

**WOMEN IN LOCAL GOVERNMENTS:
THE CASE OF ISTANBUL DISTRICT FEEDERS**

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ABSTRACT

There are differences between men and women in many subjects such as family life, education, employment, etc. Women's political participation is blocked in many societies that see women's first task as motherhood and housework. Although women make up half of the world's population, women who still do not have equal conditions with men in some societies have the right to choose and be elected later than men. Although women have the right to choose and be elected, their political participation occurs under the conditions of underrepresented participation as it takes place under male supervision and domination. Especially in local politics, women's representation is more difficult. While it is seen that women's representation is higher in local politics than in national politics, it is seen that female representation is lower locally in Turkey. This study, which seeks answers to the question "What should be the representation of women in local politics", was carried out with 75 female councilors elected from 39 district municipalities of Istanbul. In the study, which was conducted face-to-face and by telephone survey, 10 of the female councilors were interviewed in depth. The findings were examined in five headings; Women's entry into local politics, demographic characteristics, problems faced in local politics and solution strategies for them, the responsibilities they take on in local politics and the tasks they undertake are their thoughts on their own political careers in the light of political experiences. According to the findings, it is seen that women face problems similar to national politics in local politics. Women, often considered as showcases in local politics, are assigned to local politics in areas consistent with their femininity duties. The purpose of women to participate in local politics is to participate in national politics instead of to solve local problems, and political career goals are shaped by the male-dominated mindset.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EU	European Union
EC	European Council
ECHR	European Court of Human Right
UN	United Nations
V.	Volume
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
KA.DER	Association for Support of Women Candidates
I.	Issue
p.	Page
NGO	Non-Governmental Organizations
GNAT	Grand National Assembly of Turkey
TLS	Turkish Linguistic Society
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
LEAP	Local Equality Action Plan
etc.	Et cetera

I.INTRODUCTION

Considering the individual, who is the main element of political representation, which is being discussed with its different dimensions today, the inequality of representation between men and women is striking. Discrimination faced by women in almost all areas of life is more visible, especially in the political arena. The discrimination faced by women in the political arena is based on the public and private space dilemma, and the distinction between public and private spheres makes women belong to the private sphere. He sees men as the subject of the public sphere. Since politics is done in the public sphere, it is seen as a man's job, while the duty of women imprisoned in the private sphere is in the home. For this reason, it has been difficult for women to engage in politics for long periods of time. After women were given the right to vote and be elected, women began to take part in politics, albeit slowly.

Women who won their political rights at the beginning of the 20th century were constantly encouraged to vote, but they were not encouraged or even prevented from participating in the same way. The main reason for this is that the power structure is masculine. The power derives its power from the governed. With the emergence of states, a modern political system has emerged that makes the wishes and demands of all citizens input and obtains political output. This system was formed on the basis of the participation and representation of the citizens in the administration.

With the laws enacted after 1930 in Turkey, women first gained the right to participate in the municipal elections, and then they gained the right to participate in the councils of elders in the village and to be elected as headmen. In 1934, women were given the right to elect and be elected as members of parliament. Although a long time has passed since then, the fact that women are still less involved in politics than men is an obstacle to the development of democratic processes. Although women in many countries have gained the right to vote and be elected through some struggles, this right has been given to women spontaneously without the need for any struggle in Turkey, so women have participated in politics at a periodically changing rate. Women, who had

the right to represent around 18% (Alkan, 2005: 89) with the implicit quota practice in the first periods of the Republic, became less represented as a result of the removal of their implicit quota with the transition to multi-party system (Tekeli, 1982: 284).

It is accepted that there is no formal difference between the representation of women in local politics and their representation in national politics, but in modern political systems, the level of women's representation in local politics is above the level of representation in national politics. The reason for this is explained as the fact that local politics is in the living space of women and their vital problems. The services provided by local governments are generally demanded by women. The fact that participation in local politics is easier than participation in national politics caused women to be directed to local politics, and women's participation in national politics remained at a low level. There are four important reasons for this situation (Tekeli, 1982: 285). The first of these is that women are used as symbols in politics and are seen as a showcase. The second is that female mobility is weak. The third is that local politics is perceived as a technical field and the fourth is that women's organizations keep local politics out of their interest for long periods (Alkan, 2005: 89).

