 2019). The percentage of female neighborhood officers in Ankara which was about 5% in 2014 election, rose to 8% of whole city. So, the main reason of choosing Ankara as a case is the representation of women in neighborhood offices is above the average of whole country. Thus, it may offer opportunity for comprehensive examinations on motives of female neighborhood officers.

However, as it is introduced in the table below, the rate of women elected for neighborhood offices is not evenly distributed within the city. Rate of women's representation in the neighborhood level changes substantially from district to district. the reasons of this variety can be explained by complex institutional and social factors.

While selecting the sites, socio-economic level of districts was taken into consideration for evenly distributed female muhtars. Because beyond gender, class differences have also become important aspect for women's presence in formal politics. Considering what

Bourdieu's statement, the class position is related with developing social capital. There is also a correlation between the socioeconomic level of the district and the presence of women in local politics. Especially after the metropolitan administration law implemented in 2014, one of the main problems of Ankara is the disintegration of central and peripheral districts. The economic gap between central and peripheral makes Ankara a divided city in terms of both urban life and spatial continuity (Şahin, 2019, p. 217). These factors have created redistributive issues in terms of service provision. Inadequate service provision to the rural districts and villages which were turned into neighborhoods, on the other hand the infrastructural problems of central settlements. All these have caused to unequal distribution in the living conditions of Ankara's inhabitants. Since women's socioeconomic background has an important effect on social capital accumulation, women who has high amount of social capital can create alternative channels by using their networks and experiences. As it is shown in the table 2, highest number of the female muhtars (47 out of 124 in 2019) are residents of Çankaya. Çankaya as the most central district of Ankara, is appropriated by middle to upper-middle income groups who has mostly leftist tendency.

Beyond the legal regulation and descriptions about the neighborhood administration; the responsibility of the neighborhood officers for their residents are highly related with the social and economic status of the neighborhood. The question of what it means to be neighborhood officer is also reveals the motivation behind their candidacy for this position. So, in order to have an idea about the socio-economic character, questions about the primary issues that the neighborhoods and residents had were asked too. Urban transportation and infrastructural problems are common for all districts. However, especially Çankaya and some neighborhoods in Keçiören, Yenimahalle (İlkyerleşim and Ragıp Tüzün) Etimesgut (Oğuzlar) are differed from other districts with its concerns. The needs of these districts are described as inadequate infrastructure, daily problems about built environment, such as broken sidewalks and asphalts. And female muhtars of these districts define their duty as providing information about these issues to the related institutions. For this reason, they are considered as middle-class neighborhood. However, financial difficulties, unemployment and domestic violence are the main concerns of other neighborhood officers especially in Mamak and Sincan. They describe their works as helping the poor members of the neighborhood and lead them to the people who can

provide help. Looking after needy people and charity works are the most important part of their job.

Additionally, accessibility with a public transportation and snowballing technique- asking muhtars who have already been interviewed to recommend other participants that can meet the criteria are help me in the sample selection (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003, p. 94). So, convenience sampling was following without disregarding the critical cases. By critical cases, I mean including the extreme examples such as the highest rate of women muhtars in Çankaya to tokens in Gölbaşı for instance.

Table 3: Distribution of Participants based on Districts of Ankara

Districts	Neighborhoods	Participants
Mamak	Gülveren, Gülseren, Demirlibahçe, Bahçelerüstü	4
Gölbaşı	Eymir	1
Keçiören	Basınevler, Subayevleri	2
Sincan	Malazgirt, Pınarbaşı, Osmanlı, Erkeksu	4
Etimesgut	Ahimesut, Ayyıldız, Oğuzlar	3
Yeni Mahalle	Ragıp Tüzün, İlkyerleşim, Karşıyaka	3
Çankaya	İşçi Blokları, Kültür, Kavaklıdere, Çayyolu, Mutlukent	5
Total		22

1.4 Methodology

This analysis of representation and social capital of Ankara's female muhtars relies on qualitative method of case studies. The aim of qualitative research is to develop an understanding about the nature and form of phenomena, to examine the reasons behind and to develop explanations (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003, 82). Therefore, qualitative method is used in this study to understand the motivation behind women's candidacy for neighborhood administration and what are the difficulties or opportunities in front of their participation in local politics while considering the socioeconomic differences for each neighborhood.

In order to gather necessary data, in-dept interviews and participant observation techniques are applied. Interview questions are prepared to examine women's motivations, barriers they've faced and strategies they've developed. The semi-structured structured interview composed of 4 parts; questions about socio demographic characteristics of the participant and her neighborhood (age, education, occupation, household size and family relations, activities in civil society, the problems of inhabitants and the neighborhood), her experiences during candidacy (taking decision to run for election, support of family, competition process), experiences in administrative position working process (relations with public institutions and inhabitants) and finally their thought on underrepresentation of women in politics (obstacles, proposed solutions, carrier plans). In all parts, the main concern was to examine gender relations – how does being a woman differ- in political engagement. The field research was conducted in 22 neighborhoods of 7 districts in Ankara.

I simply knocked the door, introduces myself and declared my intention clearly as “I am conducting a research on I would like to make an interview with you?”. The interviews were conducted in their neighborhood offices during working hours. Therefore, the interview got interrupted from time to time by the local visitors. Actually, thanks to these interruptions, I personally witnessed what are the main problems of the inhabitants and how the interviewee approaches these people and their problem. With these first-hand experiences on site, I had a chance to make participant observation too, in addition to semi-structured in-depts interviews. Permission for audio recording has been asked from the respondents. For those who do not want to be recorded, interviews are made via the note taking.

1.5 Organization of The Thesis

In the following chapter, the main theoretical discussions on politics of recognition-redistribution and representation will be examined from a gender perspective. Regarding the basic functions of local government which are public service distribution, participation and representation, social inequalities has its roots in politics of recognition and redistribution. Political representation on the other hand, can be act as a bridging concept

between these two. And it is believed that the remedies for class and identity inequalities can be pursued within the descriptive and substantive representation.

After that, in order to understand the women's position in political representation feminist theories questioning the relationship between the descriptive and substantive representation are reviewed. It is an empirical fact that women are underrepresented in politics. In this regard, within the studies focusing on women's interests, the discussions about whether there is a critical number to improve women's status or does critical actors and their critical actions matter, has been reviewed in this section.

I argue that the contribution of the concept of social capital to the women's representation steps in at the point to define the critical actor. Therefore, in the third chapter I will support this argument with the results of the field research. The elements of social capital enable women to be a candidate for muhtarship and after they won the elections, they maintain their social capital as a strategy to be recognized by power figures. However, it is not a purely positive concept. Due to its gendered form, its role in male dominated political culture and gendered relations at home, social capital can impose serious limitation for women representatives. These relations are exemplified with direct quotations from the interviews.

CHAPTER 2

WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION TO LOCAL POLITICS: CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In today's society, the local governments are seen as a major political institution that produce local politics. Central government deals with general political regulations on national security, foreign policies, provision of homeland security and peace whereas local administrations conduct provision of public services for the local citizens within the legal supervision and control of central government (Alkan, 2005, p. 58). The aim of the functional division between local and central government is to regulate state activities in the fields of production, reproduction and consumption. The issues related with the production are assigned to central government but, state's responsibility to facilitate labor force falls to local governments (Cockburn, 1970; Bondi & Peake, 1988). There are various definitions for local state and politics. For instance, Cynthia Cockburn defines responsibilities of local state as both "local presence of national state agencies such as police and courts, and functions such as housing and education" (1977, p. 363). Her interpretation has arisen from the restructuring of urban governments in United Kingdom during the mid-70s. She formulates local state as maintenance of capitalist reproduction through service provision in housing, education, public health and employment. It represents relations of production and reproduction, links state, economy and civil society with a multidimensional perspective. What makes Cockburn's argument remarkable is that, due to its role in service provision, local state has become highly competitive terrain for class and gender struggle as well as collective actions. The struggles arisen from the issues of service provision and access to those services, have include especially women's engagement (Wekerle, 2004, p. 246).

Local politics are distinguished from other type of organizations by providing favorable opportunities for the constituents. Due to its accessibility, the demands and problem about distribution of services can easily be reflected on local politics. The Article 3 of European Charter of Local Self-Government Report describes local governments within the three basic functions: public service provision, representation of the local population and participation of the local people:

1. Local self-government denotes the right and the ability of local authorities, within the limits of the law, to regulate and manage a substantial share of public affairs under their own responsibility and in the interests of the local population. 2. This right shall be exercised by councils or assemblies composed of members freely elected by secret ballot on the basis of direct, equal, universal suffrage, and which may possess executive organs responsible to them. This provision shall in no way affect recourse to assemblies of citizens, referendums or any other form of direct citizen participation where it is permitted by statute. (Council of Europe, 2013, p. 12)

However, these three aspects are highly interrelated with each other. The equal access to public services cannot be understood without thinking issues of participation or equal representation especially in a such context of gender inequality. In the following section the public service provision is examined first, through the Nancy Fraser's concepts of recognition and redistribution. The idea of recognizing the differences in the social position of women and re-arrangement of the unevenly distributed public services in favor of them are vital remedies against gender injustices. The struggle for recognition and redistribution on the other hand, can be only achieved through descriptive and substantive representation of the interests in the political scene. The theoretical discussions about substantial and descriptive representation, in what ways they are effective to achieve equality will be examined as well as considering the experiences of female representatives in local politics. The critical point in this process is that women representatives are using their social capital that is an accumulation of all work and life experiences, social networks, norms and values shared by their community, in order to get access to channels of representation and achievement of their common interests. So, it is assumed that there is a relationship between the social capital and being a preferable representative. The research that is conducted with female muhtars of Ankara will be used to show how social capital affecting the representation of women at neighborhood level.

2.1. Politics of Recognition and Politics of Representation

The basic principle of local government is defined by provision and redistribution of services. And Nancy Fraser's arguments about the politics recognition and politics of redistribution could be applicable to understand struggle around political representation. The politics of redistribution and recognition could be very useful tool to understand gender inequality in political representation. She formulizes gender justice with these 2 interrelated terms.

Fraser's early works draws attention to the rise of the identity politics in 90's political agenda. By transition "from politics of redistribution to the politics of recognition" in general, she implies a shift from class to identity politics, from political economy to culturalism. The separation of identity problems such as gender and race inequality from economic inequalities were mainly promoted by the "hegemonic neoliberalism". When the culturalized politics were disassociated from the economic relations, it de-historized collective memory of struggle for equality. And the result was to leave people to the mercy of free market. So, she argues without recognition, redistribution and justice cannot be achieved (Fraser, 1995; 2005, p. 299; Dahl, Stoltz & Willig, 2004). Therefore, she offers a relational perception. In her own words:

Analyzing the shift in the grammar of claims-making from 'redistribution to recognition', I argued that we should resist the displacement of redistribution by recognition by developing an integrated conception of justice that could encompass defensible claims of both types. (in Dahl, Stoltz & Willig, 2004, 376)

According to Nancy Fraser "every struggle against injustice implies demand for both redistribution and recognition" (Fraser, 1995, p. 70). Her concepts of "Politics of Redistribution" and "Politics of Recognition" are highly critical to understand the mechanisms for social justice and equality.

The politics of redistribution indicates socioeconomic injustices. For example, exploitation of labor force (when one's labor appropriated for another's interests); economic marginalization (being forced to work in undesirable or poorly paid jobs when there is no other choice); and deprivation (restricted access to basic services or being excluded from adequate material standard of living). Remedies for economic injustices requires structural

interventions such as egalitarian redistribution of sources, new organizations for division of labor or investment for participation to decision making process (Fraser, 1995, p. 70-71, p. 73).

Second type is cultural injustices such as cultural domination, involved by the politics of recognition. Remedies for misrecognition can be exemplified as raising the value of disrespected identities, transforming the societal patterns of representation, interpretation and communication. (Fraser, 1995, p. 71, p. 73). In brief, redistribution politics help to address economic inequalities whereas recognition refer to cultural differences, exclusion of minorities, disadvantaged groups. Although they are analytically distinct spheres, in fact they are closely associated with each other in real life practice. In her own words, they are “bivalent collectivities” (1995, p. 78). To go into details of her argument, she investigates gender relations.

For instance, gender contains both political-economic and cultural-valuation dimension. In the first place, gender structures a distinction not only between paid (productive) work and unpaid (domestic) work which is mostly assigned to women; but also, distinction within the paid works in itself. Differences between higher paid male occupations and lower paid occupations mostly in female dominated service sector, lead to gender pay gap and left women under the risk of poverty more likely than men. “When viewed under this aspect, gender injustice appears as a species of distributive injustice that cries out for redistributive redress”, Fraser remarks (1995, p. 78). Complete changes in economic structures are clearly required for gender equality. However, it is just the one side of the solution. Besides socioeconomic dimension, gender injustices includes sexism, and androcentrism which favors masculine norms and discourses by subordinating women in everyday life. (Fraser, 1995, p. 79. Each kinds of discriminations deepens the other. Therefore, transformation in politics of redistribution and recognition should be maintained together.

In her later works, she emphasizes a need for a third dimension beyond to redistribution and recognition which is representation. She believes that representation as a third aspect of gender justice, can bring balance to the weaknesses and contradictions of two previous concepts. By representation, she means:

Representation is not only a matter of ensuring equal political voice for women in already constituted political communities. In addition, it requires reframing disputes about justice that cannot be properly contained within established politics. (2005, p. 305)

So, the concept of representation does not only refer to women who already participate in existing political structure but also should aim for constructing new possibilities for women who cannot have access. Equal representation for women must be responsive reaction to all disagreements about gender justice. In this way, it can enlighten dark and weak points of that recognition and redistribution relation leads.

Although she conceptualized 3 component of gender justice, these steps can also pose some limitations in real life experiences of women's struggle for gender equality in politics. Because, recognition and redistribution lead to a form of social control too. While demand and struggle for recognition (of women's rights) can create a form of resistance, the redistribution strategies weaken opportunities of resistance. Therefore, recognition and redistribution could be highly paradoxical for women's relationship with space and politics. At this point, the political representatives play a vital role to interfere the possibility of social control of the disadvantaged groups. The representatives are expected to defend the interests of the disadvantaged groups and these interests can only be understood by the people who share the common background. In the following chapter the feminist discussions about the relationship between women's presence and improvement in their status will be examined along with questioning about the preferable characteristics of the representatives who played critical role in gender equality.

2.2 Political Representation

2.2.1 Development of the Concept of Representation in Feminist Literature

The academic discussions of women's political representation have basically revolved around Hanna Pitkin's conceptual analysis of representation (1972). Although she doesn't include the gender dimension of the political representation throughout the book, her comprehensive taxonomic analysis about the concept has paved the way for developing feminist discussions on women's under-representation in politics and its potential remedies.

Pitkin's 4 types of representation are listed as (1) formalistic where the institutional representative carries the aspects of authorization by having power to act on behalf of society and accountability by carrying the responsibility of its actions towards the society, (2) descriptive where the representatives have proportional resemblance or a reflection of the society by sharing similar characteristics such as class, race, ethnicity or sex with the group they have stand for (3) symbolic representation where the representative stands for the interest of a social group despite having no resembles but a connection with them and (4) substantive representation where the representative acts for the improvement of the interests of the respective group. Although definitions of descriptive and symbolic representation contribute to grasp theoretical foundation of the concept, Pitkin specifically emphasizes substantive representation as equivalence of descriptive or symbolic in the realm of action:

The fact that a man or an assembly is a very good descriptive representation does not automatically guarantee that they will be good representatives in the sense of acting for, that their activity will really be representing. In the realm of action, the representative's characteristics are relevant only insofar as they affect what he does. (Pitkin, 1972, p. 142)

Here, representation works in a way that the representative acts responsively to the needs and interests of the connected group aiming to enhance group's political status. Because "the formulation of the view we have arrived at runs roughly like this: representing here means acting in the interest of the represented, in a manner responsive to them." (Pitkin, 1972, p. 209). It doesn't matter who takes the decision as long as the content of the decision answers the needs and interests of the represented social group. Rather than the characteristics, what representative has achieved for the others becomes the main concern. However, she was highly criticized by this assumption because of the dismissal of the relationship between the descriptive and substantive representation.

After about 20 years Anne Philip's idea of "Politics of Presence" draws attention to importance of descriptive representation in politics. Her argument contributes to feminist political theory in two ways. First, she underlines the gendered composition in the political body and thus, gendered power relations. Secondly, the policies made by male dominated legislature body can not properly address the women's issues and thus cannot protect the

women's rights. Increasing women's presence will create democratic and just representation thereby change the politics (Philips,1998). So the representation of the women's interest depends on women's presence, their existence is the precondition of the substantive achievements. To sum up the argument; "after Pitkin no one regarded descriptive representation as important, whilst after Philips no one regarded it as unimportant" (Childs & Lovenduski, 2012, p. 2)

Anne Philips explains why the proportion of women in formal politics should be increased with 4 arguments; for creating role model for other women, for the justice, for identifying women's interests and for revitalizing democracy (1994, 1998). "What would men think of a system of political representation in which they were outnumbered nineteen to one?" she raised such an impressive question (1994, p. 67).

The justice argument derives from a strong feminist opposition to the fact that current sexual division of labor is natural and inevitable. Women's lives are predominantly revolved around the long periods of child rearing, elderly care and housework. Under such unfair conditions, women's candidacy for political representation seem like a miracle. Regarding the struggle of women, justice is indispensable to eliminate this unfairness (Philips, 1994, p. 68-69).

The arguments about the women's interests was based on their distinct position in the society:

They are typically concentrated, for example, in lower paid jobs, and they carry the primary responsibility for unpaid work of caring for others. There are particular needs, interests, and concerns that arise from women's experience, and these will be inadequately addressed in a politics that is dominated by men. Equal rights to a vote have not proved strong enough to deal with problem, there must be equality among those elected to office. (Philips, 1994, 71-72)

Basically, the content of the political decision was determined by the people who made that decision. Proportional presence of women contributes in a way that decisions will also include the interests of women. In this way, one more step towards the revitalized democracy will be taken forward.

Thanks to Philips' contributions, the academic discussions continue with the questions of do women have common interests? What are the interests of women? and Who are the representatives of those interests?

2.2.2. What is to be Represented: Discussions about the Women's Interest

In order to be responsive to women's interest in the political scene, feminists have tried to specify the interests. During the 1980's, scholars argues that women's interests are derived from their objective and subjective situation in the division of labor referring to domestic tasks such as giving birth and providing care for the family (Sapiro, 1998; Diamond & Hartsock, 1998). On the contrary, during the 1990's feminists have avoided the predefined, essentialists approach towards women and believed that their life experiences and contextual differences should be taken into consideration in order to understand what women's expectations are (Philips, 1998; Celis, 2008).

In her article, Virginia Sapiro (1998) identifies women's interests from two routes: "women's objective situation" in the private division of labor and "subjective conditions", gaining a consciousness of their own interests. For the objective situations, it is believed that the construction of gendered division of labor and women's domestic responsibilities in the household put women in a different social position. Since the domestic tasks directly assigned women, women's socioeconomic position differs from men. Therefore, women develop special interests. However, living in a different social position, doesn't mean that their particular interests will be directly recognized by the politicians. Problems arise from social position of women may not be reflected on women's consciousness. So subjective attitudes of women and men in politics must change and include the disregarded half of the society.

