

The Representation of Women in Turkish Local Governments

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Abstract

Turkey is one of the countries which has the lowest representation of women in local governments (LGs) in the world. While in many countries, women are more successful to participate in local political decision-making processes, the situation is vice versa in Turkey. The tendency of women to participate in politics at both national and local level is quite low in the country and this arises from several reasons such as the cultural and patriarchal structure of the country, the roles attributed to women by society, the insufficiency of women's education level etc. In this framework, this study aims to evaluate the representation of women in the LGs in Turkey. In this context, the theoretical framework is examined and the data and statistics regarding the issue are analyzed. Our analysis reveals that despite the efforts to increase the political representation of women in LGs, the invisibility of women in LGs is still a significant issue in the country.

Keywords: Turkey, Local Governments, Women, Representation, Women's Studies.

1. Introduction

Women's strong hunches, patience, sense of responsibility and communication skills bring them an advantageous position both in business life and politics. However, despite the absence of any legal obstacles in many countries, women's participation into business and political life is highly limited. It is seen that, women who managed to find a place somehow in the business life or politics must display greater efforts than their male peers to reach the place they deserve or faced much more obstacle than men. Unfortunately, this situation lowers their self-confidence and leads them to abstain from participating in business life and politics. But, considering the fact that the half of the world population is female, the need and significance of the representation of women in business and political life is seen more clearly.

In many countries LGs are the crucial service units because of their closeness to the citizens and local problems. But despite the increasing significance of the LGs, the representation of women in the local units is notably limited. In most countries it can be claimed that women are less actively involved in political, administrative and economic life than men and this situation does not change in the representation of women in both national and local politics. However, LGs should reflect the diversity and composition of the community they serve at all levels and especially at elected level.

Many researches and evaluations in Turkey emphasize the limited number of the women representation in local politics and LGs (Çitçi, 1996; Alkan, 2004; 2009; Gökçimen, 2008; Arıkboğa et al., 2010; Negiz and Üçer, 2012; Anbarlı Bozatatay and Kutlu, 2014). After the local elections held in March, 2014; women politicians were elected for 3 of 30 metropolitan municipality mayors; 37 of 1366 municipality mayors; 2198 of 20498 municipal councilors and 58 of 18143 head of village positions (TUIK, 2014: 137). These percentages have not been changed much over the 85 years since women got the right to be elected in the country.

In this general framework, the aim of the study is to evaluate the representation of women in the Turkish LGs. In this context, after the examination of the theoretical framework about the issue, the data and statistics regarding the women's representation in Turkish LGs are analyzed. Our analysis reveals that despite the efforts to increase the political participation and representation of women in national and local politics, the invisibility of women in LGs is still a serious problem in Turkey.

2. Women in Politics and Local Governments

Women's participation in politics and decision-making mechanisms within the history has taken place among the subjects that have been discussed and studied in different ways and different countries. Particularly in recent years, it has been observed that some significant steps have been taken in terms of the participation of women in the political and economic life and decision making processes within the scope of the global efforts especially on the increasing importance of gender studies and providing gender equality in many fields. Nevertheless, despite the existence of all these efforts, it is not so possible to say that effective results have been gained about the subject.

Essentially, it can be claimed that the patriarchal structure of the state is the main stumbling block in relation to the participation and representation of women in the national and local politics. The feminist theoreticians, who analyze the state, especially emphasize this structure of the state. They express that the public sphere has been formulated in a way peculiar to the men since the modern state emerged and women have been excluded from these fields for the centuries. Thereby, the historical development of state's tasks and functions were also take shape with the historical dominant form of male power. In addition to this, it has been stated that, this patriarchal structure of the state caused the formation of a male-dominated society and this situation poses a serious obstacle in terms of women's participation into the public life with the influence of the domestic roles casted for the women by the society (Robinson, 1995: 7-8). In this sense, the states in today's world have also been maintaining this patriarchal structure not only with the policies they follow and but also with the social, economic and political priorities that they determine. They have also been providing the continuation of the social order which have been formed within the frame of the understanding in question (Öztürk, 2012: 4). Thus, the understanding that limits the role of women with domestic activities and casts non-domestic roles for the men has led to the fact that women have become distanced to the political, economic and administrative life.