Towards the end of the 1990s, modern political systems discussed the problem of women's representation on national and international platforms with the support of women's movements and tried to draw a legal framework for gender equality. In particular, tools such as gender quotas and zippers, which are used as positive discrimination for women in politics, have created positive results around the world. With the gender quota applied, the rate of female representation in Northern European countries has increased by nearly 50 percent.

In the 2000s, the realization of women's voting power by political parties in our country, the contributions of non-governmental organizations (NGO), the increasing interest in women's problems by the business world, and the pressure of international organizations led to the determination of more women candidates in the elections. The ratios of female mayors, female city council members and female city councilors elected in the 2009 elections constituted the highest representation rate of women in the history of the Republic.

The main subject of the study is the demographic characteristics of women elected in local governments. In addition, studies have been carried out that establish a

relationship between the population ratio of local governments and the representation of women. The study, which aims to determine the process of women's representation in local politics, examines the demographic characteristics of women who want to be included in local politics, how they are involved in local politics, the problems they face during the process of being involved in local politics and the solution strategies for them, the duties of women involved in local politics. It covers the dimensions of evaluating expectations and future goals. Istanbul district municipalities female council members are the target group of the study. Quantitative data were obtained by conducting face-to-face and telephone surveys with 75 women councilors from 39 district municipalities, and then in-depth interviews were conducted with 10 women councilors.

The study consists of four parts, except for the introduction and conclusion, and in the first part, a theoretical framework has been tried to be established based on the concepts of political participation and representation. In the second part, starting from the political participation and representation of women, the processes of women having these rights, the factors affecting political participation and the problems they face are examined. In the third chapter, the position, participation and representation of women in local governments were examined, and the projects carried out to increase the participation and representation of women in local governments were mentioned. In the last part, the data obtained as a result of the field work were analyzed. The findings include the demographic characteristics of female council members, their participation in local politics, the difficulties and solution strategies they encounter during and after participation, their position in local politics, the responsibilities and duties assigned to women in local politics, and the achievements of women in local politics.

II. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND REPRESENTATION

A. Political Participation

Humanity, which is a social creature in its essence, started to encounter some problems when it started to live collectively. With the transition to settled life and the civilization of the society, political concepts began to be used and the concept of politics was formed. Among the people who make up the society, the issue of who will be in the administration, how it will be managed and what kind of life will lead have led to conflicts. The political institution has stepped in to solve these problems. The lack of a common definition on the concept of politics that is accepted by everyone is due to the fact that politics includes many phenomena covering the upper and lower layers. Therefore, in different periods, political scientists and philosophers defined politics in their own way (Şahin, 2011: 9). Politics, which means 'horse trading' in Arabic, was used to mean the ability to manage and the art of ruling in the periods before the Ottoman Empire (Taşkın, 2014: 26). Politics, according to Aristotle, is the work of the state aimed at living well and achieving the best, and a politically existing institution is a small republic, and its inhabitants participate in its administration to a certain extent. Weber, on the other hand, defines politics as the struggle for being effective in the sharing of power between the state or the groups formed for a certain purpose within the state or in their efforts to share it (Akyüz, 2009: 95). Heywood, on the other hand, defines that there are rules that regulate life and are valid for everyone, and the work done by individuals to protect and change these rules is politics. According to Heywood, who says that politics is a cooperation and a conflict, there is conflict where the majority do not think the same things, but there must be cooperation in order for certain laws and rules to be accepted and abolished. Therefore, the peculiarity of politics is the process of resolving the encounter in which debates involving different views are reconciled.