While Sapiro finds the source of women's interests in the division of labor inside the house, Damion and Hartsock find it problematic to explain women's interests through conventional political analysis of public private division because "(Sapiro's) very use of term 'responsiveness' carries with it the hidden and untested assumption that women's demand can be integrated into political system" (Damion and Hartsock, 1998, p. 198). So,

instead of only looking at the existing structure of labor distribution in private life; implications of the social divisions derived from reproductive activities should be included.

Division between the productive and reproductive activities adopted by the state has been subjected to detailed feminist scrutiny by theorists from other fields such as political economy and urban geography. For instance, Dolores Hayden interprets Lefebvre's analysis about the spaces of social reproduction in 3 categories (1995, p. 19):

- "Biological reproduction" refers to body
- "Reproduction of labor force" refers to household
- And "reproduction of social relations" refers to public space of the city.

The maintenance of capitalist production in the urban public space depends on continuity of social reproduction in the household. Without reproduction of labor force, the economic activities couldn't be sustained, and capitalist state couldn't have survived. Similarly, Sallie Marston describes "*the forces of production*" and "*relations of productions*" as two important element of capitalist reproduction process. The force of production includes availability of human and physical resources such as level of technological development, machines, finances or quality of the labor force, that enables the production of good and services. It contains the material structure. On the other hand, the relations of production refer to the social structure of gender, race, age and other factors that shape social attitudes and behaviors (2004, p. 175-176). In Marston's own words:

Social reproduction involves maintaining labor power as a force and a relation of production. Most importantly, for my argument, it involves not only the production of goods and services but also the material conditions of daily existence that enable that production to occur. (2004, p. 176)

Obviously, maintenance of labor force on the daily basis is achieved through the gendered division of labor in the household. In order to make comprehensive examination of the women's interest, the relational approach between the scales of public and private spaces should be followed. As Damion and Hartsock states, recognizing women's undeniable role in the social reproduction can reveal new definitions of interests and extend the scope of women's political representation. Diversified life experiences of women from different economic and social backgrounds can be only understood by the women themselves and only women can act for previously 'invisible' interests (1998).

2.2.3. Discussions of Critical Mass- Critical Acts

The questions about why representative women do not always act for the interests of women once they enter the political offices, lead scholars to examine the relationship between the descriptive and substantive representation. According to general belief, the biggest obstacle faced by women in male dominated society is not having adequate proportion to create solidarity.

In her research, Rosabeth Moss Kanter look at an institutional cooperation where the presence of women was overwhelmed by the outnumbered male workers. Her aim was to understand how group dynamics change when one particular social identity is subordinated by the other. In her experience, she categorized four types of groups based on their proportional distributions: uniform group has one type of, homogeneous composition with 100:0 ratio. Skewed group is a predominance of one particular group over another. The ratio of groups is approximately 85: 15. In this case, the dominant type keeps control over the group culture because of their greater number. The few other is called as token and they are expected to be a symbolic value of representing their own kind. Thirdly, tilted group's ratio is around 65:35. The dominants of the previous type turn to majority whereas the tokens have become the minority. The less extreme distribution and less exaggerated pressure among them make intra-group interactions easier. The having the proportion of minority can paved the way for alliances. They have power to affect culture of the group through generation coalitions. Therefore, transition from skewed to minority ratio is desirable to improve the social position of the few. If the ratio reaches to 60:40 or. 50:50, it is called the balanced group in which no more majority or minority, but rather equal subgroups. However, she particularly focused on the skewed group relations to have an idea about women's token position in the society and came up with three critical results. Women who occupies very small but symbolic place, can experience performance pressure due to their high visibility, token isolation due to polarization and role entrapment due to assimilation (Kanter, 1977).

For instance, it is told that women sellers as a research subject, have high visibility, thereby their actions draw attention, their mistakes are easily spotted and what is worse; since their presence carries a symbolic value for the rest, their performance can influence the

perception about other women. What they have or have not done is inevitably attributed to others from the same category. Because they don't work only for themselves, rather carry the burden of representing a whole identity. Eventually this burden can lead to performance pressure for individuals (Kanten, 1977, p. 973). The second phenomenon of polarization was explained by Kenton with the exaggeration of differences and overlook of the commonalties due to inability to make generalizations. The more group members become aware of differences, the more the boundaries get sharper. In the absence of adequate number to generate "counterculture", women in token status do not have a choice but either confirm to norms of the dominant culture or take the risk of living in isolation. The isolation comes together with the risk of exclusion from the group socialization as well as information channels in which important learning tasks are achieved (Kanter, 1977, p. 975-980). As a result, women who have limited access to information, suffer from inequalities and injustices. Women who submissively confirm to the group norms created predominantly by male culture, on the other hand, are fitted into stereotypical roles that are familiar for men such as being mother, seductress, amusing pet or iron maiden. The role entrapment distorts the characteristics of women and assimilates them according to male norms (Kanter, 1977, p. 980-984).

Concluding point of Kanter is "the presence of a few token does not necessarily pave the way for others in many cases, it has the opposite effect" (1977, p. 988) which means if numbers of women remain limited, the performance pressure, isolation and role entrapment can lead lower status. There should be a proportional threshold for women to take action for the sake of their own interests.

Despite of the fact that these arguments seems quite applicable for other working places such as female representatives in politics; she is also criticized because women in the experimental group have economic concerns, therefore suffer from performance pressure or job hierarchy in contrast with the female legislators (Childs & Krook, 2008). However, the assumptions about whether increase in the proportion of the minority might create a remarkable change have become the main subject of the several political researches.

Drude Dahlerup (1988) as a proponent of the respectable phrase "Critical Acts rather than Critical Mass" compared the Moss Kanter's arguments in the Scandinavian context. She

focused on Scandinavian countries where women are no longer in token status with more than 30 % presence in parliaments and local councils. So, time of having a small presence in politics was over of Scandinavia. According to Dahlerup, women in politics also face with major challenges. They have to prove themselves by showing that they are as qualified as their male counterparts and they are held accountable for leading a change by especially feminist movement (1988, p. 279). The participation of large number of female politicians so far, makes it impossible to remove women from the public sphere, showing that numbers matter without a doubt. Due to the presence of women, the political culture and reaction to women politicians has changed. The increase in the amount, certainly bring change to the attitudes and behaviors of male politicians as well as masculine norms. But it is seen that the main initiators of substantive political changes are the few successful women in higher positions such as prime minister or president. It is not so realistic to set certain quantities like 30% for change. Instead, the content of the action carries much more influence (Dahlerup, 1988, p. 286-287).

Most significant is the willingness and ability of the minority to mobilize the resources of the organization or institution to improve the situation for themselves and the whole minority group. For women in politics this constitutes critical acts of empowerment. (Dahlerup, 1988, p. 296)

So, in the process of improving women's status in politics, the purpose and performance of the actors will be the main determinant. Rather than numbers, actions taken by those numbers change the political environment. For this reason, "critical mass" should be replaced by "critical acts". Recruiting other women to attend politics, introduction of sex quotas, institutional and legislative regulations in political structure to promote gender equality are the main examples of women's critical acts for women friendly policies (Dahlerup, 1988).

A similar conclusion was drawn by Celis in the case of Belgium Parliament. She argues that potential of change is not directly related with the scale of women. It is hidden in their actions influenced by their life experiences and positions in the decision-making structure (2006). On the other hand, researches show that when legislators and women's organizations work together for enhancing women's political representation, much more beneficial outcomes are produced (Weldon, 2002; Ayata & Tutuncu, 2008). Therefore, it is more productive to examine "critical actors" who engage in policy making process.

2.2.4 What makes Representative Critical: The Relationship Between Social Capital and Representation

These revised perspectives suggest that the scope of the discussion should leave the questions of “Do women represent women?” or “Do women in politics make a difference?” and examine questions of “Who claims to act for women?” and “How does substantive representation occur?” (Celis, Childs, Kantola and Krook, 2008, p. 104). The understanding the process of developing substantive representation is the key factor. Representation includes a variety of actors from both different levels of state and civil society.

All the theories reviewed so far, discusses about what should be done for equal representation of women. The ultimate aim of increasing the presence of women is to create necessary conditions to end their subordinate position in society. The policies that protect women’s rights depend on the politicians’ effort. Representatives are the ones who can promote women friendly policies. However, despite the legal and structural formulations to increase the number of women, what makes representatives suitable for their duty has remained unquestionable until Suzanne Dovi asks, “will just any women, black or latino do?” (2002). While Dovi proposes to set an ultimate guiding criterion for electorates to identify the most effective representative which is “to have a strong mutual relationship with dispossessed subgroup” (2002, p. 729), I believe criteria for the proper representatives might be also hidden in the individual’s social capital.

The idea about the qualities of a critical representative take its root from the politics of presence. The importance of descriptive representation which is the presence of representatives from the diversified groups is undeniable in deliberate democracy. However, as Mansbridge states the descriptive refers to more than invisible features such as skin color or gender. The descriptive representation can be asserted in 4 situations;

(1) A dequate communication in the context of mistrust, (2) innovative thinking in the context of uncrystallized, not fully articulated interests... (3) creating a social meaning of ‘ability to rule’ for members of a group in the historical context where that ability has been seriously questioned, and (4) increasing the polity’s de facto legitimacy in the context of past discrimination. (Mansbridge, 1999, p. 628)

For Mansbridge, descriptive representation provide opportunity for subgroups to express their needs and to communicate, otherwise may completely ignored within a mistrusted area. It consists of shared experiences, common background and shared concerns derived from those commonalities. Because “this criterion of share experience, which one might reasonably expect to promote a representative’s accurate representation of and commitment to constituent interests...” (1999, p. 629). Group members trust their representatives thanks to their strong ties developed through shared experiences of subordinations.

Dovi’s criterion to evaluate whether representative is preferable has two basic elements; there should be a mutual relationship and this relationship should be within the historically disadvantaged people. What makes Dovi’s idea different is that recognition should be mutual; developed by both the representative and that particular group of people. This mutuality produces agreement on political activities. When the representative recognizes the group’s problems and expectations, the representation itself becomes just. The interaction between them enables historically subordinated group to influence political decisions. On the other hand, when group recognizes their representative, they follow the representative’s performance closely (2002, p. 735-736). More than just voting, they follow to what extent their overlooked interests are heard and to what extent they’ve reached their goals. In this way, representatives and so-far disadvantaged group meet in equal conditions. “First, they must recognize each other as belonging to a historically disadvantaged group, and second, they must recognize each other as having a common understanding of the proper aims of a descriptive representation of the group” (Dovi, 2002, p. 736).

In addition to mutual relations, being part of the disadvantaged group is an important aspect too. Sense of ‘being one of us’, in Dovi’s term “having a linked fate” helps to determine preferable representative. Linked fate is directly related with shared aims for the future. People who do not have connection with the disadvantaged group cannot share aims with that group either. Therefore “Who perceives that representative as belonging to the group and whom a representative claims to act on the behalf of are important considerations for evaluating the qualifications of descriptive representation” (Dovi, 2002, p. 737).

2.3. The Concept of Social Capital

Throughout the discussions of the critical actor, I've found some resembling points between individual's characteristics to contribute substantive representation and concept of social capital. What makes the actor capable to change is hidden in their sources of social capital and how they mobilize it. So in the following section the theories about the social capital will be discussed in detail.

The concept of social capital is a highly productive domain to explain the social dimension of political participation process of female local representatives. In addition to connecting different levels of social relations, John Field draws attention to social capital's function of linking "micro level of individual experiences and everyday activity" with "the meso level of institutions, associations and community" (2008, p. 8). The concept shows how everyday interactions and social relations created over a lifetime can be related with the political, economic and even institutional practices in a broad sense. Therefore, the concept of social capital can provide an explanation for; how women use their certain sources of networks and relations in order to gain recognition and representation in political and institutional contexts. Because during the examination of women's participation to politics, the concept of social capital comes into prominence as an encouraging factor. So, gender aspect of social capital should be considered in order to understand reasons and solution for women's underrepresentation in politics. But before looking at the link between gender and social capital, the theoretical discussions about the concept will be explained.

Social capital was conceptualized by 3 main theorists; Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman and Robert Putnam (Field, 2008). All three theorists provide different approach in grasping the idea of social capital.

Bourdieu defines capital as an "accumulated labor in the materialized form or its incorporated, embodied form" (1968, p. 241). In this definition, he emphasizes two significant points about the capital; first, capital has a potential to create profit but takes some time to accumulate sources, and secondly it does not only exist in the economic form. Immaterial sources of social and cultural capital also have potential to derive profit. For this reason, different forms of capital should be taking into consider:

Capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: as economic capital, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights; as cultural capital, which is convertible, on certain conditions into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and as a social capital, made up of social obligations ('connections'), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility (Bourdieu, 1965, p. 243)

Bourdieu analyzes the nature of building different forms of capital in order to understand class structure and formation of power relations in society. Through showing the possibility of conversions in capital, he also examines relations between different classes and individual's future opportunities for social mobility. Social capital could be one of the ways to interact different classes by using networks of connections and memberships to certain groups and thanks to that, provides recognition. On the other hand, he also acknowledges that these connections are exclusively open to people who has already had the privilege. It is used to create social cohesion within similar groups. However, for the ones who doesn't have access to these networks, it is not so possible to cross that boundaries. "Social capitalism as much as economic capitalism is an ideology of inclusion and exclusion: a means by which the powerful may protect and further their interests against the less powerful" (Arneil, 2006, p. 17). In brief, Bourdieu's study on forms of capital is critical to realize the possibilities for transformations of cultural and social capital into an economic capital and inequalities in power relations.

Just like Bourdieu, James Coleman was interested in social capital to explain social inequalities by studying on children's academic success in high schools. He focuses on how social capital improves the human capital which claims an interconnection between the social capital and human capital (Coleman, 1988; Field, 2008, p. 25-26). Coleman introduced the concept of social capital as a tool for economic development. Therefore, social capital is defined by its function; He emphasizes two aspects of social capital; it is closely related with the social structure of relations and it is used to initiate economic actions and enables control over resource (1988, p. 98). The importance of social capital comes from its contribution to create human capital and therefore, economic development in the long run. Since he was studying on students, he suggested family relations and communal relations are the two producers of the social capital (Coleman, 1988, p. 109). He explains the close relationship between the social capital and human capital by giving

example from parental relationships: “Human capital is approximately measured by parents’ education and provides the potential for a cognitive environment for the child that aids learning.” (1988, p. 109)

Addition to education level, facilitating a studying environment or providing learning material for the children is a part of human capital. Whereas social capital relies underlies in the family interaction:

If the human capital possesses by parents is not complemented by social capital embodied in the family relations, it is irrelevant to the child’s educational growth that the parent has a great deal, or a small amount of human capital (1988, p. 110)

So, social capital can help to understand the impact of social relations on individual’s development. Relationship within the family members and community was the scope of his study because he observes social capital as a strong factor in rising generations and he believes that trustworthiness in those relations and closer social structure was where social capital grows (Coleman, 1988, p. 107).

According to Coleman, social capital which refers to social interaction inside and outside of the family, includes “obligations and expectations which depend on trustworthiness of social environment, information flow capability of the social structure and (community) norms accompanied by sanctions” (1988, p. 119). What Coleman found surprising about social capital is contrasting the self-interested nature of human or financial capital, social capital carries public goods, benefit for the whole community (1988, p. 118).

After Coleman’s idea about social capital’s transformation into human capital, especially education and economic conditions, World Bank has followed a similar approach about social capital’s impact on economic improvements. Aim of this report was to provide a tool to measure social capital “for researchers, policy makers, task managers, and poor people themselves, thus ultimately leading to the design and implementation of more effective poverty reduction strategy” (Grootaert, Narayan, Jones & Woolcock, 2004). Tool was the very detailed questionnaire composed of 6 part; group and networks, trust and solidarity, collective action and cooperation; information and communication; social cohesion and inclusion; empowerment and political action. As it is seen from these subtitles, the report defines social capital as a set of norms, relations between groups, networks, and trust which people applied for their works and adopts a multidimensional approach (Grootaert,

Narayan, Jones & Woolcock, 2004, p. 3). Within this multi-dimensionality, the report introduces 3 terms as a way of building social capital; “bounding” social capital which is relations between people sharing similar social environment and demographic characteristics such as family, friends, colleagues, “bridging” social capital defines people who do not have those commonalities, and “linking social capital is for hierarchical relations between people from different positions like representatives of public or private institutions. Bounding and bridging social capital refers to horizontal and more equal relations whereas linking social capital includes vertical (Grootaert, Narayan, Jones & Woolcock, 2004, p. 4). While analyzing social capital, the source of it, how it is established and maintained should not be ignored.

Unlike Bourdieu and Coleman whose contributions comes from sociology, Robert Putnam has deal with the social capital from his own profession of political science. His ideas about the social capital was shaped during his field work on transformation of regional administrations in Italy. He found out that the institutional transformation in the north where civil society and economic conditions were stronger, was relatively successful comparing to south of Italy (Field, 2008, p. 33-34). He assumes, the difference resulted from the civic engagement and the level of social capital which is the activator of that engagement:

Social capital here refers to features of social organization, such as trust, norms and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated action. (Putnam, Leonardi & Nanetti, 1993, p. 167)

So for Putnam, trust, social norms and networks are the three forms of social capital. First of all, he emphasizes the trust as a main component of social capital. Because trust promotes cooperation and the correlation between trust and cooperation feeds each other too. And social trust comes from two sources; “norms of reciprocity” and “networks of civic engagement” (Putnam, Leonardi & Nanetti, 1993, p. 171). By generalized reciprocity he means, unrequited relationship of exchange, but the expectation for return of favor remains for the future such as in a friendship. Communities that shares the norms of generalized reciprocity can act collectively to solve the problems (Putnam, Leonardi & Nanetti, 1993, p. 172). Thirdly, networks of civic engagements are important aspect of social capital. Modern or traditional, feudal or capitalist doesn’t matter, any type of society has mixes of both vertical and horizontal relations. But he claims that networks of civic

engagement are constructed through horizontal relations between the equals and it enables them to work in close collaborations just as in the neighborhood associations. “The denser such networks in a community, the more likely that its citizens will be able to cooperate for mutual benefits” (Putnam, Leonardi & Nanetti, 1993, p. 173). Networks within a community reinforces the norms, improves the communication and the flow of information between members and for this reason intensifies trust. All three features of social life -trust, norms, networks- are the interdependent variables of social capital. They allow quick and collective response for the problems, and collective search for solutions. Deficiency of these traits weakens horizontal interaction and causes uncivic community. Putnam observes political results of social capital by comparing horizontal participation in north and vertical relations in south of Italy:

Civic regions were characterized by a dense network of local associations, by active engagement in community affairs, by egalitarian patterns of politics, by trust and law-abidingness. In less civic regions, political and social participation was organized vertically, not horizontally. Mutual suspicion and corruption were regarded as normal. Involvement in civic associations was scanty. Lawlessness was expected. People in these communities felt powerless and exploited. (1993, p. 182)

The strong cooperation and solidarity networks on the demand side and their ability of producing collective actions make these local associations an actor in the decision-making process. They become a control mechanism for the governors. In the cases that balance between the governors and civic society is missing, people in the community cannot participate in politics and it can cause a risk of abuse and exploitation of the local people. Also, since both demand and supply side of the political structure shares the similar norms and values, they work in cooperation and harmony knowing that one day a person from the public will come to governor position and follow the same rules and norms. In short, Putnam believes that social capital has a vital role in functioning of democracy and public welfare. High level of social capital creates administrative and economic success.