As Öztürk (2012: 6) underlines, women either have not been accepted as the citizens for a long time within the political process or have been deprived of their civil rights. It became possible for women to gain their citizenship which was the combination of political life's public and social sides and the right to vote by depending on the citizenship in the late 19th century and the early 20th century (Petmann, 1996; 10-13). Women have begun to gain the right to participate in the political life in different countries in different times with the influence of feminist movements that have been struggling for the political rights and been going on since the second half of the 19th century which emerged in England and other European countries (Öztürk, 2012: 6-9). However; this participation actualizes in a relatively more trouble-free way for women in terms of voting and in a more grueling way in relation to involvement into political decision making mechanisms.

Today, women in many countries mostly fall quite behind the men in terms of the participation in the decision making process regarding themselves, their families and their countries. The issue of women's representation in national and local politics on an equal basis is still a problem that has not been resolved yet. This problem forms an important dimension of the debates within the feminist movement. The limited participation of women in the national and local administrative structures in which key political decisions are made and the distribution of resources taken place, leads to a negative effect on the development of women's political, economic and social opportunities, as well (United Nations, 2010: 112). Therefore, even though the countries show differences from each other with their cultural, social, political and economic structures; there is a common point which is accepted worldwide is that some powerful social, economic, cultural and institutional obstacles exist in terms of women's involvement into the public space and their representation within the political field.

Reynolds (1999: 550) classifies the obstacles regarding women's representation as cultural and social-economic development; political culture; the nature of the state and political foundations. On the other hand, Bari (2005: 3-5) collects the obstacles concerning the issue under the titles of ideological factors, political factors, social-cultural factors, economic factors, social capital and the inadequacy of political capacities. In this context, the low rate of women who take place in occupational and administrative activities; the inadequacy of education possibilities; the deficiency of enough financial resources; the problems in the harmonization of the business and family life; official political structures; a male-dominated

structure in the political parties; political culture and the roles attributed to the women by the society are substantially among the important barriers concerning women's participation and representation in the political life (Bari, 2005: 3-5; EMC, 2014: 8-10).

Nowadays, with the strong effect of the globalization, the international organizations and the international trade and economy policies also influence the development policies of nation states as the exterior factors. Hence, the influences of these components in question on the barriers faced by women in the participation/representation to political life should not be underestimated or ignored. In other words, it should be considered that the globalization and the development policies increase the exclusion, poverty and marginalization and it will not be possible to reach the aims about the gender equality or women's equal representation in national and international level as long as social, cultural, political and economic structural obstacles are not eliminated (Bari, 2005: 9).

In recent years, the number of the studies that contributed to prevent the following obstacles is increasing. Various strategies, methods and regulations have been applied in the national and global level on providing "the equal representation" of women in political parties, local governments and parliaments. Also, some programs about providing the gender equality have been prepared. The global or regional organizations and formations such as European Union, The United Nations, The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and International Labour Organization (ILO) have carried out crucial studies on particularly gender equality and they have settled on a general strategy (gender mainstreaming) which is necessary to provide gender equality in the global dimension. This strategy essentially aims to place the understanding of the gender mainstreaming into the center of all activities such as politics, management, development, employment, research, dialogue development, the planning, conducting and applying of the programs and projects (United Nations, 2016; 2015). Although the positive influences of these studies have started to be seen in the fields of health, schooling, and economic participation, it is observed that there are still many things to do in the critical fields especially such as politics, management and the participation in the decision making processes (United Nations, 2010).

While the studies regarding the participation and representation of women in the political life in both national and local level are increasing, it can be claimed that the representation of women in local political level is generally higher than the national level in many countries (Alkan, 2004: 3). Particularly, the local governments and local councils are evaluated as a field where the women can take place more actively in political arena. The higher representation of women in the local politics can be explained with the arguments such as; the criteria of convenience to the politics in the local level are more flexible, the local politics is seen as a more suitable field for political apprenticeship (Evertzen, 2001: 6), the local politics is more related with the subjects that concern the daily life of women like water, solid waste, health services, electricity and so on and it is easier to participate in the local politics which is in a closer level for the women when their own restrictions are considered in terms of their responsibilities such as housework and childcare. Of course, it is also possible to see the ideological traces of the patriarchy within these arguments (Jayal, 2005: 2).