Politics has become a concept in which everyone has the right to participate freely and equally, with women gaining the right to participate in politics, which was a right granted only to men until a certain period. The concept of participation, which is an action, has been embraced by political science. It is to participate in a community, party or idea created for a purpose (Oruç and Bayrakçı, 2018: 469). The concept of participation, which can be defined as the organization or institutions having a say in the decisions taken by the physical environment regarding individuals, can also be defined as the cooperation with individuals in the creation of a program or result or decision-making (Kaypak, 2011: 137). Participation should be continuous, should be based on volunteerism, and should not take into account personal or corporate interests (Poyraz, 2017: 140). Participation contributes to the socialization of people, people who participate in a community such as a non-governmental organization, party, association have the opportunity to meet many people.

Participation, which is one of the main elements of local politics, argues that the rights of citizens should be protected locally. While protecting these rights, participation requires not considering reasons such as gender, religion, age, race, political opinion, nationality, economic situation, physical and mental disability. With the participation of the citizens, their ability to supervise the elected and appointed persons will increase their sense of trust. Political participation is a concept that shows the attitudes and behaviors of people in the society towards the current political system (Kapani, 2007: 144). The activity of influencing the decisions taken and practices in different units of the state is defined as political participation (Kışlalı, 2003: 219). Political participation has many different purposes and is characterized as a reaction behavior (Çağlar, 2011: 57). The different purposes of political participation can be listed as participating in political parties, voting, socializing, participating in rallies, feeding the ideology, gaining personal benefit, attaining a political prestige, and being active in politics.

Political participation, which offers people from all walks of life the opportunity to represent themselves, their party or groups, provides a majority in different sections and creates stability. One of the most important issues in ensuring political participation is the trust of the person in the political system. Confidence in the system is seen with political participation, so political participation is an important indicator for observing people who want to participate but cannot participate and learn their reasons. One of the reasons for not being able to participate is that people do not trust the system in line with negative factors.

People participate in politics in different ways, there may be people who think that they participate only by voting, or there are people who participate by not voting. Participation may have economic, personal or demographic reasons. Political participation levels are explained under four headings (Dahl, 2010: 57). These; interest, caring, knowledge and action. While interest is the degree of watching events closely or from afar, caring is the degree of importance given to political events. Knowledge means having knowledge in the face of political events. Action is taking an active role in political events. Society is classified as political strata, non-political strata, power holders and those seeking power (Dahl, 2010: 56). A small part of the society consists of political power holders and those who seek power. It is the political and non-political layer that explains political participation (Kapani, 2007: 147). Although the attitude of the non-political strata is not certain, people can vote from time to time even if they are not interested in political events.

Political participation is leveled in different ways. The act of joining people politically is named from easy to difficult (Sağıt, 2016: 10). These are the warriors are the transitive group and spectator people. Warriors take a more active role in political activities and show features such as being a candidate other than being a member of the party. The transitive group is physically more visible in political events. They make an effort to provide aid to the party they are affiliated with, to attend rallies and to find financial resources. The audience, on the other hand, is content with voting in the elections, as well as discussing political events among their friends or family group.

As can be seen, it is possible to talk about different levels of political participation. People can take part in participation levels according to their location, country, social structure or political system. From the functioning of daily life, financial impossibilities, etc. There may be people who remain passive in participation for many reasons, such as those who participate in political participation as candidates, participate in activities, and provide funds to the structure they are committed to. Therefore, it can be said that political participation has a heterogeneous structure and there are many factors affecting political participation.

B. Reasons, Levels and Types of Political Participation

1. Reasons of Political Participation

Psychological, socioeconomic and political factors are influential in people's participation in political life. People can exhibit different behaviors in society. These changes in people's behavior are related to group dynamics expectations. The reasons for political participation of people can also find direction in parallel with their behavior in the group. The reasons why people want to participate in political life can be counted as "making friends", "social guessing", "psychological guessing", "interest-based commitment", "alienation from society". People can participate in politics in order to protect their interests, to cooperate, to cooperate, to make friends, to eliminate various psychological dissatisfactions, to understand the world, to find a place in society and not to become alienated (Yücekök, 1987: 28). In addition, people maintain their commitment to political processes by participating in the political system that makes it possible to realize their political goals, solve social problems and serve the society (Talışlı, 1996: 24). 'Making friends' means making new friends organizationally and professionally; 'social estimation' means attaining certain positions through acquiring a culture against political and social events; 'interest-based commitment' means protecting the organizational and personal interests of individuals and gaining benefits with their immediate environment; 'alienating the society' means dealing with social and political events in the country and the world against himself, his family and his environment, and not being excluded from society by participating in politics at different levels (Öztekin, 2003: 231).