So far, basic conceptualizations about the social capital were reviewed. Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam- all 3 theorists examine different function of social capital. Coleman and Putnam define social capital similarly as a dense network of relations, norms and trust which connects members of society. While the former considers its function in terms of developing a human capital and individual's academic and economic status, the latter discusses its importance in the political participation. Both draw attention to the benefits of

social capital. Conversely, Bourdieu focuses on social capital's capacity to be transformed into an economic source, together with its aspect of inclusion or exclusion. Field sums up their contribution to theorization of social capital in his own words:

Bourdieu shares with Marxism a concern with questions of unequal access to resources and the maintenance of power; Coleman takes as his starting point the idea of individuals acting rationally in pursuit of their own interests; Putnam has inherited and developed the idea of associations and civic activity as a basis of social integration and well-being. Despite these differences, all three consider that social capital consists of personal connections and interpersonal interactions, together with the shared set of values that are associated with these contacts. (2008, p. 15-16)

In my research I will follow this definition of social capital which refers to all kinds of formal or informal social networks (including both horizontal- communal associations, family, friendship and kinship relations, and vertical relations -institutional, bureaucratic and political parties) built upon the mutual trust, norms and values used for individual's own productive actions.

However, John Field warns against the glorification of social capital too much and draw attention to "the dark side of social capital" which is deepening the existing inequalities (2008, p. 79). Because every individual does not have equal access to the sources of social capital. The inequalities are hidden under the class, gender, race, or age differences. Therefore, while analyzing women's role in the decision-making process, developing a gender perspective through reviewing the relation between social capital and political engagement can reveal the reasons of women's underrepresentation.

2.4. Contextualizing Women's Political Representation: Local Politics of Turkey

As it is explained in the previous part, the looking at the proportional data of the gender distribution in political institutions is the most obvious way to understand the level of representation of women. Women in Turkey has gained their right to vote on 20 March 1930. Based on the Village Law in 1933, they had their right to vote in muhtar elections, besides right to be elected to the village communities. Their right to vote and stand for the elections in the parliamentary was realized with the with constitutional amendment on 5

December 1934. After a year of the amendment, on 8 February 1935 women who participated in the parliamentary elections for the first time, had 4,52 % of the representation with 18 seats in the Turkish Grand Assembly. In 1950 national elections- the year of transition to a multi-party system, this rate dramatically decreased to 0,62% and the level of women's representation remained below five percent for a long time. It had reached to 14,4 % barely in 2007. The current rate of the women representation at national level is only 17,1% (Sancar, 2018, p. 30). These statistics beginning from the first years of the Republic until today's shows that women's demand for equal representation is a never-ending struggle.

2.4.1. Women in Local Politics of Turkey

As it is already interpreted with the statistical data, the position of women in politics is quite problematic in Turkish context. Ayten Alkan states that, since local level politics are culturally linked to provision of services rather than power, they are considered as more convenient for women's traditional role. For instance, Latife Bekir who was elected as a counselor for İstanbul in the 1930 municipal elections of Turkey, was interpreting her task as an "extended kind of home management". When it comes to 1980's, the period is characterized by an "intense commodification of urban properties and services as much as urban land... Thus, local politics / governments have started to be considered as a distribution sphere of urban rents, rather than providers of local public services and socio-spatial justice." It is not surprising that women are directly excluded due to their limited network of professional or interest groups (2009, p. 33-34).

1994 local election was the breaking point for Islamic revivalism in Turkish politics. Although the fertile ground was there since 1980 coup d'état (in Arat, 1998), rise of the Islamic ideology became definite when the Refah party (welfare party) took many of the major cities including Ankara and Istanbul. As a result of 1994 elections social-democrat parties lost their privilege to control urban space (Can, 2013, p. 9). Since then women have become the main target of conservative politics in terms of promoting more privatized urban lifestyle. Local government's women clubs, trainings that encourage gendered division of labour given by those clubs, increasing number of shopping malls and small

neighborhood parks are some examples of practices that put women in relatively protected environment.

Starting from the 1994 local elections, women becomes the main locomotive for Islamist party votes including today's AKP (Justice and Development Party). Islamist women assists their male peers to gain votes by visiting the houses, participating in neighborhood meetings with local women and using their networks for the potential voters. Besides women auxiliaries of Refah (Welfare) Party and AKP have constantly provided social assistance to the poor, the elderly and the handicapped especially during Ramadan (Ayata & Tutuncu, 2008, p. 370). They worked for the Islamist party to gain representation in politics. But women's action has been limited to charity activities and community networks only during the election times, excluding from central decision-making body. Ayten Alkan described those women's responsibility as doing "kitchen work" of local electoral politics, and working for male candidates (2009, p. 37). Similar point was made by Ayşe Saktanber through referring to discussions of Najmabadi and Lazreg:

Women could only obtain an elevated social status and respectable public image as long as they stayed within the boundaries of that notion of modesty... within these boundaries women were not expected to compete with men on an individual basis: rather, they were supposed willing to support then in public life without undermining the moral fabric of Islam. (Saktanber, 2002, p. 35)

This direct quote clearly explains the subordinate position of women, where women are expected to stand in the society and politics. Spaces in which women and men conduct "field work" and their political activities were different from each other based on gender division of labour. Men spend time in coffeehouses, workplaces or sport clubs; youth members were meeting in cafes or in certain streets of the neighborhood. Women were mostly attending organizations of wedding ceremonies, hemşehri associations, in addition to home visits. Women activists were acting through informal networks such as kinship or neighborhood relations in their familiar environment (Doğan, 2016, p. 226). At this point it is important to consider the relations between different scales of familiar, communal relations and their scope of influence. The sites of organizations are private but political (so public) at the same time. So although women are recognized in the party, their actions are limited within the patriarchal gender boundaries.

In addition, although women's visibility in public life are not approved in the conservative/patriarchal contexts, activities related with party organization provide legitimacy for those women to participate in public space, relatively loosening patriarchal control (Doğan, 2016, p. 233). However, AKP women are also careful about conducting their party activities without compromising conservative values such as family, morality, tradition, on a "legitimate" framework (Doğan, 2016, p. 237). It means that they have embraced their primary gender role in family, and arranged other thing including the political tasks of their party in a second degree in public space.

Although women from AKP has a remarkable power to provide network, mobilize masses and take care of major works in the party, they are more likely to explain their position with reference to party leaders rather than regarding their own potential (Doğan, 2016, p. 237). Women are expected to take part at the bottom level of the hierarchies of the local administrations and their lower position cause to under representation. However, women are not eager to accept those restrictions easily. One small but critical event took place in Bingöl, 2014 local elections. Nurten Ertuğrul who was elected as a first member of municipal council from AKP was rejected by the mayor (again from AKP). Because the mayor did not want to give any task to a woman in municipal council since it is also "inappropriate" according to our customs and religion. Nurten Ertuğrul resigned immediately as a reaction by saying that she was elected with the support of women; "They're using women as a tool during election period only for show off. It is like playing to audience and I don't accept it" (Arslan & Onal, 2014)

Although they are actively engaging party activities during elections, their actions are organized and controlled by the men taking higher positions in party hierarchies. Women in general are subject to rather limited socio-spatial mobility at the level of local communities and they can negotiate patriarchal control within the limits of party. They take role for home visits, forming familial networks since they can easily enter the other women's private space. But They are standing out of the decision-making process voluntarily, they cannot gain their own autonomies. As it is seen in the Sevinç Doğan's elaborate research, AKP demands support from women just like previous Islamist parties but did not recognized them as a political actor. Since the process of hegemony construction cannot be without women's support, women are involved in party activities especially

through women's branches. However even though their contribution in local politics are recognized by the party; their actions remain limited in the borders of local spaces like neighborhood and their traditional gender roles.

Ruth Lister explains this contradicting mechanism adopted by the welfare state; "While offering women a degree of economic independence..., they simultaneously construct them as economic dependents" (1997, p. 173). Women as welfare providers can gain their own economic power to some extent because they are employed for distributing charity works and social assistance by the local government. But women are also recipients of these social assistance because they are the reproducers of family and community. care responsibilities primarily assigned to woman makes her unpaid, invisible, domestic worker of the welfare state. Women's low level of participation to the labor market, besides welfare state norms and its policy implications encouraging gender inequality (Yaraş, 2004; Yılmaz, 2015).

However due to its accessibility, women may challenge constraints of the male dominated political environment. One of the important researches informing about female representatives' position in local politics of Turkey were conducted by Koyuncu and Sumbas (2016). On the contrary with the general tendency, their aim was not to address factors behind the under-representation of women. They state that due to their positional power, female representatives at the mayorship acquire a different character comparing to representatives at parliament. Therefore, the question of "what women's representation as mayors denotes to local politics of Turkey" was examined in detailed (Koyuncu and Sumbas, 2016, p. 43). The research indicates three significant point about the female mayors' position in local politics; (1) their representation has a symbolic value, (2) female mayors make municipality politically and physically/spatially more accessible for the women, (3) they initiate just representation through gender sensitive practices at municipality. Since each point is important to understand the potentials of women's representation at local level, the main arguments are shortly explained as follows. Firstly, female mayors symbolically become a role-model as well as challenging existing constraints of predominantly male environment in politics. They prove that women are capable of representing their own interest and thus, encouraging more women to participate in politics. Their effect as a role-model can create a "snow-balling effect" and eventually

increase women's presence in decision making processes Koyuncu and Sumbas, 2016, p. 44). Secondly, writers introduce a new type of representation- "Accessible Representation" which is an intrinsic element of the local governments (2016, p. 45-46). considering the idea behind the Anne Philips' "Politics of Presence" (1995), the aim of representing the excluded or disadvantaged groups underlie in its accessibility for those groups. The direct connection between service providers and service receivers helps mayors to address women's needs and problems. Lastly, female mayors open way for just representation. As it is discussed by the Anne Philips, demand for gender equality in political representation as an itself is already an adequate justification of gender quotas (1994, 1995). Through the individual efforts of female mayors, such as gender sensitive working hours for the female councilors, making positive discrimination by appointing and employing more women as officers and directors, they try to increase women's presence. Also, they develop institutional mechanisms favoring women's participation to the politics, such as local women councils, commissions of gender equality and women solidarity centers in order to overcome gender blind practices. As women's needs and problems become more visible through those institutional mechanism and as a result of the just representation, distribution of municipal sources and services are re-organized accordingly by considering those needs. To conclude, all three statement about female mayors underlines that numerical presence of women representatives is the absolute precondition of substantive representation and gender sensitive political and institutional arrangements enabled by the substantive representation.

2.4.2 Women's Representation at Neighborhood Level

The gender perspective on neighborhood level have been neglected for a long time just like any other fields of study. One of the biggest contributions for the gender dimension for the muhtarship comes from Fatma Şenol. She conducted research with women who run candidacy for neighborhood elections, but all lost against a male candidate, in order to understand what the main motivation behind their candidacy is and what makes them fail (Şenol,2006; Şenol 2009).

She questions whether their motivation related with "women's issue" or with their gendered responsibilities against home and community. Because she believes that "the

questions of whether women run for offices because of “women’s interests” and whether and what percentages of women in elected office could influence policies related to women’s issues” (Şenol, 2009, p. 363). Based on their educational, occupational, financial and marital status, she has divided her interviewees into 3 groups; “Charity Worker” (10 out of 20), “New Retirees” (4 out of 20) and “Job Seekers” (6 out of 20). Charity workers are the ones who actively take part in civil organizations and political parties more than 10 years, whereas the new retirees were involved in some charity works for a shorter time, after retiring and wants to make use of leisure time at home. On the other hand, the job seekers- as the name implies become candidate to contribute the financial problems of their families (2009, p. 367-368). Şenol explains that “All of the women, especially the Charity Workers, depicted their candidacy as “the project” to discover their own capacities in public arenas” (2009, p. 368) the results of this study shows that women do not become candidate for defending the women’s interest in politics. These women demand a recognition by the public to show their capacity. However, as I’ve explained before, recognition also can come with a risk of social control. In her case this control comes from both domestic and institutional environment. Şenol states that the women who had candidacy for the neighborhood election have to deal with different barriers at home, in the neighborhood and in the voting system (2006, p. 49). At home, interviewees who are married, receives permission from their husband as long as they do not neglect their domestic responsibilities against the family (2006, p. 48). Her final point was women’s gender-based motivation to participate local politics are connections with their gender roles in the neighborhood and depends on their social or economic conditions. However, the idea that standing for the women’s interest was not the source of motivation for her case (2009).

Another critical evaluation about female muhtars has been made by Yıldırım, Uçaray-Mangitli and Taş (2017). Their research about the gender aspects of the muhtarship shows that female muhtars interplay between the boundaries of public and the private by using practices of regendering and degendering strategically. Depending on the social relation they’ve engaged, female muhtars can act through degendering which means “abandonment of standardized categories and abolish of gender” or regendering meaning “performing taken for granted gender codes and values are strategically instrumentalized” (2017, p. 664). For instance, they can define themselves as mothers, and the neighborhood as the one big family. But their research result shows that these “practices of intimization” do not pose

any transformative effect on traditional gender roles because they are used temporarily as a survival strategy to deal with male dominated political environment (2017, p. 665). They do not challenge the patriarchal set of rules or norms instead, go into some degree of bargaining. Depending on the social and cultural circumstances, they either use their gendered identity to build a relationship or adopt more neutral attitude by degendering their identity

Before going to details of female muhtar's relationship with municipalities and citizens, it is important to understand administrative and social position of muhtarship. Historically muhtarship takes its root from the modernization period of Ottoman Empire. Arıkoğuş indicates that starting from the modernization process of Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic, neighborhood muhtarship works like a "buffer" between (central and local) administrative bodies and neighborhood inhabitant. The muhtar keeps in contact with state as well as people of the neighborhood. Due to this hybrid structure, muhtars try to meet both official expectations and social demands, be helpful in transition processes (from traditional to modern, from rural to urban), compensate inadequacies thereby from time to time they play substituting or mediating role (2018, p. 24).

CHAPTER 3

THE CONTRIBUTIONS AND CHALLENGES OF SOCIAL CAPITAL FOR WOMEN IN LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

The study has started by questioning women's main motivations behind the candidacy for muhtarship. When it is asked how they've decided to be a candidate for muhtarship; the answers are varied considerably and choosing only one reason is not so possible in decision process. It is seen that the combination of several factors promoted them to candidate. Therefore, the most dominant reasons are categorized as; personal concerns and public concerns. Being unemployed (career seeking) and following their own desire for being a muhtar are categorized as personal motives whereas problems with the previous officer, working with the previous officer are included under the concerns about the common good of inhabitants. Lastly, support or encouragement of the residents due to communal support carries both public and private interest.

Table 4: Motives Behind Candidacy

Motives	
For personal concerns	Putting a new carrier/ unemployment: 3 Each from Mamak, Çankaya, Sincan
	Personal desire:4 Each from Sincan, Etimesgut, Gölbaşı, Keçiören
For public concerns	Disagreement with former muhtar: 4 from Mamak, Etimesgut, 2 from Çankaya
Both public and personal concerns	Co-worker of the former muhtar: 4 Each from Yeenimahalle, Mamak, Etimesgut, Çankaya

- Pursuing a new career: 3 participants (from Mamak, Çankaya, Sincan) stated that during the election, they were unemployed and found themselves suitable for neighborhood administration.

I've decided for candidacy in 2004. I was very tired of working in private sector. I was exposed to workplace harassment and mobbing to be honest. I was unemployed during the time my mother died and I had to work. Three months before the elections I thought, being neighborhood officer is very suitable for a woman. It would fit in with me very well. I was an active person I've trusted myself about having good communication with people. I've thought I can do it. (Kültür, Çankaya)

I graduated from computer education in university, I am a teacher actually. But I couldn't be appointed to any school. After that I worked in private schools for a while. But the workload was too heavy and payment was less than deserved. So I thought why wouldn't I run for neighborhood elections so that I can be a role model for other women too. (Pınarbaşı, Sincan)

As It is seen from the direct quotes above, being unemployed at that certain time was only a means for candidacy. They were after a career change with more personal interests.

- Desire for being a neighborhood officer: 4 in total stated that it was their own desire. 2 of the participants, one from Sincan and the other from Etimesgut told that being a neighborhood officer was their own desire. There was no other reason other than that:

Before the 2014 local elections, it was at the back of my mind. So, I decided just before a month ago. (Oğuzlar, Etimesgut)

It was my dream for long years ago. I decided 3 years before the local elections and let everyone know that I will run for candidacy. I organized meals for local women, brought them to breakfast on March 8, Women's Day. I introduced myself to them. (Osmanlı, Sincan)

On the other hand, 2 participants, one in Gölbaşı and other one in Keçiören wanted to be a neighborhood officer after they retired to keep themselves busy.

- Concerns with the public services: 4 participants' journey of election have started because of some disagreement with the former officer. They (from Mamak, Etimesgut and 2 from Çankaya) have decided to run for neighborhood elections because they got mad at previous officer and believed that they can do better.

I got angry to the former officer. Because I couldn't find him in the office whenever I needed. He delayed my work about 10 days. So, I've decided. People around me thought that I was not serious. But since I've already engaged in trade, directly go to printing house to prepare my brochures. I've already trusted myself so I've decided on my own. (Ahimesut- Etimesgut)

A couple years ago, I came to neighborhood office to take some documents which are too expensive for a paper. And I was shocked by the price. When I told that to my friends in community center (halkevi) they suggested me to run for neighborhood elections. That's how I decided. (Mamak)

One day, while talking with my friends about a problem in our neighborhood, I said 'if I were the officer, I would do like this'. After that they said wouldn't you consider to be an officer. I started like that. (İşçi Blokları)

As it is seen from these answers of the participants; their displeasure about the previous services has prepared their route for being muhtar. But it is important to consider that they have already collected social capital such as knowledge, work experiences, self-confidence. All this accumulated social capital provides encouragement to be involved in local politics.

- Combination of public service and career options: Being experienced about neighborhood administration: 4 participants (each from Yenimahalle, Mamak, Etimesgut and Çankaya) told that they've decided to become a candidate because they were the co-worker of the previous neighborhood officer.

I was helping my husband who was neighborhood officer for 20 years. We worked in cooperation. One day a female state official came here and said, 'stay home and look after your children'. Saying such things despite being a lady herself, offended me too much, hurt my dignity. I didn't have authority to sign. But I was welcoming the people, being mostly women. They shared their problems with me. Even though my husband didn't want me to do, I became a candidate. (Karşıyaka, Yenimahalle)

She has already known the working process from her husband's time, and she was very close with her neighbors. So she wanted to prove herself by electing for neighborhood office.

I was a council member of the previous neighborhood officer for 2 periods. She was also my friend too. Later, she resigned, and had new job as a civil servant. As a first member, I substituted for her a year. Later, I was officially elected. (Demirlibahçe, Mamak)

I had already known the job. The former officer was old, and I was helping him with computer. I was doing secretary works. He didn't run for candidacy again. So I believed that I can do better than anybody else because I am already familiar with the job and neighborhood. (Ayyıldız, Etimesgut)

It is understood that being experienced about the job and building a relationship with the neighbors beforehand, have encouraged them to run for elections

3.1 Social Capital As an Enabler

In order to understand female muhtar's experiences during the candidacy and election process, the question of 'in your opinion, what was the most effective factor that help you to become a muhtar?' was asked to participants. And answers came from participants are presented in table 5 below:

Table 5: The Most Effective Factors To Be Elected

Factors to be elected	
Support of the neighbors (7)	
Being women (6)	3 of them from Sincan
Other reasons (5)	Trust of the parents (retired school principle in Keçiören) Nominated by the neighborhood council (Yenimahalle) Nominated by the former muhtar (Çankaya) Being humanitarian, charity works (Etimesgut) Born and raised in the same neighborhood (Mamak)
Work experience (2)	
Family support (2)	

With 7 out of 22, support of neighbors has the most important impact to be elected for neighborhood administration among the participants which shows the obvious relationship between the social capital and representation.