Today, local governance is a tool that aims to spread the authority and responsibility in an equal way among the local interest groups and to provide the representation of the opinions of all related groups. Within the scope of this understanding, the local governance concept that adopts and encourages the equal participation of the all stakeholders in the region, should reflect a perspective which is sensitive towards the social demands of whole parts living in the region and fulfills its responsibilities towards its citizens (Abdul-Razak et al. 2014: 5). Accordingly, to implement the local governance effectively, women's involvement in decision-making mechanisms is highly important in terms of both representing all the parts of the related territory equally and providing the local democracy. That's why; to achieve the main goals of the local governance, women should involve in the local politics actively and should be represented equally with the men in local governments.

Evertzen (2001: 7-8) who collects the reasons of why the women should take more place in the local politics under the titles of justice; productivity; variety and changing the political system and she draws attention to the facts that; i) women who forms the half of the population should also take place in the politics at the same rate; ii) women have experiences and resources that will contribute to the politics from different perspectives when compared to the men; iii) women will also be able to create variety and difference in the presentation of the local services as the ones who mostly use the local services than men who cannot represent the demands of women exactly and iv) they will be able to more beneficial for the political system with their more opportunist point of views. Besides, she states that the participation of women in the local

governments which are closer to their own lives is easier than the participation into the national politics. The local politics can also be the first stage in order to enter the national politics by improving its capacities and gaining experience.

Another subject coming to the forefront on the issue is the fact that the women possess a more different perspective and management style as the local administrators than their male coworkers. This difference is seen clearly within the study of Fox and Schuhmann (1999) which included 875 city managers in total in the USA in 1997 and compared the female (435) and male (440) city managers. According to the results of this research; female city managers are more interested in the participation of citizens and society in the decision making processes when compared to the male city managers. They underline the importance of communication more while fulfilling their duties and they are tending to see their own roles as the administrator and facilitator rather than political entrepreneurs (Fox and Schuhmann, 1999: 240). Therefore, women taking part in the decision making processes of the local governments and in senior positions will both lead to a variety in terms of perspective and management style and will contribute to the establishment of effective local governance.

3. The Political Representation of Women in the National and Local Level in Turkey

In Turkey, the main reason for the women to remain in the shadow of men in almost every field is mostly derived from the traditional approaches and prejudices. Women have been tried to be protected since they were born. Motherhood is associated with women much more by bringing the womanhood feelings into the forefront. Most of the time women are struggling to gain the place they deserve in the public and business life. However; they have not been able to find a possibility of representation in politics and business life at the rate of their population in spite of all these struggles. According to the data of 2014; the participation rate of women in workforce in Turkey is determined as 30,3% and it is observed that the main reason for not being able to involve in workforce is "dealing with the household chores" with the rate of 57,6% (TUIK, 2014: 78-79). It is seen that women also fall behind in terms of attending to the political life and representation when compared to the rate of participation into the business life. According to this, as of February 2016 the rate of female deputy in the country is 14,73% (TBMM, 2016) and only two female ministers (Minister of Family and Social Policies and Minister of Environment and Urbanization) take place in the cabinet (T. C. Başbakanlık, 2016). In this framework, it can be claimed that the participation and representation of women in both business life and politics is in a quite inadequate level in the country.