Çayır (2011) divides the reasons for political participation into four and lists them as personal commitment, solidarity, interest and sense of citizenship (Çadır, 2011: 10). Participation in the personal sense is traditional and takes place in the form of showing loyalty to a leader. In the political participation that emerges with solidarity, the person 'acts to participate in the general direction of that group in order to show his loyalty to the social group (village, community, social class) to which he belongs'. In interest-based political participation, people behave in line with their personal interests. Participation realized with a sense of citizenship, on the other hand, shows personal conscience and sense of duty.

There are many reasons why people participate in political life. In summary, the reasons for citizens to participate in political life are to convey their demands and suggestions, problems and solution suggestions to the relevant people, to participate in the implementation of innovative policies, to access information, to ensure that decision makers are transparent, to develop their social skills, and to participate in the implementation of innovative policies.

2. Level of Political Participation

For those who participate in political life at different levels, there are demographic, societal or political reasons for this. While some people want to be present in all areas of politics, others may be reluctant even when voting. In a study conducted by Lester W. Milbrath in 1995, the political participation of individuals was divided into three categories according to the degree of difficulty (Milbrath, 1965: 18). They are spectator, transitive, and warlike. People who show spectator behavior are people who just vote without making much effort, and who show behavior of persuading their friend to change their political preference. Transitional people are people who devote energy and time to conferences and rallies, have regular contact with bureaucrats, provide financial assistance to political parties, and fighters are people who are active members of a party, who are candidates in national or local elections, and who take action to improve the financial opportunities of the party.

3. Types of Political Participation

Individuals are the foundation of democracy. Democracy, on the other hand, is a political system that can create its own freedom and individuality by getting rid of the pressure and influence of all kinds of groups (Kılıçbay, 1994: 121). Political participation of individuals can take place in different ways. The attitudes and behaviors of people towards political participation can be in the form of non-participation, low interest, and active participation. Those who do not participate are referred to as 'inactive', those who are less interested are called 'passive', and those who are active are called 'active' (Daver, 1976: 203). Common classifications in the literature are as follows:

- Compulsory and independent participation: It is the political participation that is required by the law and some political actions take place with the independent decision of the people.
- Open and confidential participation: While political participation activities are sometimes carried out in public and openly, some activities are confidential.

- Continuous and intermittent participation: political participation can be only intermittent in the form of voting, or it can be continuous, such as membership in a party.
- Instrumental-purposeful participation: While voting behaviors in elections are instrumental participation, behaviors such as participating in election campaigns are purposeful participation.
- Verbal-nonverbal participation: discussion of a political issue can be given as an example of verbal political participation, while protest marches can be given as an example of non-verbal participation.
- Participation in the political system by giving and receiving: some behaviors such as voting contribute to the system, while some behaviors (such as road, school construction) take something from the system.
- Social and non-social participation: participation with other people in the society is social participation, while individual participation, which is the opposite, is non-social participation (Çam, 2002: 172).

According to Baykal, who goes to a triple classification for political participation, these are watching political events, taking a stand on political events and getting involved in political events. It includes watching political events, listening to the radio, watching TV, reading magazines and newspapers. Taking a stand includes taking a stance on political events. Being involved in political events means participating in rallies and demonstrations (Baykal, 1970: 33).