6 out of 22 respondents (including all 3 participants from Sincan) point out that being women is the most important factor in their election whereas 5 out 22 exclude category of

being women from the list. Mistakenly, it can be assumed that these 6 female muhtars have a political concern about representing particularly women's interest. But none of the participants has stated that they feel the responsibility of improving women's position in society.

The category of other reasons refers to "born and raised in the same neighborhood" (Gülseren, Mamak), "in relation to her job experience comes from being school principal "the trust of the parents" (in Subayevleri, Keçiören) "being nominated by the neighborhood council" (in İlköğretim, Yenimahalle), "being nominated by the previous muhtar" (Kavaklıdere, Çankaya) and "being humanitarian" (Ahimesut in Etimesgut). So based on the interviews with the muhtars, the main aspects of social capital working as an enabler during the election process will be discussed in detailed in the following part:

3.1.1 Communal Networks and Sharing the same environment

Throughout the chapter two, the importance of having common social background and sharing similar problems with the group members for descriptive representation has been discussed (Philips, 1998; Mansbridge, 1999), together with the Dovi's guiding principle of strong mutual relations with disadvantaged group (2002). Additionally, how these shared experiences and social relations are effective in production of social capital analyzed as well. As it was interpreted in the Table 7 on previous page, participants think that the support of their neighbors who share the same environment and similar concerns was the foremost factor to be elected.

Muhtar of the Mutlukent Neighborhood in Çankaya, Ayfer Hanım who has 27 years of experience attribute her election to being aware of the needs of the neighborhood and work to complete them:

In 1982, the population of the neighborhood was very few. We took our children to school on the same bus. Everyone recognized each other. I was also aware of the inadequacies of the neighborhood. We needed school for the children, and I had worked in Ministry of Education before, so I was familiar with the application processes. Also, I was 'the class mother'. Since I had worked actively to build a school, my neighbors promoted me to be the muhtar. The primary reason in my election was knowing the needs of the neighborhood very well. After becoming a muhtar, rather than the office work, I have followed the needs of the neighborhood

3.1.2 Education Level of the Participants

Table 6: Education Level of Participants

University Graduate (10)	Çankaya (3), Yenimahalle (2), Gölbaşı, Keçiören, Etimesgut, Sincan, Mamak
High School (10)	Mamak (3), Çankaya (2), Etimesgut (2), Sincan (2), Keçiören
Primary education (2)	Sincan, Yenimahalle

The table 6 shows that the number of university graduate and high school graduate is equal among the participants. The highest number of university graduate is in Çankaya. After Çankaya, Yenimahalle takes the second place. However, one of the two attendees who received primary education, also lives in Yenimahalle. Similarly, Sincan has both primary school graduate and university graduate muhtars as well. Because of this uneven distribution in the education level it is understood that, neighborhood administration is not seen as qualified as other types of administration:

In the beginning, I was not willing to candidate for being a neighborhood muhtar. After being a school principal, neighborhood administration had seemed to me rather a light duty. But later I've seen that representing a neighborhood is a respectful job in its own way. (university graduate interviewee from Subayevleri, Keçiören)

“people told me how could you do that as a woman? Why couldn't I? After knowing how to read and write...” (primary school graduate interviewee from Malazgirt, Sincan)

In the same interview, while talking about what qualities play role to be elected, she answered as;

We came from a village. We are from Çorum. So do neighbors. We all had same place of origin. We get along with each other (Malazgirt, Sincan)

It shows that for being muhtar, low level of education can be compensated by other sources such as kinship or hemşehri relations. However, although having high education is not the primary criteria for women who are elected for neighborhood muhtarship, some participants believes in the benefit of having university degree:

The former muhtar saw me as his opponent, especially because I had university education. (Pınarbaşı, Sincan)

To sum up, academic education can be one of the factors affecting women's candidacy for muhtarship, but it can also be compensated by the strong communal relations and networks depending on the context.

3.1.3 Occupational Status

Table 7: Occupational Status of Participants

Public Sector Retired	6 participants from public sector, 4 of them teacher- Gölbaşı,Çankaya, Keçiören, Yenimahalle
Private Sector 16 out of 22	3 retired from private sector- Sincan, Mamak 12 experience in private sector –Mamak, Çankaya, Yenimahalle, Sincan, Etimesgut + a Housewife from Yenimahalle

The table 7 above shows that almost half of the participants are retired. And almost half of them (4 out of 9) are teachers retired from the local school which provides recognition by the parents of the students. Besides, being known by the inhabitants, they are highly familiar to the neighborhood and its problems since they are residents as well.

It can also be understood from the same table that almost all women (except for one housewife in Yenimahalle) have an experience in professional, administrative, managerial occupations and therefore the have developed enough social, financial capital and knowledge to run for neighborhood elections. The only housewife in Yenimahalle has

stated that she used to worked informally to help their husbands who was the previous neighborhood officer. So she had kind of an experiences in work about the neighborhood.

3.1.4 Encouraging women by being a role model

The importance of raising the number of women in politics has been discussed widely by feminist researches. Major impact of their presence is arisen from constituting a role-model for other women (Philips, 1994, p. 69). It is believed that when women are elected as political representatives and actively participate in decision making processes, they prove that despite the male norms and prejudices, they are as capable as men in administrative positions. Their existence as a role model encourage other women to become candidate.

Although Anne Philips finds it as the least interesting argument considering the democratic discussions (1994), the remarkable increase in female muhtars of Ankara and interviews from the field study shows that argument of the role-modelling is incontrovertible:

Being a female muhtar was not much welcomed by the neighborhood residents in such place like Sincan. But we challenged that claims. When I was first elected, I was the only women in 70 muhtars. But never felt disturb. In the second election, Adalet Mahallesi has joined me and became 2, and then 3. In the 2019 election our number has reached to 5. The courage has come to women. We were making a short move with a local channel and I was introducing the neighborhood as a muhtar. I heard that a girl from a close neighborhood watched it and said if this 'auntie' can become a muhtar, I would be a governer. I hope she will be. I am happy to be a step (forward to gender equality). We have to pave the way for other women, starting from somewhere. People learns by seeing and I try to be an example. This was my last candidacy, but I encourage women around me. As a wife and as a daughter we take care of everything in the house. We take all the burden, why don't we exist in politics? I ask. (Erkekli, Sincan)

I want to be a muhtar to touch the lives of women and children. Since I am, by profession, an educator, I want to constitute a role model for them too. I became a candidate to show that a woman can also develop necessary qualifications to work in administrative positions. (Pınarbaşı, Sincan)

The emphasis on being role model for other women was put mostly by participants from Sincan district. Between the two local elections in 2014 and 2019, the total number of female muhtars has risen from 77 to 124 in Ankara. the noticeable improvement has been achieved primarily in Keçiören (growing three times- from 5 to 16); in Etimesgut (rise from

9 to 15) and in Yenimahalle (from 11 to 20). This increase can also be identified as “snowballing effect” by Koyuncu and Sumbas (2016, p. 44)

Despite these positive developments, female muhtars of Turkey still occupy their token statuses. As Koyuncu and Sumbas emphasize in their researches, both achievements and failures of women representatives capture greater attention, therefore exaggerated compared to male counterparts (2016,44). Besides, because of their symbolic presence, their mistakes can be attributed to other women. One of the female muhtars is well aware of this responsibility:

The majority of people come here by asking ‘where is Muhtar Bey?’, or if a man sits near me, they directly speak towards him. Maybe over time, I’ve gained insight about it: since you are a woman, they can be suspicious about your explanations, thought that she doesn’t have enough information about that issue. Some people easily get angry, shout at me by thinking it will intimidate you. I’ve experienced these a lot. But they gradually get used to seeing a woman.

When I asked how you managed with these aggressive responses, she continues:

I tell that I am the muhtar here. You make a special effort to be more knowledgeable, be more careful not to give inadequate information. You make more research to have comprehensive knowledge of legal issues, of how works have done in municipalities. Some people do not understand the content of the declaration received from here and ask you. It doesn’t have to be much detailed, but you have to provide a preliminary information. To be honest, you have to research more. Secondly, you need to seem more confident. You do not retreat; you do not let them look down on you just because you are a woman. For this reason, you have to work more, prove yourself by showing your effectiveness. You put additional effort. into catching up with the works at home. You always put a lot of effort. (İlkyerleşim, Yenimahalle)

So female muhtars’ strong attitude challenges existing constraints about women’s political engagement and has transformative effect both for other women and for male dominated political culture.

3.2 Limitations on Social Capital: Patriarchal Barriers faced by Female Muhtars

In order to understand gender dimension of women's representation in local politics, whether being women imposes a limitation to female muhtars or not is the main question of this part. Because throughout the interviews, it is found that patriarchal structure of the society poses a serious threat to possibilities created by the social capital of women. Female muhtars' social capital has been challenged by gendered division of labor, male dominated political environment and gendered forms of social capital.

3.2.1 Gendered Division of Labor

According to Sylvia Walby, studies not taking into account of gender divisions in the household, cannot put forward a comprehensive analysis about the inequality between men and women. "The focus on the household as a unit draws attention away from the theoretical links between different aspects of women's oppression. We need to place analyses of the household division of labor and work strategy within a theoretical framework adequate to understanding gender inequality" (Walby, 1986, 29). Therefore, questions about how female muhtars cope with their domestic responsibilities are specifically included in the research.

As none of the participants had deep sense of grievance about care responsibilities at home, I would have thought that the question of "is there any family member you are responsible to give a domiciliary care, if yes how do you balance your works?" was unnecessary unless I met muhtar of Ahimesut, lower class neighborhoods of Ankara. About 25 years ago, when her son was born disabled, her husband left home. She divorced. But as a woman coming from an eastern part of the Turkey where divorce are not welcomed, she didn't receive any support from her family. So, she raised her children all alone as a single parent by working night and day.

Our first home was like a shelter where I covered the ceiling and windows with a thick nylon to protect from cold. I was working at a technical service in the weekdays, sewing clothes in the nights and going to cleaning houses at weekends.

She works all her life and became the only breadwinner of her family. So when she made her own decision to run a candidacy for a muhtarship alone, she doesn't pay attention what others said:

When I shared my decision about candidacy with my family, they laughed at me and make fun of me. But I was confident about myself. I've done business for a long time, so I called a printing house. (to prepare brochures announcing her candidacy)

Despite her family's discouragement, her life experiences enable her election. She admits that having a disabled child makes her life harder.

I even sold my old wedding ring for my son's medication. When I went to district governorship to apply for a social assistance, I couldn't dare to go inside after seeing how applicants were treated. Officers were look down on needy people. Parents of disabled children gets more sentimental and more sensitive comparing to others. Due to my lived experiences, I understand them very well. I know how hard their situation is. So, I do my best to solve their problem. I never turn my back on them, never reject them. Even if my son has become a 24-year-old man taking care of himself. I continue to devote my life to disabled and needy people by providing wheelchairs.

So in the face of all difficulties, the social capital accumulated through work and life experiences transforms her into a preferable representative who consider the interests of disadvantaged groups of disabled, poor and elderly neighbors and contribute their access for social assistance.

As the burden of domestic responsibilities is predominantly taken by women, women wait until their children grow so that their burden will be reduced to some extent. For this reason, they have become the latecomers of the work life. It is validated for political carrier as well. For example, Vivien Lowndes explains in her study on the relationship between the gendered social capital and political engagement, the age becomes barrier for women who wants to compete for higher positions in politics. She found that the age profile of the male councilors varies between twenty-five to forty-four, women's age on the other hand fell into forty-five to fifty-nine when their caring responsibilities are reduced after they brought up their children (2006, p. 230).

Base on the data collected through my field research and presented in the table 8, more than half of the participants are over 50 years old. the average age of participants is

calculated as 53. The oldest participant is 75, who is the most experienced with 7 period, from Mutlukent neighborhood, Çankaya whereas the youngest is 34 years old, in her first period from Sincan, Pınarbaşı neighborhood.

Table 8: Age of Participants

	Younger than 40	40-50	50-60	Older than 60
Çankaya	-	1	2	2
Etimesgut	1	1	1	-
Gölbaşı	-	-	1	-
Keçiören	-	-	1	1
Mamak	-	1	2	1
Sincan	1	2	-	1
Yenimahalle	-	-	1	2
	2	5	8	7

What is remarkable here is only 2 out of 22 participants are younger than age of forty and only 2 of the whole participants are single. 17 out of 20 states that their children are adults now and they don't have anyone who needs special care in the household. They've waited until their children grows:

I did want to be a neighborhood officer when my children are little. My brother and father -in-law said 'all the state officials- district governor, police, mayor are all male. What will you do with them?' Despite my husband's support, I thought I was too busy with my children and works at home. Now I regret not doing it earlier. If I would have started when I was young, I would have gone into politics. It is too late for me. I am 68 years old and elected this term for 5 more years. My age is going to be 72. After that I'll retire (Erkeksu, Sincan)

As the time passes, care responsibilities finished but opportunities for women to build a carrier in politics are reduced as well.

Only 3 of them have school-aged kids and their grandmothers supports them for caring children after school:

I have kids and they are not grown yet. Sometimes it can be problem if the meetings, interviews are set after the office hours. my telephone can ring anytime during working hours. so these can be problems. my husband is not voluntary for sharing responsibilities at home. So I ask help from my mother. Thanks to her, I can manage both of my responsibilities (Ayyıldı, Etimesgut)

So, if women do not have any support from family, they wait for their children to grow and then they are able to participate in local politics. Although for neighborhood level it creates a good image of proper women, being a mother who doesn't neglect family and house and gain neighbors' sympathy as well as votes; it blocks chance of further progress in a political carrier. Their social capital accumulated through caring and communal responsibilities and this domestic type of social capital promote an opportunity for the neighborhood level. But when it comes to higher representational positions, it is really problematic whether they can be converted into more formal political activities.

3.2.2 Male-dominated Political Culture

Although almost all women experienced advantages and disadvantage of being a woman during their candidacy, they strongly believe that the duty is gender neutral. The reason of this difference is because the candidacy process is predominantly constructed on the interaction with the voters whereas the incumbency is carried out with the public institutions. The society cannot be thought free from traditional gender roles. But the participants says that being women doesn't affect their relations with municipal or public institution negatively.

It is not about gender. If there is a problem in your neighborhood, the important thing is to bring solution. It is not related with being man or women. It is about communication with people. If you tell your request properly, you can already solve this. It depends on your approach to the institution (Oğuzlar Neighborhood, Etimesgut)

However, especially the candidacy process did not go easy for some participants because of their male rivals:

The former muhtar was also a candidate. But he lost the election. He did not want to transfer office to me. Later, I saw that he transformed muhtar's office into an association for elderly people. I wrote a petition to sub-governor, they said that they will provide an office for me. But it took 2 months. In that two months, I used a room of Atatürkist Thought Association. Also I should have take the seal from him. I couldn't go alone. Members of muhtar councilors came with me. (Çayyolu, Çankaya)

The only disadvantage I've experienced was the negative reaction of people. Some people do not stand to see women in administrative positions... the competition process was contentious. The other candidates teared down my posters.

... During my incumbency, I had some negative experiences as well. For instance, 2 days ago, a man sent her 13-year-old daughter to take a legal notification. Even if I explained that it is against law to deliver it to a child, he insisted on the phone and then came to my office with greater anger. He shouted at me, tried to start a fight. So I directly went to police station and filed a complaint against him. But I am sure if it was a man who sitting at this chair, he couldn't dare to shout. (Pınarbaşı, Sincan)

Just before the election time, I received obscene phone calls, with many insults and harassments. Same thing was happened before, during previous elections as well. Now I am carrying an electric shock device with me to protect myself.

... When I announce my candidacy, the former muhtar made fun of me. I didn't answer at all. He didn't take me so serious. But after accounting the votes and it is understood that he lost, he left the city on the next day for almost two weeks. I received my official certification but the seal was missing. After 15 days, he came back and deliver the seal. (Gülseren, Mamak)

As it is seen from the interviews the male dominated norms continue its dominance in anytime and anywhere.

3.2.3 Gendered Forms of Social Capital

While the membership to the associations is corelated with the social capital and political engagement, "how, in different contexts, do relations of trust and mutual reciprocity 'capitalize' political engagement? Here the social capital debate has much to learn from the existing literature on women's unorthodox routes to political engagement, and from feminist perspectives on citizenship" (Lowndes, 2000, p. 536). The Gender aspect of social capital lies under "the relationship between the 'small democracies' of everyday life and the 'big democracy' of political parties and organized government." (2000, p. 537)

For this reason, throughout her study on local governance in Britain, Vivien Lowndes asks vital questions in order to analyze gender relation in social capital and its effect on their political representation:

- “Do women have as much social capital as men?”
- “Is women’s social capital the same as men’s?”
- “Do women use their social capital in the same way as men?” (Lowndes, 2006, p. 216)

Although Putnam in his later works was interested in how gender roles (whether being a working and nonworking women) differs in terms of organizational involvement, there were no study to show absolute difference in the amount of social capital or nature of social capital possessed by women and men until British General Household Survey in 2000/01. The survey results reveal that women are a little more active than the men based on the social capital indicators trustworthy, social networks, social support, civic engagement and interest in local issues with such a small difference (Lowndes, 2006, p. 218-219). Although, findings show that the quantity of social capital women and men had might be equivalent, the quality of this capital is completely different than each other.

Under this circumstance, Lowndes proposes another question; “Can all types of social capital be converted into political engagement, and under what conditions? It seems from our discussion so far that women have access to as much social capital as men, but that this social capital tends to be of a different type” (2006, p. 224- 225). Women and men participate different types of associations depending on their tradition gender roles. Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart points out that the greatest difference between men and women doesn’t come from the number of clubs, groups or organizations, but instead in the divisions between the associational lives. For instance, organizations of political parties, sport clubs, professional groups or labor unions are outnumbered by male members whereas women mostly join to voluntary associations related to family, education, art, religious, and care services for the elderly and handicapped (2006, p. 82-83). Women’s responsibilities of social reproduction in the family shapes the characteristic of their social capital, thus narrow their activities down to the closer environment:

As women draw on their hard-earned social capital as a resource in the day-to-day management of their own and their family’s lives, there may be little left to spend on politics. Women’s social capital may be more likely than men’s to remain within

the community sphere, rather than spilling over into the political domain. (Lowndes, 2006, p. 226)

So participation to gendered organizations accumulates gendered capital. In addition to sex segregation, types of networks women had, are more homogeneous comparing to men's.

Table 9: Membership of Social Organizations or Associations

	Number (%)	Distribution according to districts
Doesn't have	10 (43%)	Mamak (2), Etimesgut (2), Sincan (2), Yenimahalle (2), Gölbaşı, Keçiören
Political Party	5 (22%)	Mamak (2), Çankaya (2), Sincan
Women's association	3 (13%)	Sincan, Çankaya (2)
Civil organizations	5 (22%)	Çankaya (2), Etimesgut, Yenimahalle, Keçiören

The types of social capital that female muhtars have are presented in the table above considering their engagements to civil society organizations. The political party membership within the respondents was very low with 5 out of 22. Only 3 of them states that they are still have membership. These neighborhoods are Çayyolu and İşçi Blokları form Çankaya District and Osmanlı neighborhood from Sincan. For Mamak, officer of the Gülseren told that before elected she was a member of the oppositional party, but later during her incumbency she cancelled it, thinking it may cause problem while working with governor party's municipality. Bahçelerüstü neighborhood officer told that she used to have a membership in DYP (Doğru Yol Partisi- the Right Way Party), a right-wing party from 90's. but she didn't give any details whether she has another party relation.