Proclamation of the Republic is a crucial turning point for women to have the equal rights with men in many fields in Turkey. Women have started to gain their social, political and economic rights with the proclamation of the Republic and it has been developing since that time (Negiz and Uçer, 2012: 2-3). It is seen that the women in Turkey took the first step in 1923 in order to participate to the political life and become deputy. On June 1923, an effort to establish a party called as "Kadınlar Halk Fırkası" under the leadership of Ms. Nezihe Muhittin came to the agenda, and the program and declaration of the party was presented to the government. But this formation was not accepted by the government and turned into an association called "Turkish Women's Union" in 1924 (Toprak, 1994: 7). This effort had an important influence on women's gaining the same equal political rights as men and in following years, firstly the right to vote was recognized for the women (who were 18 years old and older) and the right to stand for election was regulated with the 23rd and 24rd article of the Municipal Law (dated 1930 Law No. 1580). On October 1933, with the alteration of 20th and 25th articles of the Village Law dated 1924, women had the right to vote and to stand for election in the determination of the village head and the selection of the elderly council. Ultimately, the general suffrage was recognized for the women in the legislative elections on December 1934 (Talaşlı, 1996: 57). Turkey, which recognized the right to vote and to stand for election for women in the local election in 1930 and in general elections in 1934, became one of the first countries to give this right to the women in the world (Şahin, 2011: 21). Within this framework, 18 female deputies in total entered the Turkish Grand National Assembly for the first time as a result of 5th Period elections on the February 1935. In 1950, the first female city manager was chosen; in 1971, the first female minister took office and in 1993, the first female prime minister formed the government (TÜSİAD-KAGIDER, 2008: 220). The rate of women's representation in the parliament, which was 4,5% in 1935, rose to 9% in 2007 and rose to 14% in 2011 (Gençkaya, 2014: 7). According to the results of last general election that was held in 2015; there are 81 female deputies (14,73%) and 469 male deputies (85,27%) out of 550 deputies in the parliament (TBMM, 2016).

Unfortunately, the representation of Turkish women, who gained the right to vote and to stand for election earlier than their fellows in many other countries, is rather low both in national and local politics. Even though there are not sexist provisions concerning the political rights Turkish laws, the representation of women in politics, political parties, government and among political leaders is quite limited. This situation is an indication that, there are problems in the implementation of political

rights which was given to the women in order to be equal with the men, into the practice in Turkey like in many countries (Çağlar, 2011: 59). There are various social, cultural, economic and political reasons in Turkey that prevent women from participating in the political life actively. Particularly, the factors arising from traditional patriarchal family relations and low education level especially in rural parts, the political pressures of husbands, fathers, brothers and even sons on women (Doğramacı 1997: 141 cited in Çağlar 2011) the inadequacy of financial possibilities and lack of self-confidence can be considered as the main barriers preventing women from participating in the political life actively. In addition to this, the lowness of women's representation in the country can also be attributed to the functioning of the democracy and the political parties' women policies, their sexist approaches and applications (Çağlar, 2011: 65). Especially, due to the unwillingness of the political parties nominating women candidates in Turkey, many women who can have the chance to carry the problems and suggestions of women into the politics with the general and local elections are deprived from taking place in the political decision making processes. (TÜSIAD-KAGİDER, 2008: 234).

In recent years, it has been basically seen that the efforts for women's entry into the public life more actively and providing gender mainstreaming in every field have become prevalent across the country, as well. Turkey, has guaranteed to develop policies, make legal regulations and put these laws into practice with the engagements, decision and advices of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in the first place, and the foundations such as European Social Charter, Organization For Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), International Labor Organization (ILO), Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe and in accordance with the directives of the Action Plan of Cairo Conference on World Population and Development, the Action Plan of the 4th World Women Conference, Declaration of Beijing and European Union about the equality of woman and man (TÜİK, 2014: XXIII). In addition to this, Directorate General on the Status of Women was established in 1990 as a national mechanism with the aim of developing woman policies and this foundation was restructured in 2004 (Gökçimen, 2008: 19). Besides these efforts, there are a lot of non-governmental organizations that work actively for providing the gender equality in the country. These efforts make important contributions to provide gender mainstreaming. However; despite all these efforts, it is not possible to say that the country has reached to the intended level in terms of women's participation and representation in the political life like many other subjects.

Even though, women cannot find enough opportunity of representation in the political life, they work actively in the women's branches of the political parties. However, in the studies focusing on Turkey (Altındal, 2007; Çakır, 2001; Yaraman, 1998), it is concluded that, women are not effective as a social and political reality in the women's branches that are unable to achieve an effective political activity. It is observed that, in the political parties, without considering the ideological differences, gender-based business division is preserved and women prioritize their party identities more than their identity as a woman. It is also seen that the women working in the women's branches find being seen as a sign in political spectrum is enough, they do not take place in the processes of delivering an opinion in any subjects and decision making processes without receiving approval from their political parties (Çakır, 2001: 407-408) and they mostly apply the decisions that taken by their political party.