Actually, as a neighborhood muhtar, majority of the participants keep their distance from political parties and when it is asked 10 out of 22 have strongly admitted that they found inappropriate for a muhtar to have a party or any organizational membership:

Never. It is our principle with my husband, we don't have any membership from any kinds of organization or association. We are not from a political party. We have equal distance for all people. Everyone has its own party. I cannot announce mine. I have only one vote which only interests me. The important thing for us is whether we can get an social assistance from municipality, no matter what party it is. Important thing is to receive service. (Demirlibahçe, Mamak)

Only 3 participants; Kültür and Kavaklıdere Neighborhoods from Çankaya, and Pınarbaşı from Sincan states that they had involved in women's associations. 4 neighborhoods; Mutlukent in Çankaya, Subayevleri from Keçiören, İlkyerleşim in Yenimahalle and Oğuzlar from Etimesgut indicates that they involved in various associations ranging from family-teacher associations to neighborhood officers or to ideological associations such as Atatürkist Thought Association.

Briefly, neighborhood officers in the research have rather weak relations with political parties. 10 of them do not attend any organizational activities. Çankaya has distinguished with its highly active officers. All of them have either an association or political party membership. The membership to a women's organizations have a small share among the female officers comparing the other local associations.

3.3 Social Capital as a Strategy

Beyond their legal responsibilities, Muhtars functions in three different way (Arıkboğa, 2018, p. 27-28) and these functions are commonly observed in my field research too. First one is related with the administrative institutions. They try to find additional sources to provide/bring urban local services by using their public or civil society networks especially for the neighborhood that located on the periphery of the city where the municipal services remain weak.

As muhtars, we want to achieve as many things as possible. Muhtarship is an institution with limited sources. We have very limited financial budget- depending on the municipalities, limited authority and no recruitment of employee. Although people has deep expectations like 'you're the muhtar, if you tell they will work on it', but unfortunately it is not the case. In the end, the sources of municipalities or other institutions are limited as well. Your influence depends on how much they listen to you. If you insist on your needs and they understand that your demand is really necessary for the neighborhood, they solve it. But there are times we are incapable. Other than that, we saw great examples of cooperation with the

neighborhood council and people of the neighborhood while seeking solutions. We arrange social activities together, organizing local fairs on Mother's Day and Women's day. (İlkyerleşim in Yenimahalle)

There is unemployment in this country, no one can deny it. I, as a muhtar can only do this: the person who is looking for someone who can give a childcare, elderly care or work as a cleaning lady asks me. On the other hand, people looking for job come to me as well. I take their telephone number. When someone asks, I give that number. I leave the rest to them. I cannot afford to find job for each and every one. I just conduce them to meet. (Subayevleri, Keçiören)

Especially during the Ramadan, we try to distribute the donations made by the philanthropists. (Gülveren, Mamak)

Second one is related with local inhabitants. They provide guidance for the people in formal, legal issues. Also, they serve as an intermediary between the local state and its residents by informing municipalities about the needs and problems of the neighborhood residents.

Muhtars cooperate with the municipalities, the district governors, the social welfare institutions. They inform municipality about the concerns or complaints of the neighborhood, they are some kind of an intermediary (Pınarbaşı, Sincan)

The duty of the muhtar is to relay all the positive and negative developments in the neighborhood to the related institutions such as infrastructural problems about electricity, asphalt. (Çayyolu, Çankaya)

Everyone comes to muhtarship and share their problems. Therefore, a muhtar has to have at least a little knowledge about everything. Even if they do not follow your advice, you should help, be guiding for them. For instance, a woman decided to get divorce, you tell her to apply to court, inform her about the necessary documents. If her economic conditions are bad, tell her about the legal aid of assigning a lawyer. You'll be a guide. Or you can advise her to give a one more chance for her marriage if it is their first argument. (Demirlibağçe, Mamak)

Thirdly, the muhtars occasionally have mediating role within the neighborhood residents, helping to solve local conflicts:

If people bring me the tiniest problem about their apartments, it means that they see me very effective in solving problems. For example, a young couple wants to get married. But their family do not let them. They ask me to convince their family. (İşçi Blokları, Çankaya)

Another perspective about muhtar's position in administrative unit admits that they are in-between institution showing characteristics of both central and local administrations. Basically, muhtars are working like a public civil servant. Muhtars are generally in charge of giving poverty document, residence documents, copy of the identification card or recording the new address declarations which are the duties related with the central governments. But muhtars generally carry out works related with urban local services which positions them at local politics (Sadioğlu, Ergönül, 2019). Although muhtars do not have any legal authority, based on the Law No. 5393- Article 9 adopted in 2005, they are expected to provide information about the neighborhood:

The muhtar is obligated to determine the common needs through voluntary contribution of the local residence, to improve the living conditions of the neighborhood, to work in cooperation with the municipalities as well as other public institutions, to state an opinion about the issues concerning the neighborhood and perform other duties within the legal boundaries. (2005)

Despite the fact that muhtars are expected to take part in distribution of local services, they do not have legal authority or sanction power which put them in vulnerable position in the eye of both municipalities and citizens.

Municipalities see us like a janitor of apartments. They think that we are making unnecessary requests to increase their workload. But everything that municipality did for neighborhood will return itself in the elections. I am already working for them for free and voluntarily. We are doing our job to serve residents. We don't look after our own interest. So why are you acting like you're making a favor. We try to get service by insisting constantly. (from an interview in Kültür neighborhood, Çankaya)

Additionally in the same law of 5393, Article 24 states that muhtars can participate in municipal council committee meetings and share their opinions about the issues concerning their fields of responsibility and activity. But the majority of the participants told that they don't attend municipal council meetings at all. They believe that even if they go, they don't expect to receive any respect from municipalities. Nevertheless, citizens see neighborhood officers as an administrator in charge:

Residents of my neighborhood are from the lower income group. They see us in so much power that we are cable to provide social assistance to pay their rents. Some of them come and ask me to make rental aid. But we can only guide people to apply related public institutions. As if we have any financial funding... They have strong

impression that we are the competent authority obligated to help them. (Gülveren, Mamak)

Because neighborhood officers are the most accessible face of authority, people directly come to them for their problems but none of the participants can engage in municipal council meetings and decision-making mechanisms of municipalities.

In order to understand how they are effective in decision-making processes; they were asked to evaluate their effectiveness by giving point between 0 and 5. Zero refers to not effective at all whereas 5 means very effective.

Table 10: The Effective Participation Level of Female Muhtars in Decision-Making Process

Scale		
Totally effective	2 (2.9%)	Mamak, Çankaya
Average	5 (23%)	Sincan (2), Etimesgut, Keçiören, Yenimahalle
Little	5 (23%)	Mamak, Çankaya (3), Keçiören
Not effective	6 (27%)	Yenimahalle (2), Mamak (2), Çankaya, Keçiören
No idea	4 (18%)	Yenimahalle (2), Sincan (2)

The results presented in the graphic above, shows that 6 out of 22 participants think that they are excluded from participating in decisions about their municipalities. They have given zero which is not effective at all. These neighborhoods are listed as 2 from Yenimahalle (Ayyıldız and Ahimesut), 2 from Mamak (Demirlibahçe and Gülsere), 1 from Çankaya (Kültür) and 1 from Gölbaşı (attend Eymir).

We cannot attend to municipal councils. But this is exactly what we expect from new mayors. We told candidates too. At least they let us watch the meetings. They (council members) take huge decisions about the neighborhoods. For instance, one of our roads was appropriated for the railway project. I was the last one to hear that project. But it is not asked to us at all even though we are the best to know. They were in such a rush that they don't even consider handicapped people. But there is always a risk of being handicapped for everyone. we don't know any decisions except for what we demand. (Demirlibahçe, Mamak)

We can attend to council meetings but don't have time for it. And we don't receive any respect from them. Maybe they don't want us to see the process because they are self-interested. No transparency in meetings. If I go to see them, it requires

money. We rush between institutions and we pay our own transport fares. We need free travel card for example. We don't us to know about decision they took. Because when we know, we interfere. So they do everything behind our back. (Kültür, Çankaya)

She points out many issues including lack of sources such as time and money, low prestige of working as a muhtar and she claims that the neighborhood officers are excluded from the decision-making processes on purpose.

4 out of 22 said they don't have any idea about being effective on the decisions. 3 of them said they don't have any experience about that because they were recently elected, in their first years. However muhtar of Ragıp Tüzün in Yenimahalle told that she doesn't recall anything significant either, despite 3 periods of incumbency.

The numbers of the participants who gave 2 points and 3 points are equal; five officers for each category. Gülveren,from Mamak.; Kavaklıdere, Çayyolu, Mutukent from Çankaya; Basineveler from Keçiören thinks they have little effect on decisions and gave 2 points. The majority of the Çankaya group appears here.

Mayor arranges separate meetings for neighborhood officers if he wants. We attend those meetings. Sometimes once in three months, sometimes once in a year. We can't enter council meetings since we are not invited. Sometimes they value the information that we provide. But generally, they follow own ways, we remain in the background. So I gave 2. In the simplest example, while building a park, if they let us know, we can recommend proper place based on the residents need. (Gülveren, Mamak)

We don't hear about the decisions of municipality. But we try to reach council members. They can let us know informally. Last term we benefit from only one of them. this term we have arrange an appointment from 3 council members for asking to share the related decisions with us. (Mutlukent and Çayyolu, Çankaya)

Both of the neighborhoods from Çankaya gave the same answer. They try to form personal relations with council members. Kavaklıdere neighborhood on the other hand says "we can affect as long as we know about them"

5 participants from Subayevleri from Keçiören, Erkeksu and Malazgirt from Sincan, Oğuzlar from Etimesgut and İlkyerleşim from Yenimahalle. Gave 3 point and said their influence is average:

They take our demands into consideration actually... I believe we're quite effective in solving neighborhood's problems. because we request what is really necessary based on the needs and demands of the neighborhood. And the governors, mayors are aware of it. But when they take a planning decision in municipal councils, we are not in the council, so some things happens beyond our control. It would be better if we attended the council meetings. (İlkyerleşim, Yenimahalle)

I feel effective in solving the problems. Because I lay the foundation of it. Then the process begins. I am the initiator and it is such an honor, no matter who knows or not... we cannot attend to decision making mechanisms. We just inform them about our demands, they discuss it accordingly. But no decision have been taken against our will so far. (Oğuzlar, Etimesgut)

So the majority of the responders (16 out of 22) thinks they are excluded from decision making, even if they are the most knowledgeable about the neighborhood issues. To some up despite their limited authority, muhtars has an important responsibility to maintain serve for neighborhood. Because of their limited authority they can experience some difficulties since they are very much dependent on municipalities. But especially female muhtars achieve those difficulties by initiating social capital they had. During their incumbency as muhtars, women used their accumulated social capital by following formal and informal paths in order to be involved in decision making processes of redistributing public services.

3.3.1 Formal Strategies

Based on the data collected from field interviews, formal strategies developed by the female muhtars' individual social capital are grouped into two; taking part in council meetings of municipalities and governors and founding a formal association for specifically female muhtars.

3.3.1.1 Participation in Board of Trustee

In addition to routine procedure of formal application through petitions to related governmental institutions, women muhtars get involved in some public commissions constituted for monitory purposes. For example, regarding the redistribution of the services regarding the domain of social policy, Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundations work under the control of the governor and sub-governors, have board of trustees. Its members

consist of mayor, heads of administrative departments, one neighborhood muhtar, two local philanthropists and local civil society organization. And based on the decisions taken by these actors, public funds are redistributed for social purposes (Yıldızcan, Bayraktar, 2019, p. 368). Through these commissions female muhtars have direct face-to-face relation with public authorities- gain recognition and protect the interest of the inhabitants through redistributing local service:

I was struggling to enter the governor's board of trustee for four years. you cannot find opportunity because of males. In the end I did. I go to meeting once in ten days to provide social assistance for the needy in my neighborhood. There is also a male colleague who was supposed to participate too. We made our 7th meeting, he didn't attend any of it. Totally irresponsible. (Mamak, Gülveren)

This quote is from an interview in lower income neighborhood of Mamak. She told that she feels highly effective to solve problems in her neighborhood thanks to this committee which provide direct contact with the governor, provincial directors from ministry of family and social policy and a representative from municipality. However, in order to prove that she is eligible for representing in the commission, she had to mobilize her social capital. Through solidarity networks within the female muhtars, she organized the votes of her counterparts so that they have achieved representation against their male colleagues:

When you talk, woman officer understands other women officer. Women understand each other but man doesn't understand a woman. If I hadn't organized all female neighborhood officers of Ankara, I couldn't have had that position in the board. Women officers have come and said enough! At least a woman should attend. (Mamak)

So in order to gain representation among the institution, women struggle together against men to have position in monitoring and decision making process. These relations also bring recognition by authorities

3.3.1.2 Female Muhtars Association of Turkey

Female Muhtars Association of Turkey was founded in 2013 with the leadership of Serpil Hanım who is the current muhtar of Kültür Neighborhood in Çankaya. The aim of the association is encouraging more women to participate. Serpil Hanım describes process of founding the association as:

I worked administration of Çankaya Muhtarlar Association and Federation of Muhtars before. Since these organizations are dominated by the men, I couldn't even find opportunity to express my ideas. They ignored me, ignored my proposals. They get very much used to traditional and classic methods. I felt marginalized. Under these conditions, I've understood that it is impossible to act with men so, decided to start women only association. (Kültür, Çankaya)

Today's President of the Turkish Republic- Erdoğan was the prime minister during that days (referring to around 2013). It was impossible to reach him. He wasn't interested in problems of muhtars at all. Considering his close relations with muhtars, He was very different from today. The number of female muhtars over all Turkey was about only 150 during that time. We had already contacted each other. We met once a month with the female muhtars in Ankara. In those meetings, we decided to visit political party groups in National Assembly. We prepare a report about the status of Muhtarships and how they are supposed to function and distribute that report to all MPs. The title of the report was 'I love my family, my neighborhood and my country'. We saw prime minister for a few moments, told our problems and demands but it was not something serious. But we had a chance to talk Menderes Türel- he was in charge of the AKP's local governments during that time. He said why don't you become an association. Our documents of constitution were ready, but I was not sure about it because of negative reactions saying that I was making discrimination. But I announced all my women colleagues and founded the Female Muhtars Association of Turkey. We continue to grow more and more since 2013. (Kültür, Çankaya)

She admits that she always believes in power of women's solidarity and says "A match alone does nothing by itself, but a lot of matches, together can boil a cauldron."⁴ (quoted from the interview with the president of Female Muhtars Association of Turkey and Muhtar of the Kültür Neighborhood in Çankaya)

Acting within the association brings some advantages for female muhtars. For instance, female muhtars gain recognition in the eye of the power figures:

It is very difficult to get an appointment from the governor or minister for a female muhtar by herself. But when I call and introduce myself as a secretary general of the Female Muhtars Association of Turkey or state that I am from the administration of the Mamak Muhtars Association; then things are going very well. Becoming a part of a formal association help to get access to public governors. (Gülseren, Mamak)

Also educational activities of the association help women muhtars to trust themselves:

⁴ "Bir kibrit tek başına hiçbir şey yapmaz ama birçok kibrit birleştiğinde bir kazanı kaynatır"

As the members of Female Muhtars Association, we support and encourage each other. The strongest support come from the president of association. She organizes seminars, educations for female muhtars all over the Turkey. In every meeting, we learn something new. By using the name of the association, we get invitations to the meetings with mayors and find opportunity for face to face communication. Our aim is increasing the number of women. (Erkesu, Sincan)

However, some female muhtars do not approve an organization particularly aiming only women:

“I am against sex discrimination. I don’t accept to make discrimination between women and man. A clever person can solve his/her own problem. If you say being female neighborhood officer makes it easier, it means sexist. For instance, there is an association of women neighborhood officers across Turkey. I am against this kind of associations. If woman exists in the society, it should be together with man. And this struggle should be maintained with man, not against him. Therefore, I don’t like to discriminate” (İşçi Blokları, Çankaya)

3.3.2 Informal Strategies

3.3.2.1 Networking Between Women Counterparts

In this study social capital seen as a main initiator of women’s candidacy for neighborhood administration and a strategy to overcome the barriers they’ve faced during their incumbency. Joni Lovenduski and Azza Karam develop a “Rule Strategy” to enhance the presence of women in administrative position. This strategy includes three steps; “learning the rules, using the rules and changing the rules” (2015). Rules indicates all the formal, institutional regulations as well as informal practices and unspoken customs and conventions (2015, p. 20). This strategy assumes that there is a need for change regarding the gender inequality of women’s representation. Therefore, women should comprehensively learn the procedure and use them to bring equal representation for women. Lovenduski and Karam states that networking between counterparts provide an opportunity for training and socialization for women MPs. Because through networking, inexperienced incumbent can access to knowledge that may cost years to acquire. They come together and share their knowledge and experience so that they can increase their potential to be effective in decisions (2015, p. 24). In the research conducted within the female neighborhood officers in Ankara, the aim of cooperation with colleagues is noted as first to make applications together for the shared issues and second to make mentoring for each other

Collaborative working of women representatives from the same district comes as an informal strategy especially for Çankaya. In the whole research, only 3 out of 22 participants have chosen cooperation with the colleagues as a one of the methods to solve a problem. And 2 out of 3 neighborhood officers were from Çankaya

If a problem emerged concerning the whole region, we cooperate. Because there is a street passing from the 4-5 neighborhood, one side is Ümit Mahallesi, other side is mine, ahead of it Koru and Ahmet Taner Kışlalı and goes on like that. So we come together and applied. If you act together, you will be more powerful. (Mutkukent)

The female neighborhood muhtars sharing the similar contextual problems get organized and request appointments from municipalities as a group.

If we object to a decision, we decide together with the other colleagues. For instance, there will be a meeting this evening, and 3 municipal councilors were invited. We, neighborhood officers from the same region will meet these new council members and asked for being informed about the decisions. We also hold express an opinion whether it is necessary or not. (Çayyolu)

Also, they use this networking for giving advice and guidance as well. Female neighborhood officers support and encourage each other throughout the learning process. A responder from Etimesgut particularly mentioned this help:

I didn't know anything about my work. I had run my candidacy with a sudden decision. The only thing I could think of was to improve the conditions of my neighborhood. No road, no bus, no asphalt. The only thing was to write petitions as soon as possible. But I didn't know where to apply for inadequacies. By asking my colleagues, I have completed my missing knowledge. (Ahimesut)

As a result, networking with their counterparts and working in cooperation with each other contributes in two ways. It allows to be recognized by higher authorities and thus to be included in decision making process. Additionally, the solidarity network between them highly used for guidance and advisory purposes.

3.3.2.2 Cooperation with the Locals

Throughout the research, in addition to following institutional procedure of letting know the authorities about the problems, collectively acting with the residents and neighborhood

associations was preferred as a second method to solve the problem of the neighborhoods. 4 out of 22 participants follow that method in problem solving. 3 of them is from Çankaya and 1 of them from Yenimahalle districts, all stated that they work together with the neighborhood associations.