It is seen that the women's situation is also not so different from the level of the representation in national politics when it is evaluated about the point of their representation in local politics and local governments. Turkey is one of the countries in the world in which the representation rate of the women in the local governments is the lowest. However; the features of women's participating in local politics in Turkey shows a tendency which is opposite to the world-wide. Even though the women in many countries of the world cannot reach to a serious representation level in national politics, they can be more successful in taking place in local political decisions. But, just the opposite of this case is seen in Turkey (TÜSIAD-KAGİDER, 2008: 235; Alkan, 2004). The reasons such as the traditional structure that influences the representation of woman negatively in Turkish political system and the exclusion, inadequacy of financial resources and technical data, the structures of political parties and the methods of determining candidate, internal problems and lack of self-confidence (Negiz and Üçer, 2012: 5-6) can be regarded as the most basic obstacles in front of women's representation in local politics. According to Alkan (2004: 5); three factors can be underlined in order to explain the inadequate participation of women in local politics in Turkey. The first factor is "figurativeness" in the politics and the second factor is that the majorly limited social mobility of women even in the level of local community. Ultimately, the third factor can be stated with the fact that the organization of woman has excluded the local from its field of interest until recent periods.

When it is considered that local politics is at least as vital as central politics for women's gaining strength, the importance of eliminating this and similar factors comes into prominence much more. Providing women to participate in local politics

actively in the level of municipality and metropolitan municipality mayorship; municipality and metropolitan municipal council, provincial council and being a village head in the country is a necessity in terms of both for the need of values such as democracy, justice, and modernness and providing the active governance. However; when the results of local elections in Turkey are examined, the inadequacy of women's representation in these levels is seen clearly.

4. Women in Turkish Local Governments with Respect to the Statistics

When the statistics about the last four local elections (1999, 2004, 2009 and 2014) in Turkey are examined, it can be claimed that there is a general increase in the number of elected women even though it is not in a sufficient level. This situation is discussed in a more detailed way in the tables below.

Table 1: The Rates of Female Mayors

<i>Local Elections</i> \ <i>Mayors</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percentage of Women (%)</i>
1999	18	3197	3215	0,6
2004	18	3207	3225	0,56
2009	27	2922	2948	1
2014	40	1356	1396	2,86

Source: The data was compiled from İçişleri Bakanlığı Mahalli İdareler Genel Müdürlüğü (2016) and Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu (2014)

As it is seen in Table 1, the rate of female mayor is exceedingly low when it compared to the male mayors. While this rate is 0,6% in the elections of 1999, the rate has risen to 2,86% as a result of 2014 elections. The women who are rarely seen at the positions of mayorship are seen more often as powerful and effective deputy mayors.

Table 2: The Rates of Female Metropolitan Mayor

<i>Local Elections</i> \ <i>Metropolitan Mayors</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percentage of Women (%)</i>
1999	0	15	15	0
2004	0	16	16	0
2009	0	16	16	0
2014	3	27	30	10

Source: The data was compiled from İçişleri Bakanlığı Mahalli İdareler Genel Müdürlüğü (2016) and Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu (2014)

In the elections of 2014, the women were elected for the mayorship for the first time in three metropolitans. One of these women is the former minister (Fatma Şahin) and the other two are the former deputies (Özlem Çerçioğlu and Gülten Kışanak). These women, who can be elected for the metropolitan mayorship, have also taken place in politics actively before.

Table 3: The Rates of Female Municipal Councilors

<i>Local</i> \ <i>Municipal Council Members</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percentage of Women (%)</i>
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<i>Elections</i>				
1999	541	33543	34084	1,6
2004	834	33643	34477	2,4
2009	1340	30450	31790	4,2
2014	2198	18300	20498	10,72

Source: The data was compiled from İçişleri Bakanlığı Mahalli İdareler Genel Müdürlüğü (2016) and Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu (2014)

The rate of female council members which is 1,6 % in 1999 elections has risen to 10,72 % in the elections of 2014. This case depicts that political parties prefer the women as candidates in councillorship much more instead of mayorship.