An example for network-based behavior has again come from Çankaya; Ayfer hanım who has worked as a neighborhood officer for 7 terms, since 1982 in Mutlukent neighborhood explains how they brought natural gas to the neighborhood during the very beginning of the settlement:

We were a small-sized neighborhood during those times. There was only one bus going to city center. The advantage of using one bus is everyone knows each other. They know how hard I've tried to get natural gas. Twice a week, 8 in the morning, we- women full of 3 cars, went to the municipality. There was also one more muhtar which is male. But he was not interested in anything. I interfered due to my active nature. I collected all the women. And I did not only take my neighbors, but also women from closer neighborhoods too. We're working with friends from Atatürkist Thought Association and Association for the Support of Contemporary Living joined us too. We came together and went to the door of the general manager in the municipality and ask for natural gas. After some time that municipal manager moved to our neighborhood. He said 'Ayfer Hanım, this neighborhood owns too much to you'. Because he knows, from 8 in the morning till the evening, we were in his room. This is how we achieved in the end. (Mutlukent, Çankaya)

The familiarity between the residents and the civil society organizations sharing the same neighborhood and sharing the same context-based problems produce a collective action between them. As it is told in definition of social capital chapter, this example of civic engagement was operationalized through the trust relation, shared norms and dense networking.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

4.1 Empirical Findings of The Study

In Turkey, considering the data and statistics on gender distribution in political representation; although women are expected to be more visible at municipal and neighborhood levels due to its accessibility, their participation to local politics is even lower than the national level. However, in the last elections of 2019, the number of female muhtars is remarkable increased as well. This thesis argues that under-representation of women in local politics can be improved by enhancing social capital of women.

For this reason, the purpose of this thesis is to examine the relationship between women's representation and social capital in local politics and how social capital works both as an enabler and strategy for women who want to participate in politics despite its several limitations. In this regard, a field study consisting of in-depth interviews with the female muhtars of Ankara are conducted.

Muhtar's position in administrative structure of Turkey can be described as the bridge between citizen and the governors. They have direct connection with both neighborhood residents and local authorities. Due to this position, they're expected to assist local authorities in the process of service provision by giving information about the needs and demands of the neighborhood. This direct contact with both the citizens and authorities can provide an alternative route for women to participate in local politics.

When it is asked what the most effective factor in their elections was, they've considered communal networks and sharing the same living environment as the most effective.

Besides support of the neighbors, the following factors are stated as being women, previous work experiences and family support which all indicate the features of social capital.

Based on the in-depths interview, it is found that in addition to doing paperwork, muhtars have three major function which are providing additional sources and services for their neighborhoods when municipal services remain weak; playing an intermediary role between the citizens and local governments and help to solve conflicts between the locals. As a result of field research, it is seen that female muhtars use their social capital to achieve these duties successfully. As a muhtar, these women use their social capital as both enabler during the candidacy process and strategy during their incumbency to gain recognition and to be engaged in service distribution processes.

Nevertheless 6 out of 22 participants don't feel effective in decision making processes of local governments since they have very limited authority. Other participants believe that they are effective in solving the residents' problem because they are neighborhood's source of information and municipalities take their demands into considerations as long as they are corresponding with municipalities' plan.

4.2 Theoretical Findings of the Study

After reviewing the theoretical discussions about the social capital and preferable representative, highly close correspondence between women's political engagement and constituents of the social capital has been found through the in-dept interviews with the female muhtars. So, the main theoretical contribution of this thesis comes from discussing the relationship between the representation local politics and social capital from a gender perspective.

Within the scale of neighborhood, what makes female muhtars distinct from their male counterparts is their capacity to use communal relations. With their double network strategy, they use the support of female inhabitants who share the common needs and problems about the neighborhood as well as the solidarity network created together with their counterpart from the geographically closer neighborhoods.

The level of women's representation at neighborhood level has increased gradually. One possible explanation for that could be women's presence in administrative positions provide a role model for other women and encourage them for candidacy. This interaction can also be called 'snowballing effect'. However, because of the patriarchal norms in politics, female representatives work two times more than their male counterparts to overcome prejudice of male dominated political culture. Because female representatives working in critical positions feel the need of proving that they are as able as men to take part in policy making process.

However social capital can also produce some limitation for women representatives too. Because of the gendered nature of social capital, women are kept out of the areas of formal politics. Community and care-based networks such as neighborhood associations or parent-teacher associations can provide recognition in the close environment and put them in an advantageous position if the case is neighborhood elections. However, their social capital's potential to be transformed into a formal political engagement for higher positions is highly challenged by the male dominated political culture. In this case, policy recommendations will be thought in the following section.

4.3 Policy Findings of the Study

It is already seen that social capital has a positive impact on women's representation in local politics. The communal networks that women had is the major resource of female muhtar's influence in political decisions. Strengthening the accumulated social capital depends on promoting cooperation within the neighborhood as well as collective actions and civic engagement of the inhabitants. And these connections can be achieved through creating neighborhood associations for instance.

In the research, when participants are asked about the political party membership, they predominantly avoid answering this question by saying that a muhtar should be in equal distance from all political parties because muhtarship is not place for politics but rather an institution to provide service for all residents of the neighborhood inclusively. This attitude of female muhtars could be stem from primarily already experienced gender inequality in the society. Because these women are already struggling for equal right. Dealing with a

ideological or political debate will increase the burden on their shoulder. Therefore, political education and consciousness raising about women's needs and interest are necessary in enhancement of gender equality.

4.4 Limitations and Recommendations for Further Studies

Study also has several limitations. Firstly, these results are definitely context based. Even within the borders of Ankara province, each district shows distinctive characteristics. For example in Sincan hemşehri relations are still maintained, for some neighborhood this can work for as an advantage for the candidate. But as the number of candidates has increase, it can also carry a risk that support (and votes) that came from hemşehri networks will be divided too. The social capital of the candidate can work as a main determinant during the candidacy process.

Secondly, in the last local elections in 2019, some districts of Ankara especially in Keçiören, Etimesgut and Yenimahalle, the number of female muhtars increased remarkably. Their number grows almost two times bigger. Understanding what encourages those women to be a muhtar and how their social capital plays role in their decision could provide a guide for policy making process. In this regard it could be even more useful to return the beginning of theoretical discussions about the Fraser's "Politics of Recognition" and "Politics of Redistribution". Therefore, further interviews with the newly elected muhtars are required to make a comprehensive analysis about the motives of female muhtars and role of social capital in their election.

The expectation in the research was that the neighborhood offices could be a jumping ground for higher political positions for such as municipality councils, party organizations or even parliament. But accuracy of this argument cannot be verified. Because none of the participants consider running for elections other than the neighborhood offices. They either plan to retire or repeat the candidacy for neighborhood. Only two participants from Sincan considers trying municipal councils in following terms and they stated that their aim is providing help for residents in need more. Because they believe that through municipal councils, their authorities will be enhanced therefore would find more opportunities to respond people's need.

Nonetheless, throughout my field research I've met two female muhtar- both from Çankaya, one was candidate for national elections and the other for the district municipal council but lost. It should be noted that the participation is based on their voluntary. And they kindly refused me by saying that they don't have much time to interview with me. Although it supports the argument that female muhtars cannot derive adequate social capital- which helps them to compete for higher political positions- from the communal relations, the information about the actual reasons of their failure is missing. To understand those reasons and possible strategies to overcome the difficulties, further research must be conducted with women who was able to achieve an upward mobility in their political carrier and who couldn't achieve.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Mahalle Muhtarlarına Yöneltilen Görüşme Soruları:

Kişisel Bilgiler

Mahalle adı:

Yaşı:

Eğitim durumu:

Mesleği:

Muhtarlık dışında başka bir işle uğraşıyor musunuz?

Muhtar olmadan önce de çalışıyor muydunuz? İş tecrübeniz var mıydı?

Ne kadar süredir bu mahallede oturuyorsunuz?

Kaç dönemdir muhtarlık yapıyorsunuz/ görev süreniz?

Medeni hali:

Hane halkı sayısı (çocuk sayısı):

Evde bakmakla yükümlü olduğunuz aile bireyi var mı? Evdeki sorumluluklarınızla işinizi nasıl dengeliyorsunuz? Dengeleyebiliyor musunuz? (İş bölümü muhtar olduktan sonra değişti mi vs ??)

Adaylık Süreci;

- 1- Aday olmaya nasıl ve ne zaman karar verdiniz? Süreci anlatabilir misiniz?
- 2- Muhtar olmadan önce üyesi olduğunuz dernek veya partiler var mıydı? Varsa neler?
- 3- Muhtar seçilmenizde etkili olan faktörler nelerdir? Sıralayınız
 - a. Ailemin desteği
 - b. Komşularımın, arkadaşlarımın ve diğer yakınlarımın desteği
 - c. Mesleki çevrem ve iş deneyimim

- d. Üyesi olduğum parti
 - e. Partinin kadın kolları
 - f. Üyesi olduğum kadın dernekleri, kuruluşları
 - g. Kadın olmam
 - h. Diğer
- 4- Muhtar adaylığı kararını tek başınıza mı aldınız? Yoksa ailenizle birlikte mi aldınız?
- a. Tek başıma karar verdim
 - b. Ailemle birlikte karar verdik
- 5- Aile bireyleri (eşiniz/anne-babanız) aday olamaya karar verdiğinizde sizi destekledi mi?
- a. Evet destekledi
 - b. Hayır desteklemedi
- Desteklemediyse nasıl ikna ettiniz?
- 6- Kadın aday olmanın getirdiği avantajlar ve dezavantajlar nelerdi?
- 7- Adaylık sürecinde yaşadığınız zorluklardan bahseder misiniz? Sizce erkek adaylar da aynı zorlukları yaşıyor mu? Bu zorluklarla nasıl baş ettiniz?
- 8- Sizden önceki muhtar, adaylığınızı destekledi mi? Ya da nasıl rekabet ettiniz?
- 9- Hangi karakteristik özelliklerinizin ve fikirlerinizin seçilmenizde etkili olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz?

Görev Süreci;

- 10- Mahalle muhtarı olarak görevinizi nasıl tanımlıyorsunuz?
- 11- Seçildiğiniz dönemdeki planlarınız nelerdi, ne kadarını gerçekleştirebildiniz?
Karşılaştığınız zorluklar nelerdi?
- 12- Sizce bu zorlukları erkek muhtarlar da yaşıyor mu? Neden?
- 13- Kadın muhtar olmanın işinizi kolaylaştıran tarafları var mı? Varsa neler, hangi yönden kolaylaştırır?

Mahalle sakinleriyle ilişkisi

- 14- Mahalle sakinleri sizinle sorunlarını paylaşıyor mu?
- Evet
- Hayır
- 15- Paylaşıyorsa bu sorunları genellikle kimler dile getiriyor?

- a. Kadınlar
- b. Erkekler
- c. Gençler
- d. Yaşlılar gibi

16- Bu sorunlar genellikle hangi konularla ilişkili oluyor?

17- Mahalle sakinleriyle iletişiminizde kadın muhtar olmanın avantajları ve dezavantajları sizce neler?

Yerel ve Merkezi yönetimle olan ilişkiler:

18- Sizce mahallenizin başlıca sorunları neler?

19- Mahallede özellikle kadınların yaşadığı problemler var mı? Varsa neler?

20- Bu sorunların çözümünde nasıl bir yol izliyorsunuz?

- a. Azalarla toplantılar yapıyoruz
- b. Gönüllü dernek veya kuruluşlarla toplantı yapıyoruz
- c. Diğer muhtarlarla görüşüyoruz
- d. Mahalle halkıyla toplantılar yapıyoruz
- e. Sorunları belirleyerek üst mercilerden yardım istiyorum
- f. Nerelere belirtiniz:
- g. Tek başıma çözmeye çalışıyorum
- g. Diğer

21- Bu çözümlerde muhtar olarak ne kadar etkilisiniz? Üst mercilerle (belediye başkanı, siyasi parti ya da bakanlıklar gibi) görüşmelerinizde kadın muhtar olmanın getirdiği dezavantajlar var mı? Varsa neler?

22- Belediye meclis toplantılarına katılabiliyor musunuz? Ne sıklıkta?

23- Belediyenin mahallenizle ilgili vereceği kararlardan haberdar oluyor musunuz? Nasıl?

24- Belediyenin mahallenizle ilgili karar alma sürecine katılabiliyor musunuz? Ne derece etkili olduğunuzu düşünüyorsunuz? (0 ile 5 arası puanla değerlendiriniz)

- 0: Hiç etkileyemiyor
- 1: çok az
- 2: Kısmen
- 3: orta
- 4: iyi derecede etkili
- 5: çok etkili

Kadınların Siyasete Katılımı Üzerine;

- 25- 2014 yerel seçimi verilerine göre Ankara'daki 1317 muhtardan sadece 77'si kadın, Türkiye genelinde kadın muhtar oranı %1,3 (50 292'den 674 ü kadın)⁵. Yerel yönetimlere baktığımızda kadın belediye başkanlarının oranı %2,8 (toplamda 1397 belediye başkanının 39'u kadın)⁶ meclisteki kadın milletvekillerinin oranı %17,48'e (104), erkeklerse %82,52 (491)⁷. Kadın temsiline çok düşük olduğunu görüyoruz. Sizce kadınların siyasete katılımının önündeki engeller nelerdir?
- 26- Kadınların yerel yönetimlerde ve politikadaki etkinliğinin artması için sizce neler yapılmalı?
- 27- Tekrar aday olacak mısınız? Gelecekte neler yapmak istiyorsunuz? Planlarınız neler?

⁵ <http://www.muhtarlarkonfederasyonu.org/kunye/icerik/51-turkiye-geneli-kadin-muhtar-sayisi.html>

⁶ <http://www.tbb.gov.tr/belediyelerimiz/istatistikler/genel-istatistikler/>

⁷ https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/develop/owa/milletvekillerimiz_sd.dagilim

APPENDIX B: TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKEÖZET

SİYASİ TEMSİL, TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYET VE SOSYAL SERMAYE ARASINDAKİ İLİŐKİ: ANKARA'DAKİ KADIN MUHTARLAR ÖRNEĐİ

Türkiye'de kadınların siyasetteki katılım ve temsillerinin yetersiz olduĐu açıkça görölmektedir. İstatistiklere bakıldığında, kadın milletvekillerinin oranı %17 (600'ün 102'si kadın), kadın belediye başkanlarının oranı %3 (1389'dan 43'ü) ve kadın muhtarların oranı %2 kadardır (50 157 muhtardan yalnızca 1071'i). Yani, bu yetersiz temsil beklenilenin aksine yerel ölçekte daha da belirgindir.

Bu tez kadınların siyasi temsili ile sahip oldukları sosyal sermaye arasında bir ilişki olduğunu öne sürmekte ve bu ilişkiyi Ankara'daki kadın muhtarlarla yapılan görüşmelerden edindiĐi bulgularla test etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Muhtarın Türkiye'nin yönetim yapısındaki rolü vatandaşlarla üst kurumlar arasındaki köprüye benzetilmektedir. Muhtarın görevi belediye gibi yerel yönetim kurumlarını, mahallenin ihtiyaç ve taleplerinden haberdar etmek olarak belirlenmiştir. Hem yerelde vatandaşlarla hem de kamu otoriteleriyle direk temas içinde olması, muhtarlığı özellikle kadınların yerel siyasete katılımında ulaşılabilir bir alternatif haline getirmektedir. Nitekim son yıllarda kadın muhtar sayısında önemli bir artış gözlemlenmektedir. Kadın muhtarların sahip olduĐu sosyal sermaye onlara iki şekilde katkı sağlamaktadır; hem adaylıkları sırasında muhtar olmalarını mümkün kılan nitelikleri (enabler) oluşturur. Hem de görevleri sırasında hizmet dağıtım sürecine dahil olmada strateji olarak kullanılmaktadır. Kadınların yerel siyasete katılımında sosyal sermayenin rolünü anlayabilmek için Ankara'nın merkez ilçelerinde görev yapan 22 kadın muhtarın katıldığı bir saha araştırması yürütölmüştür.

Çalışma konusunun muhtarlar olarak seçilmesinin en önemli sebebi kadınlar için en ulaşılabilir yönetim birimi gibi görünmesine rağmen, kadın temsiline en düşük olduğu yerel yönetim biriminin muhtarlıklar oluşudur. Oysa Ayten Alkan'ın (2005) da araştırmasında belirttiği gibi kadınların hayatlarının önemli bölümü mahallelerde geçmektedir ve mahalledeki yol, su, altyapı, ulaşım sorunları, kreşlerin eksikliği gibi kamusal hizmetlerdeki aksaklıklardan en çok etkilenenler kadınlardır. Ankara'nın çalışma alanı olarak seçilmesinin nedeni ise İstanbul'dan sonra, ikinci en yüksek kadın muhtar oranının %8'le Ankara'da bulunmasıdır. Öncelikle Ankara'daki kadın muhtarların ilçelere dağılımı çıkarılmış ve buna göre mahallelerin sosyoekonomik seviyeleri de göz önünde bulundurularak örneklem seçiminde dengeli bir dağılım yapılmaya çalışılmıştır. Çünkü kadınların sahip olduğu sosyal sermaye seviyesiyle ilişkili olarak düşünüldüğünde, toplumsal cinsiyetin yanı sıra sınıfsal farklılıklar da kadınların yerel siyasete katılımını etkileyen önemli faktörlerdendir. Bu bağlamda toplamda 22 katılımcının, 5'i Çankaya'dan, 2'si Keçiören'den, 3'ü Etimesgut'tan, 3'ü Yenimahalle'den, 4'ü Sincan'dan, 4'ü Mamak'tan, 1'i de Gölbaşı'ndan seçilmiştir.

Tez süresince, kadınların muhtarlığa aday olma kararını almasında etkili olan nedenlerin neler olduğu, yerelde kurduğu ilişki ağları ve yaşadığı tecrübelerin birikiminden oluşan sosyal sermayelerini nasıl yerel siyasete katılmakta ve karşılaştığı zorlukları aşmakta kullandıkları incelenmiştir. Derinlemesine görüşmeler sonucunda sosyal sermayenin kadınların yerel siyasetteki temsiline katkı sağladığı, ancak erkek egemen siyasi kültür, toplumda yerleşen cinsiyetçi iş bölümü gibi ataerkil ilişkilerin sosyal sermayenin sağladığı olanakları kısıtladığı anlaşılmıştır.

Dağıtım ve Tanıma Politikaları

Yerel yönetimlerin birincil görevi hizmet temini ve dağıtımını olarak bilinmektedir. Yerel siyaset örgütleri diğer kamu kurumlarından 3 önemli özelliği nedeniyle ayrılmaktadır. Bu 3 ana özellik kamu hizmetlerinin sağlanması, yerel nüfusun temsili ve vatandaşların yerel yönetimlere katılımından oluşur. Özellikle cinsiyet eşitsizliği ya da sınıfsal eşitsizliklerin yaygın olduğu bağlamlarda, yerel ve kamusal hizmetler bir mücadele alanı haline gelmektedir. Bu nedenle Nancy Fraser'ın (1995, 2005) önerdiği "Yeniden Dağıtım Politikaları" (Politics of Redistribution) ve "Tanıma Politikaları" (Politics of Recognition) toplumdaki adaletsizlikleri anlamakta ve iyileştirmekte faydalı kavramlardır.