Table 4: The Rates of Female Provincial Council Members

<i>Provincial Council Members Local Elections</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percentage of Women (%)</i>
1999	44	3078	3122	1,4
2004	58	3151	3208	1,8
2009	110	3269	3379	3,2
2014	60	1191	1251	4,80

Source: The data was compiled from İçişleri Bakanlığı Mahalli İdareler Genel Müdürlüğü (2016) and Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu (2014)

Whereas the representation of women in provincial council memberships was 1,4 % in 1999, the rate rose to 4,8 % in 2014. This rate is still rather low. Although it is seen that the representation of women increased in four fields in the elections of 2014 when compared to the past elections, these rates are still notably insufficient. These rates are clearly indicator of the fact that the women forming the half of population cannot be represented in the local governments at the rate of their population. These statistics are not enough to prove that the women exist in local politics in Turkey and they simply point out a "situation of absence" (Anbarlı Bozatay, Kutlu, 2014: 139; Tekeli, 1991: 117). These low rates are neither temporary or periodical nor regional – although they approach to nearly 10% on average in three metropolitans like Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir- (Alkan, 2004). These rates also show that the barriers that are mentioned above have a highly important role in women's attendance and representation in the national and local politics in the country.

In Turkey, the strategies of political parties to determine candidate list are also rather problematic. The ones who own the necessary political sources and possibilities – such as money, time, powerful public relationship, networks, education and experience- are primarily presented candidates and elected in the local level just like in the national level. It is clear that women are disadvantageous in nearly all of these situations (Alkan, 2004). This disadvantage has also reflected to the tables presented above. The fact that there are no female political leaders in Turkey also can be evaluated as another obstacle for women's attendance in politics. The male dominance within the political parties causes women to stand much more aloof from this system.

5. Results and Suggestions

Like around the world, women in Turkey also cannot participate in the political life sufficiently and the political life is governed substantially by the men. The male-centered structure which is generally common in the social life of Turkey manifests itself in the national and local politics, as well. Even though the women in Turkey have gained the right to vote and stand for election in an early period, it is difficult to mention about their active political participation. Whereas the participation of

educated women who live in the city and can compete with the men in the politics is relatively higher, the possibility of women living in the rural area to take part in the political life is low. Although the female sympathizers take charge in the propaganda works of political parties intensely, it is not possible to see them equally in the representation. The women are mostly presented as candidates by the male leaders of the political parties with the aim of receiving vote from female voters and they take place within the lists. Hence, the steps that are taken in Turkey in order to increase the participation of women both in national and local politics are still very limited.

While the women in many countries of the world are more successful in participating in the local politics when compared to the national politics, the women in Turkey, on the contrary, are represented in the national politics much more. The representation of women in the local governments that is the most important factor of the local politics in Turkey remains highly limited. The number of female mayors in the level of province and metropolitan is the most significant indicator of the fact that women cannot take place actively and represented in the local politics. The political parties prefer women as the candidates in councillorship instead of mayorship more often. Much as the representation rates of women in the local governments in the last four local elections have shown a tendency to increase, but this increase is exceedingly insufficient. When it is considered that the local governments are the basic executive units that are the closest to the public and carry out the local resources and services and supervise them, the participation of the parts which benefit from these services and resources in the process of decision making actively and equally is a necessity of the democratic sense of rule. Accordingly, the equal representation of women in local governments is profoundly important in relation to realizing a sense of rule which is both democratic and participatory.

Even though there are not any legal barriers against women's representation in the national and local politics; political, social, economic and cultural factors are functioning as main barriers that confront women at this point. It is observed that a lot of studies have been made in Turkey regarding women's attendance in national and local politics actively. Although, these studies should be evaluated as the positive efforts, the expected success about the subject has not been able to gain yet. In this context, the aspects that need approaching primarily about women's representation in the national politics and particularly in the local governments can be listed as follows; first of all women's education level should be increased and non-governmental organizations and female politicians should be more sensitive about the problems of women and the politics regarding women and in this sense, they should take over responsibility in these matters actively. Also, the selections of candidates in the political parties should be democratized and the policies about quota setting (the minimum lot/ rate allocated for women) for the women in the political parties should be adopted by force of establishing an equalitarian structure. Accordingly, central government should make legal regulations in a way that these policies will be able to come true and besides, women's associations and non-governmental organizations should lobby in order to increase the number of female leaders by working for the benefit of female candidates.

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