Fraser'ın bu konu üzerine yaptığı ilk çalışmaları, 1990'larda yükselen kimlik siyasetine dikkat çekmektedir. Bu dönemde sınıf ve ekonomi tartışmaları yerini kültür ve kimlik tartışmalarına bırakmıştır. Toplumsal cinsiyet yarımıcılığı, etnik ayrımcılık ve ırk ayrımcılığı gibi kimlik sorunlarının ekonomik eşitsizliklerden ayrıştırılması neoliberalizmin bir sonucu olarak nitelenmektedir. Halbuki sosyal ve kültürel eşitsizliklerin ekonomi (üretim ve yeniden üretim) ilişkilerinden bağımsız düşünülmesinin sonucu, kolektif hafızada yer etmiş tüm eşitlik mücadeleleriyle olan bağların koparılması ve mücadele tarihinin unutturulmasıdır. İşte tam da bu sebeple toplumdaki eşitsizlikleri incelerken, Nancy Fraser ilişkisel bir bakış açısıyla yaklaşmanın önemine dikkat çekerek, eşitsizliklere karşı verilen mücadelelerin hem yeniden dağıtım hem de tanınma talepleriyle birlikte ele alması gerektiğini belirtmektedir.

Yeniden dağıtım politikalarıyla temelde kastedilen sosyoekonomik adaletsizliklerdir. İşverenin çıkarları uğruna yaptığı emek sömürsü, istemediği halde başka seçeneği olmadığı için hak ettiğinin çok altında ücretlerle kötü koşullar altında çalışmaya mahkûm edilmek, temel kamu hizmetlerine erişimi kısıtlanarak kaliteli bir yaşam sürdürmekten yoksun bırakılmak bu adaletsizliklere örnektir. Ekonomik adaletsizliklerin çözümü ise kaynakların eşitlikçi biçimde yeniden dağıtımını, iş bölümüne ilişkin yeni düzenlemeler, karar alma mekanizmalarına katılımın sağlanması gibi yapısal müdahaleleri gerektirir.

Toplumsal adaletin ikinci ana boyut olan tanıma politikaları ise kimliğe dair yaşanan problemleri hedefler. Yok sayılma ya da sayılmamaya (misrecognition) karşı çözüm saygı görmeyen kimliklerin değer görmesini sağlamaktan, bu gruplara kendilerini temsil etme ve seslerini duyurma imkanlarının sağlanmasından geçmektedir. Özetle, dağıtım politikaları ekonomik eşitsizlikler üzerinde dururken; tanıma politikaları kültürel farklılıklara, azınlıkların ve dezavantajlı grupların dışlanması konularına odaklanır. Bu iki kavram analitik olarak ayrı ayrı ele alınmasına karşın, aslında gerçek hayat pratiğinde birbiriyle yakından ilişkili hatta iç içe geçmiştir. Bu iç içe geçmiş birlikteliğin örneğini en açık şekilde toplumsal cinsiyet ilişkilerinde görebiliriz.

Toplumsal cinsiyet ilişkileri hem siyasal-ekonomi hem de kültürel-değerlenme boyutlarını kapsamaktadır. Öncelikle, toplumsal cinsiyet yalnızca, üretken tabir edilen ücretli emek ile

genellikle kadına yüklenen görünmeyen ücretsiz ev içi emek arasında bir ayrım yapmakla kalmaz, ücretli emeğin kendi içinde de ayrımını yapar. Aynı işi yapan erkek ve kadın arasında erkeğin lehine olan ücret eşitsizliğinin yanı sıra, çoğunluğunu erkeklerin oluşturduğu yüksek ücretli meslekler ile kadınların yoğunlaştığı hizmet sektörü gibi daha az ücretlendirilen meslek grupları arasındaki ayrım gelir uçurumuna sebep olarak, kadınları yoksulluk riskiyle karşı karşıya bırakmaktadır. Bu taraftan bakıldığında cinsiyet eşitsizliğinin açıkça kaynakların erişimi ve dağılımındaki adaletsizlikten kaynaklandığı anlaşılabilir. Cinsiyet eşitliği için ekonomik yapının baştan aşağı değişmesi gereklidir. Ancak ekonomi, sorunun yalnızca bir boyutudur. Sosyoekonomik farklılıkların yanı sıra, kadınların günlük hayatlarında maruz kaldığı, onları değersiz addeden maskülen norm ve söylevlerin oluşturduğu eril ve cinsiyetçi anlayış da toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğinin önündeki engellerin arasındadır. Fraser'ın (1995) da iddia ettiği gibi ayrımcılığın her türü bir diğerini de derinleştirir. Bu nedenle yeniden dağıtım ve tanıma politikalarının dönüşümü birlikte ele alınmalıdır.

Fraser'ın (2005) ilerleyen çalışmalarında cinsiyet eşitliğinin sağlanabilmesi için, yeniden dağıtım ve tanıma politikalarına ek olarak üçüncü boyutun; temsilin önemi vurgulanır. Çünkü dağıtım ve tanıma politikaları sosyal kontrol riskini beraberinde getirebilir. Evet, tanınma talebi ve mücadelesinin bir direnişe dönüşme olanağı mevcuttur. Fakat kaynakların yeniden dağıtımını, bu olanağı zayıflatan ve kontrol altına alan bir strateji olarak kullanılabilir. Bu iki kavramı birlikte düşünürken ikilemli ve paradoksal ilişkiyi de göz önünde bulundurmak gerekir. Bu noktada imdada eşit temsil yetiştir. Temsil, ilk iki kavramın bu zayıf ve çelişkili taraflarını dengeleyerek dezavantajlı grupların sosyal kontrole maruz kalmasının önüne geçebilir. Bu gruplardan seçilecek, benzer geçmiş ve deneyimlerden gelen temsilciler, ancak üyesi oldukları grupların yararlarını gözetecektir. Bu bağlamda, sıradaki bölümde feminist literatürdeki temsil tartışmaları incelenecektir.

Temsil Kavramına Feminist Bakış

Siyasi temsil hakkındaki akademik tartışmalar Hanna Pitkin'in (1972) temsil üzerine kavramsal analizleri üzerinden ilerler. Pitkin her ne kadar kitabının hiçbir yerinde cinsiyetten bahsetmese de, yaptığı kapsamlı sınıflandırma kadınların siyasetteki yetersiz katılımı ve temsili, ve buna ilişkin çözümler üzerine feminist tartışmalara önemli katkı sağlamıştır. Pitkin temsil kavramını 4 grupta inceler. İlki, kurumsal temsilcinin toplum

adına karar alma yetkisini elinde bulunduran ve topluma karşı sorumluluk taşıması nedeniyle de hesap verebilir olması beklenen biçimci (formalistic) temsildir. İkincisi, temsilci dağılımının toplumdaki sınıf, cinsiyet, ırk, etnik köken gibi özelliklerin dağılımlarıyla nicelik olarak uyduğu ya da orantısal benzerlik gösterdiği betimleyici (descriptive) temsildir. Üçüncü olarak sembolik (symbolic) temsilde temsilci, çıkarlarını savunduğu sosyal grupla benzer özellikler taşımamasına rağmen yine de onların yararını gözetebilir. Bu temsil türünde sembolik bir bağ vardır. Son olarak gerçek- nitelikli (substantive) temsil, üyesi olduğu grubun toplumdaki konumunu iyileştirmeyi hedefleyen, onların çıkarına eylemlerde bulunan temsilcileri ifade etmektedir. Pitkin nitelikli temsili, betimleyici ve sembolik temsilin eylemdeki karşılığı olarak görür ve der ki, bir temsilcinin betimleyici temsildeki özellikleri taşıması o temsilcinin nitelikli olduğu anlamına gelmez. Temsil için gerekli olan, temsilcinin ilişkili olduğu grubun ihtiyaçlarına, çıkarlarına cevap veren eylemlerde bulunmadır. Bu durumda bakılması gereken kararı kimin aldığı değil, kararın içeriğidir. Bu kararın, temsil edilenin ihtiyaçlarını gözettiği ve çıkarlarını koruduğu takdirde kim tarafından alındığı önem taşımaz (1972, 209). Fakat sonrasında Pitkin'in vardığı bu kanı; betimleyici, nicelikli temsil ile gerçek, nitelikli temsil arasındaki ilişkiyi gözden kaçırdığı için çokça eleştirilmiştir de.

Pitkin'den yaklaşık 20 yıl sonra Anne Philips'in (1998) "Politics of Presence" (var olma politikası) kavramı temsilde niceliğin, yani betimleyici temsilin önemine dikkat çekmiştir. Philips'in bu fikrinin feminist politikaya iki önemli katkısı olmuştur. İlki, siyasi örgütlerdeki karar alıcıların büyük çoğunluğunu erkeklerin oluşturduğunun ve bu nedenle de iktidar ilişkilerinin de erkek egemen olduğunun altını çizmiştir. İkinci olarak da erkek egemen bir yasama organının yapacağı politikalar, kadınların ihtiyaçlarına cevap vermekte yetersiz kalacağı için kadınların haklarını koruyamayacağını belirtmektedir. Kadınların çıkarlarının temsili, karar alma mekanizmalarında kadınların var olmasına bağlıdır. Bu da demektir ki, kadınların nitelikli temsiline ön koşulu, nicelik olarak kendilerini temsil etmeleridir. Onu takip eden akademik tartışmalar kadınların ortak çıkarları var mıdır? Varsa bunlar nelerdir? Bu çıkarları kimler temsil edebilir? soruları etrafında şekillenmiştir.

Kadınların ortak ihtiyaç ve çıkarları Sapiro'ya (1998) göre, toplumsal cinsiyet rollerine dayalı geleneksel iş bölümünden kaynaklanmaktadır. Kadınlar ev işlerinin yürütülmesinden, ailenin bakımından sorumlu tutulmaktadır. Bu ev içi görünmeyen iş yükü

kadının toplumsal ve ekonomik olarak erkeklere göre farklı ve aslında dezavantajlı konuma getirir. Kadınlar bu konuları nedeniyle erkeklerden farklı ihtiyaçlara sahiptirler. Sorun kadınların toplumsal iş bölümünden kaynaklı farklı konumunun farkındalığını kazanamamış olmasındadır. Bu durumda, kadınlar farklılaşan ihtiyaç ve taleplerinin karşılanmasını politikacılardan beklemek yerine, kendi kendilerini temsil etmelidirler.

Öte yandan Sapiro (1998), kadınların ortak ihtiyaçlarını özel-kamusal alan ayrımı üzerinden analiz ettiği ve bu basma kalıp bakış açısının kadınların ihtiyaçlarının var olan geleneksel siyasi sistemde karşılık bulabileceği anlamını taşıdığı için Damion ve Hartsock tarafından eleştirilir. Onlara göre yalnızca özel alandaki iş bölümüne bakmak yetersizdir ve toplumun tüm yeniden üretim süreci incelenmelidir. Üretim ve yeniden üretim ilişkilerini feminist perspektiften inceleyen Doreen Massey, Lefevbre'nin önerdiği toplumsal yeniden üretimin gerçekleştiği 3 mekansal ölçeği şöyle açıklar; biyolojik yeniden üretimin gerçekleştiği beden, işgücünün yeniden üretildiği hane ve toplumsal ilişkilerin yeniden üretildiği kentteki kamusal alan (1995, 19). Kapitalist üretimin sürdürülmesi toplumsal yeniden üretim ilişkilerinin sürdürülmesine bağlıdır. İş gücünün devamlılığı sağlanmazsa kapitalist üretim, dolayısıyla da kapitalist devlet hayatta kalamaz. Sallie Marston (2004) da benzer şekilde kapitalist üretim modelini; fiziksel, ekonomik, teknolojik, beşeri kaynakların oluşturduğu "üretim güçleri" (forces of production) ve cinsiyet, ırk, yaş gibi toplumsal faktörlerle şekillendirdiği "üretim ilişkileri" (relations of production) olarak iki aşamada inceler. Üretim, tek başına mal ve hizmet üretiminden ibaret değildir. Bunların üretiminden sorumlu olan iş gücünün de günlük tedariki üretime dahildir. İş gücünün günlük bazda devamı ise hanedeki toplumsal cinsiyet temelli iş bölümü ile sağlanır. Bu nedenle kadınların ihtiyaç ve taleplerini anlayabilmek için Damian ve Hartsock'un kadının toplumun yeniden üretim sürecindeki rolünün anlamaktan kastettiği de, ölçekler arasındaki ilişkiyi ve bu ilişkilerden doğan farklı tecrübeleri hesap katmaktır. Kadınlar şimdiye dek görmezden gelinen taleplerini, kendi tecrübelerinden yola çıkarak kendileri ifade etmelidir. Bu nedenle karar alma süreçlerinde kadınların varlığı şarttır.

Kritik Çoğunluk Yerine Kritik Aktörler

Fakat kadınların idari ve siyasi örgütlerde var olmalarına karşın neden her zaman kadınlar yararına karar almadıkları sorusu, betimsel (nicelikli) temsil ile gerçek (nitelikli) temsil

arasında nasıl bir bağlantı olduğu sorusunu akla getirir. Genel kanıya göre, bunun en önemli nedeni kadınların erkek egemen topluma karşı dayanışma gösterecek çoğunluğa ulaşamamasıdır.

Rosebeth Moss Kanter (1977), kadınların azınlıkta çalıştığı bir şirkette tam da bu soruların cevabını aramıştır. Araştırmanın amacı bir sosyal grubun-bu durumda kadınların, diğerine göre azınlıkta olması o grubun üyelerinin davranışlarını nasıl etkileyeceğini anlamaktır. Araştırmanın sonucunda sembolik sayıdaki kadın çalışanlar, az sayıda olmaları ve bu nedenle de dikkatlerin üzerinde toplandığı için performans baskısına, dışlandıkları için kutuplaşmaya maruz kalıyorlar. Dışlanmaktan çekindikleri durumda ise eril normların dayattığı stereotipik cinsiyet rollerine boyun eğmek zorunda kalıyorlar. Bu nedenle Kanter'in vardığı sonuç, kadınların sınırlı sayıdaki varlığı diğer kadınların önünü açmaya yetmez. Aksine, engelleri birlikte aşacağı kritik çoğunluğa ulaşamadığı sürece olumsuz etkilere maruz kalmaya devam ederler.

Dahlerup (1988), siyaseti de erkek egemen bir çalışma sahası olarak düşünerek, Kanter'in öne sürdüğü bu iddiayı, kadınların en az %30 çoğunluğu elinde tuttuğu İskandinav ülkelerinin parlamentolarında araştırır. Dahlerup'a göre bu parlamentolardaki kadınlar iyi bir çoğunluğa sahip olsa da zorluklarla mücadele etmeye devam etmektedirler. Bu zorlukların başında da erkekler kadar karar alabilecek yetkinliğe ve bilgiye sahip olduklarını kanıtlama zorunluluğunu hissetmeleri gelir. Kadınların siyasetteki yüksek temsili şimdiye dek elde ettikleri kazanımlarının ellerinden alınmasının önüne geçerek, aslında sayıların ne kadar da önemli olduğunun ispatıdır. Kadın temsilcilerin siyasetteki varlığı sayesinde siyasi kültürdeki eril normlar ve kadın siyasetçilere karşı olumsuz tavır ve davranışlar değişmiştir. Ancak şu da görülüyor ki kadınların gerçek, nitelikli kazanımlarının ardında yüksek mevkilerde bulunan az sayıdaki başarılı kadınlar vardır. Bu sebeple %30 gibi sabit bir oranın kadınların toplumdaki statüsünü iyileştireceği varsayımı gerçekçi değildir. Önemli olan kadınların kritik çoğunluğa ulaşması değil, sayıları az da olsa bu kadınların güçlendirici kritik eylemlerde bulunmasıdır der Dahlerup (1988, 286-287). Yani belirleyici olan aktörler ve aktörlerin eylemleridir. Benzer sonuca farklı bağlamlarda yapılan araştırmalarla da ulaşılmıştır (Örneğin Belçika'da Celis, 2006; Türkiye'de Ayata & Tütüncü, 2008). Yani kadınların ihtiyaç ve taleplerine cevap verecek politika yapım sürecinde kritik çoğunluğu aramak yerine kritik aktörler öne çıkmaktadır.

Peki aktörleri “kritik” yapan, onları seçmenler için tercih edilebilir kılan nedir? Temsil tartışmalarının başında da belirtildiği üzere, kadınların politika yapım sürecine katılımını arttırmanın temel amacı, kadınların toplumdaki konumunu iyileştirmek ve eşit yaşam koşullarına kavuşmasını sağlamaktır. Kadın haklarının kazanımı, kadın temsilcilerin gayretine bağlıdır. Bu göreve uygun temsilciler nasıl seçilir sorusu Suzanne Dovi'nin (2002) “Will just any women, black or Latino Do?” (her hangi bir kadın, siyahi ya da Latin kökenli yapabilir mi) isimli makalesinde tartışılmıştır. Dovi, özellikle de seçmene etkili temsilciyi seçmesine yol gösterecek bir reçete sunar. Bu reçetede ki kriter temsilcinin, ait olduğu yoksun, güçsüz grupla güçlü ve karşılıklı bir bağının olmasıdır. Bu fikrin temelinde yine betimleyici temsil yatar. Mansbridge'e göre toplumdaki dezavantajlı, alt gruplar toplumdaki çeşitliliğin oransal olarak yansıdığı betimleyici temsil sayesinde görmezden gelinen ihtiyaçlarını ifade etme, aksi durumda karşı karşıya gelme olanağını bulamadığı gruplarla iletişim kurma şansına sahip olur. Bu ihtiyaçları ifade edecek temsilcinin ait olduğu grupla paylaştığı deneyimleri, ortak bir geçmişten gelmesi ve aynı sorunları yaşamaktan doğan dert ortaklığı, onu temsil ettiği gruba güçlü ve güvenilir bağlarla bağlar (1999).

Bundan farklı olarak, Dovi'nin uygun temsili seçme kriterinin iki önemli unsuru vardır. Bunlardan birincisi temsilci ile temsil edilen grup arasındaki bağın karşılıklı (mutual) olmasıdır. Temsilci temsil ettiği grubun problemleri ve beklentilerinin farkına vardığında ve bunlara yönelik çalıştığında, tarihsel olarak dışlanmış bu grup da karar alma sürecine dahil olacak ve temsilin kendisi adaletli hale gelecektir. Diğer taraftan bu sosyal grup da kendi temsilcisinin icraatlarını yakından takip edecek ve siyasete oy vermenin ötesinde bir katılım sağlayacaktır. İkinci unsur ise, dezavantajlı gruba aidiyet, “Bizden biri olma” ve “kader ortaklığı” hissi temsilciyi tercih edilir kılacaktır. Dezavantajlı grupla ortak bir bağı bulunmayan, o grupla ortak hedefler paylaşmayacaktır.

Sosyal Sermaye Kavramı

Bu tezin temsil tartışmasına yaptığı katkı; temsilciyi bu görev için uygun kılan şeyin sahip olduğu sosyal sermayesi olduğudur. Sosyal sermaye kavramı, bireyin günlük hayatta edindiği mikro seviyedeki deneyimlerinin yanı sıra, orta ölçekli kurumsal ve toplumsal ilişki ağlarıyla oluşturduğu, kendisine ekonomik ve siyasi kazançlar sağlayabilecek

birikimi ifade eder. Sosyal sermayenin kavramsal çerçevesini Bourdieu, Coleman ve Putnam'ın teorik tartışmaları oluşturmaktadır.

Bourdieu'nün sermaye formlarına bakmaktaki asıl amacı sınıfsal yapıların ve iktidar ilişkilerinin nasıl oluştuğunu anlamaktır. Bu formlardan biri olan sosyal sermaye, ileride ekonomik kazanca dönüşebilecek sınıf temelli ilişki ağlarını, iş çevreleriyle bağlantıları ve bu çevrelerdeki gruplara üyelikleri tarifler. Yukarı yönlü sosyal harekete olanak sağlayan bu ayrıcalıklı ilişki ağları, bu bağlantılara ulaşamayanlar için dışlayıcı olur. Yani sosyal sermaye tıpkı finansal sermayede olduğu gibi eşit dağılmamıştır. Bu da çoğunlukla olumlu etkisi üzerinde durulan sosyal sermaye kavramına eleştirel gözle bakmak gerektiği anlamına gelir.

Coleman da, Bourdieu gibi sosyal eşitsizlikleri anlamak amacıyla sosyal sermaye üzerinde durmuştur. Ancak Coleman sosyal sermaye ile beşerî kaynak arasındaki ilişkiyi eğitim üzerinden değerlendirmiştir. Amerika'daki lisede yürüttüğü çalışmaya göre ebeveynleri eğitilmiş olan, aileleri ve yakın çevresiyle iyi ilişkiler kuran gençler eğitimlerini de başarıyla tamamlamaktadır. Böylelikle toplumun nitelikli beşeri kaynağına dahil olur ve uzun vadede ülkelerinin ekonomik kalkınmasında etkili olurlar.

Bourdieu ve Coleman'ın kavrama yaptığı katkılar sosyoloji alanından gelirken, Putnam sosyal sermayeyi kendi çalışma alanı olan siyaset bilimi üzerinden tanımlar. Çünkü sosyal sermaye üzerine teorik fikirleri, bölgesel yönetimdeki dönüşümü incelemek amacıyla İtalya'nın kuzeyi ve güneyine yaptığı saha çalışmasıyla şekillenmiştir. Bu araştırmada sivil toplumun daha örgütlü ve gelir seviyesinin daha yüksek olduğu kuzeydeki kurumsal dönüşümün güneydekine göre daha başarılı olduğu bulunmuştur. Putnam aradaki bu farkın yerel katılımdan ve sosyal sermaye seviyesinden kaynaklandığını öne sürer. Putnam'a göre sosyal sermayeyi oluşturan üç ana etken vardır. Bunlar güven, karşılıklılık normu ve sivil katılım ağlarıdır. Toplumda birbirine duyulan güven bireyler arası iş birliğine vesile olur. Karşılıklılık, yani ihtiyacı olduğunda yardım ettiğin birisinin, sen zor durumda kaldığında destek olacağını bilmek de o güveni besler ve ilişki ağlarını güçlendirir. Karşılıklılık ilişkisine örnek olarak arkadaşlıkları gösterir Putnam. İlişki ağları sayesinde toplumdaki iletişim ve bilgi akışı artar, paylaşılan değerler ve normlar kuvvetlenir. Sosyal sermayenin aslında birbirini besleyen üç özelliği, toplumdaki yatay ilişkileri güçlendirir ve sorunlara

hep birlikte çözüm arandığı görülür. Kuzeydeki yatay etkileşime karşılık güneyde dikey, hiyerarşik ilişkiler mevcuttur bu da toplumun sosyal sermayesini zayıflatır. Güçlü dayanışma ağları ve birlikte eyleme geçme kabiliyeti sayesinde yerel halk karar almada rol oynayan aktörlerden biri haline gelir. Bu nedenle Putnam, sosyal sermayenin demokrasinin işleyişi ve toplumun refahında önemli rol oynadığını söyler.

Özetle, Bourdieu için sosyal sermaye, bireyin yukarı yönlü sınıfsal hareketlilik için geliştirdiği stratejiyken, Coleman ve Putnam için sosyal sermaye eğitim, toplumsal normlar, sivil toplum ağları gibi yapısal nitelikleri ifade eder. Üçüncü bölümde bulgularını tartıştığı saha çalışmasında, sosyal sermayenin göstergesi olarak incelediğim kriterlere, bu 3 kuramcının sosyal sermaye tanımlarından yola çıkarak katılımcıların hem bireysel özelliklerini hem de toplumsal bağlarını dahil ettim. Çalışmada izlediğim sosyal sermaye tanımı ise, bireylerin eylemelerinde etkili olan, karşılıklı güven ve ortak değerler üzerine inşa edilen - aile, arkadaşlık, akrabalık, hemşehrilik, dernek ve sivil toplum örgüt üyeliği-yatayda; -kurumsal, bürokratik, siyasi parti gibi organizasyonlarındaki- dikeyde kurulan ilişkilerin tümü olarak açıklanabilir.

Araştırma Bulguları

Çalışmamda, kadın muhtarların adaylık kararını almadaki motivasyonlarını inceleyerek başladım. Adaylık kararı almada etkili sebepler kişisel nedenler ve kamu yararı olmak üzere iki ana başlıkta toplanabilir. Kişisel nedenlere işsizlik ya da yeni bir kariyer arayışı, muhtar olma hayali/arzusu dahilken, kamusal nedenlere eski muhtarla anlaşmazlık, düzgün hizmet alamama gibi konular örnek verilebilir. Birde hem kişisel istek hem de mahalleye/kamuya yararlı olma isteğinin birlikte olduğu grup vardır ki, bunlara önceki muhtarın yanında çalışan, tecrübe sahibi, mahalleliyle iyi ilişkiler kurmuş katılımcılar örnek verilebilir.

Çalışmanın devamında katılımcılara seçilmelerinde etkili olan faktörler sorulmuştur. Verdikleri cevaplara göre, 22 muhtardan 7'si mahallelinin desteğini, 6'sı (bunlardan 3'ü de Sincan'dan) kadın olmayı, 2'si iş tecrübesini, 2'si aileden aldığı desteği, 5'i de diğer - mahalle derneğinden aday gösterilmesi, müdürlük yaptığı okulun velilerinin teşviki, önceki muhtarın teşvik etmesi, doğma büyüme o mahallede yaşamak gibi, aslında mahalleyle

kuvvetli bağları ifade eden- öne çıkan faktör olarak göstermiştir. Görüldüğü üzere muhtarların sahip olduğu sosyal sermaye birikimi adaylıklarında büyük öneme sahiptir.

22 katılımcıdan 5'i etkili faktörleri sıralarken kadın olmayı listelerine dahil etmemiştir. Kadın olmanın seçilmelerinde birincil etken olduğunun belirten 6 kadın da dahil olmak üzere, katılımcılardan hiçbiri kadınların yaşadığı siyasi temsilin yetersiz olduğunun üzerinde durmamıştır.

Muhtar Olmayı Mümkün Kılan Sosyal Sermaye

- Yerel ilişkiler ve ortak sorunlar: İkinci bölümde de tartışıldığı üzere, temsilcilerin temsil ettiği grupla ortak bir geçmişinin bulunması, ortak değerlere sahip olması, benzer sorunları dert edinmesi büyük önem taşımaktadır. Katılımcılar aynı mahalleyi paylaştıkları komşularının desteğinin seçilmelerine büyük katkı sağladıklarını belirtmektedir.

- Eğitim seviyesi: Araştırmaya katılan 22 muhtarın 10 tanesi lisans, 10 tanesi lise, 2 tanesi ise ilköğretim mezunudur. Örnekte üniversite mezunu muhtar sayısının en yüksek olduğu ilçe Çankaya'dır, onu Yeni Mahalle takip etmektedir. Ancak ilköğretim mezunu muhtarlardan biri Yeni Mahalle'de görev yapmaktadır. Benzer durum Sincan'da da görülmektedir. Buradaki 4 katılımcıdan biri üniversite mezunuyken, bahsettiğim ikinci ilköğretim mezunu muhtar da Sincan'dandır. Bu ilçelerin sınıfsal olarak kozmopolit bir yapıda oldukları sonucuna ek olarak, benim çıkardığım önemli sonuç, muhtarların eğitim seviyelerinin düşük olmasını, hemşehrlik ve komşuluk ilişkileri gibi diğer sosyal sermaye kaynaklarıyla telafi edebileceğidir. Yani muhtarlık için yüksek eğitim ön koşul değildir.

- Meslek durumu: 22 katılımcının neredeyse yarıya yakını (9) emeklidir. Bunların da 4'ü öğretmenlikten olmak üzere toplamda 6'sı kamu kuruluşundan emeklidir. Öğretmen olmaları özellikle önem taşımaktadır. Çünkü emekli öğretmenlerin, mahalle okulundaki öğrenciler ve veliler tarafından tanınmasının yanında, idari işlere de aşina olmaları onlara muhtarlık için gereken sosyal sermayeyi kazandırmıştır. Geriye kalan 13 muhtardan 12'si özel sektörde çalışmıştır. Yalnızca 1 muhtar (Yenimahalle'den), muhtarlık yapmadan önce ev hanımı olduğunu belirtmiştir. Fakat bir önceki dönem eşinin muhtarlık yaptığını ve görevi sırasında sık sık eşine yardımcı olduğu için işlerin nasıl yürütüldüğünü öğrendiğini belirtmiştir. Yani tecrübesiz değildir. Çalışmaya katılan kadın muhtarların neredeyse

tümü, çalışma hayatları boyunca edindikleri mesleki tecrübeler ve komşuluk, arkadaşlık ilişkileri yoluyla bilgi birikimini ve sosyal sermayelerini inşa etmişlerdir.

- Rol model olmak: Yönetime ve karar alma sürecine katılan kadınların sayısal olarak ne kadar önemli olduğu betimleyici temsilden bahsederken tartışılmıştı. Kadınların idari ve siyasi pozisyonlarda çalışmasının en önemli etkisi, diğer kadınlara örnek teşkil etmelerinden gelmektedir. Onların varlığı, isteyen ancak yapmaya cesaret edemeyen kadınlara güç verecektir. Az sayıdaki rol modelin cesaretlendirici gücü kadın muhtarlar için de geçerlidir. Örneğin 2014 seçimlerinde Ankara’da kadın muhtar sayısı 77 iken bu sayı 2019 seçimlerinde 124’e ulaşmıştır. Bu artış elbette ki insanların kadın yöneticilere önyargısını değiştirecek ve erkek egemen siyasi atmosferi eşitlik üzerine yeniden kuracaktır. Ancak bu uzun süreçte kadın siyasetçilerin başarıları kadar başarısızlıkları da abartılma eğilimindedir.

Sosyal Sermayenin Önündeki Engeller

Kadınların sahip olduğu sosyal sermaye onları muhtar olabilecek nitelikleri kazandırsa da ataerkil toplum yapısı ve cinsiyetçi iş bölümü nedeniyle sosyal sermayenin de sınırlılıkları vardır.

- Evdeki cinsiyetçi iş bölümü: kadınların omuzlarına yüklenen eve ve aileye bakım işleri, kadın ve erkek arasındaki eşitsizliğin en önemli nedenidir. Kadınlar iş hayatına atılmak için genellikle çocuklarının büyümesini yani evdeki sorumluluklarının azalmasını beklemiş, bu nedenler de, erkek akranlarına oranla daha geriden gelmek mecburiyetinde kalmışlardır. Bu durum muhtarlarla yaptığım çalışmada da karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Katılımcıların yaş ortalaması 53’tür. Muhtarların yarısından çoğu 50 yaşını geçmiştir. Yalnızca iki katılımcı 40 yaşından gençtir. 22 muhtarın yalnızca 2 tanesi bekadır. Evli olan 20 muhtarın 17 si artık çocuklarının yetişkin olduğunu, muhtarlığa aday olmak için çocuklarının büyümesini beklediklerini belirtmiştir. Okul çağında çocuğu olan kadın muhtarlar, annelerinin kendilerine destek olduklarını belirtmektedir. Kadınların evdeki sorumluluklarını ve ailelerini ihmal etmemesi mahallelinin takdirini ve desteğini kazanmalarını sağlasa da, muhtarlık sonrası siyasi kariyerinde yükselmek isteyen kadınlar için engel teşkil etmektedir. Nitekim yalnızca 2 muhtar ileride belediye meclis üyesi olmayı düşündüğünü belirtirken, kalan 20 muhtar ya böyle bir hedefinin olmadığını, muhtarlığa devam

edebileceğini ya da artık emekli olmak istediklerini belirtmiştir. Yani ileri yaş kadınların siyasi kariyerinde yükselmelerinde en büyük engeldir.

- Erkek egemen siyasi kültür: Araştırmaya katılan kadın muhtarların çoğu, vatandaşların muhtarlıkta oturan bir kadın görmeye alışık olmadıklarını, hatta çoğu zaman kendilerine muhtar beyin nerede olduğunun sorulduğunu belirtmişlerdir. Bu önyargı, sırf kadın oldukları için yeterince bilgili olup olmadıklarının, muhtar olacak niteliklere sahip olup olmadıklarının sorgulanmasına kadar varabiliyor. Araştırmaya katılan kadın muhtarlar bununla baş edebilmek için erkeklerden daha fazla çalıştırdıklarını, vatandaşların sorularına doğru yanıt verebilmek için daha fazla araştırma yaptıklarını belirtmektedirler.

- Cinsiyetçi sosyal sermaye: kadınların sahip olduğu sosyal sermaye formu erkeklerinkiyle aynı mıdır? Bu sorunun yanıtını aramak için kadın muhtarlara üyesi olduğu parti, dernek ya da sivil toplum kuruluşları olup olmadığı sorulmuştur. Katılımcıların neredeyse yarısının (10) hiçbir üyeliği bulunmamaktadır. Yalnızca 3'ü kadın derneğine üye olduğunu, 5'i siyasi parti üyesi olduğunu, 5'i de Atatürkçü Düşünce Derneği, okul-aile birliği ya da mahalle dernekleri gibi yerlere üye olduğunu belirtmiştir. Dolayısıyla kadınların sahip olduğu ilişki ağları yakın çevre ve mahalleyle kısıtlı olup siyasi kariyere dönüştürülebilir olanaklar sunmamaktadır. Kadın muhtarlara siyasi parti üyeliği sorulduğunda bunun üzerinde konuşmak istemedikleri gözlenmiştir. 10 tanesi muhtarın herkese eşit davranması gerektiğini, bu nedenle de siyasi görüşü üzerine konuşmayı doğru bulmadığını vurgulamıştır. Buradan benim çıkardığım sonuç, kadın muhtarların zaten cinsiyet eşitsizliği mücadelesi verdiğini, yaşadığı zorluklara bir de siyasi tartışmaların eklenmesinden kaçındıklarıdır.

Hizmet Dağıtımına Dahil Olma Stratejisi Olarak Sosyal Sermaye

Muhtarların fakirlik belgesi düzenlemek, sahibine ulaştırılamayan resmi tebligatların kaydını tutmak gibi bürokratik işlerine ek olarak, yasalarca belirtilmese de mahalleyle ilgili önemli görevleri vardır. Bunlardan ilki özellikle merkezden uzakta kalmış, kamu hizmeti alamayan mahallelere, kamu kurumlarındaki ya da yereldeki ilişki ağlarını kullanarak, ilave kaynak ve hizmet sağlamak gelmektedir. İkinci olarak; mahallinin yaşadığı problemleri üst kurumlara bildirirler, gerektiğindeyse vatandaşlara resmi ve yasal işlerinde yol gösterirler. Bu nedenle de vatandaşlarla üst kurumlar arasında aracı rolü

üstlenmişlerdir. Üçüncü olarak zaman zaman vatandaşlar arasındaki sorunların çözümünde arabulucu olurlar. Kadın muhtarlar bu görevlerini yürütürken yaşadıkları zorluklar karşısında strateji olarak yine sosyal sermayelerini kullanırlar. Bu stratejiler formel ve enformel olarak gruplandırılabilir:

- Formel stratejiler: Mahallenin sorunlarını ve taleplerini dilekçe yoluyla üst birimlere bildirmek dışında, kadın muhtarların kamu otoritelerince tanınmak ve hizmet dağıtım sürecine dahil olmak için formel stratejiler geliştirdiği yapılan saha çalışmasında ortaya çıkmıştır. Bunlardan ilki muhtarların da katılabildiği vali ya da kaymakamların kontrolü altında çalışan Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Vakfı'nın mütevelli heyeti toplantılarıdır. Bu heyet; belediye başkanı, belediyenin ve aile, çalışma ve sosyal hizmetler bakanlığının ilgili departmanlarından görevliler, bir mahalle muhtarı, çeşitli yerel sivil toplum örgütlerinden ve bölgenin hayırseverlerinden seçilecek kişilerden oluşmaktadır. Bu toplantılar sayesinde kadın muhtarlar kamu otoriteleriyle yüz yüze görüşme olanağı bulacak ve yaşadıkları problemleri anlatarak bir çözüme ulaşacaklardır. Özellikle yeterli hizmet alamayan yoksul mahallelerin muhtarları için sorunları bu gibi toplantılarda gündeme getirmek büyük önem taşımaktadır. Ancak bu toplantıya katılacak muhtarlar da kendi aralarında seçim yapmaktadırlar. Görüşme yaptığım kadın muhtarlardan biri genellikle erkek muhtarların bu pozisyonlara seçildiğini ama kadın muhtarların da bu toplantılara katılarak söz sahibi olması gerektiğini belirtmiş ve temsilci seçimleri yapılırken kadın muhtarları nasıl örgütleyerek seçildiğini anlatmıştır. Yani kadın muhtarlar bunun gibi karar alma süreçlerine dahil olabilmek için sosyal sermayelerini kullanarak kendi aralarında dayanışma göstermektedirler.

İkinci formel strateji örneği yine kadınların hep birlikte kurdukları Türkiye Kadın Muhtarlar Derneğinde görülmektedir. Dernek olarak birlikte hareket etmek, muhtarlara kamu otoritelerinin gözünde tanınırlık kazandırmaktadır. Bu dernek yoluyla iletişime geçtiklerinde yönetici ve siyasetçilerden daha kolay randevu almakta olduklarını, onlara bireysel başvurularına kıyasla daha kolay ulaştıklarını söylemektedirler. Ayrıca dernek aracılığıyla gerçekleştirilen eğitimler ile de kadın muhtarların mesleki ve sosyal becerilerini geliştirmelerine yardımcı olunmaktadır. Bu gibi dernek faaliyetleri Türkiye'nin her yerinden kadın muhtarların bir araya gelip birbirleriyle tanışmaları, yardımlaşmaları, dayanışma ağı kurmaları için de olanaklar yaratmaktadır.

- Enformel stratejiler: Yapılan görüşmelerde kadın muhtarların geliştirdiği iki önemli enformel strateji öne çıkmaktadır. Bunların ilki, özellikle birbirine yakın mahallerin ortak sorunlarının çözülmesinde kadın muhtarların birlikte hareket etmeleridir. Aynı sorundan muzdarip kadın muhtarlar bir araya gelerek, belediyeye ya da ilgili kurumlara birlikte başvurumaktadırlar. Kadın muhtarların aralarındaki bu iş birliği sorunların paylaşılması, mesleki deneyimlerin ve bilgilerin paylaşılmasına da katkı sağlamaktadır.

İkinci enformel strateji mahalle muhtarının mahalleliyi örgütleyerek hizmet talebinde bulunmasıdır. Aynı çevrede yaşayan insanların yaşadığı ortak sorunlar onları birlikte çözüm aramaya teşvik etmektedir. Yerel halkla iş birliği içinde hareket etmek kuvvetli sosyal sermayenin bir sonucudur. Kamu otoriteleri tarafından tanınarak, yereldeki hizmet dağıtım sürecine dahil olmak için bu stratejiyi özellikle kadın muhtarların kullandığını söylenebilir. Sonuç olarak sosyal sermaye sınırlılıklarına rağmen kadınların yerel siyasete katılıma katkı sağlamaktadır.

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