C. Purpose and Function of Political Participation

The purpose of participation also reveals the nature of participation. Participation is done for purposes such as 'to be involved in political discussions, to watch rallies, to vote, to provide personal and organizational benefits, to take part in election campaigns, to work in the administration, to reach political status, to be informed, to influence political decisions' (Çağlar, 2011: 57). Political participation can also be described as a reaction movement and it is claimed that people participate in politics for the following reasons (Yücekök, 1987: 28):

- Socialization,
- Protecting your interests,
- Finding a place in society

- Elimination of psychological dissatisfaction,
- Understanding the world
- Providing social solidarity,
- Desire not to be alienated.

The first of the functions of political participation is the determination of social demands and political administrators. This situation can sometimes be intertwined. In cases where democracy is not sufficient, elections and political participation can be seen as equivalent (Kışlalı, 2003: 220). In addition, political participation is one of the important elements for the formation of national and local politics and the healthy functioning of democracy (Yılmaz, 2005: 113). In other words, political participation shows how much the society has embraced democracy and thus how much democracy has become functional. There are also opinions that political participation differs from regime to regime (Kışlalı, 2003: 220). According to this view, although political participation does not ensure that the individual or society achieves results, the openness of the means of participation strengthens the sense of citizenship while reducing social tension. Because when citizens suffer an injustice or want to be informed about a subject, they will be able to use political participation as a requirement of citizenship and democracy. In addition, it cannot be expected that everyone participates in political life with the same intensity. It is possible to classify political participation. Examining political participation in terms of difficulty and intensity, Milbrath divided it into 3 classes. He stated that the first step of this classification is the observers, and that the activities of the observers are participating in the discussions and voting. The second pillar is to engage in transitional activities such as establishing relations with political leaders and participating in political rallies. The last leg is called gladiator activities, these activities are activities with high intensity and difficulty to have party membership, to work in election campaigns, to be a political candidate (Nohutçu, 2007). Another classification was made by Baykal. The first of political participation, which is divided into 3 classes by its intensity, is like following political events with mass media and attending rallies. In the second, which is more intense, a stand is taken against political events, and the person needs to explain this to his/her environment. In the third, which is the advanced stage of political participation, it is expressed as being a member of political parties or associations, taking an active part in political events, being a candidate.

It can be classified as those who realize political participation or those who do not (Turan, 1986):

- Those who do not participate in the political process: These individuals have no interest in politics and do not prefer to vote even in elections.
- Voters only: A large mass of political participation is mixed only by voting from election to election.
- Individual limited participants: In addition to voting, some people interact with civil servants to solve their individual problems.
- Community level participants: usually organizations try to influence the political process through groups to solve some social or environmental problems.
- Campaigners: Some citizens are actively involved in election campaigns.
- Those in the last group, on the other hand, take part in political parties and engage in all kinds of political activities.

Çukurçayır, who divides the functions of political participation into two groups related to the personal and the state, connects the participation to the functionality in the political system so that the individual is not just a spectator to public actions. Although participation is tried to be done with the aim of reaching a democratic society, not as a requirement of daily policies, it is thought that it will be a process with serious benefits for the person to shape both his/her life environment and his/her personality. Functions related to persons are the protection of personal rights, equality and supervision of administration. These functions are indispensable elements of democracy and the rule of law. State-related functions are legitimacy, effectiveness, right decision making, integration. Legitimacy is important for administrators, and with the participation of more citizens, the legitimacy of the decisions made by the administrators is ensured. Citizens' opinions are extremely important for effective and qualified decision-making (Çukurçayır, 2012: 56).

D. Factors Affecting Political Participation

Individual and social elements and processes are effective in the realization of political participation, which is shaped by the coming together of many elements. These also show differences in their effectiveness over time. Political participation is affected by factors such as gender, age, income status, occupation, politics, as well as the electoral system, political and social factors, and the level of democratization (Altındal, 2007: 40).

Age is a factor influencing political participation. The important thing is the historical period of the person's age. In periods of intense social politicization, the essence of the interaction of political participation between the person and the age changes. The effect of age on political participation can be expressed as follows (Yücekök, 1987: 28): Young people participate less in politics because they are less interested in organizations and norms, they move more often due to job search, therefore they do not have environmental feelings, and their income levels are low. Compared to young people, middle-aged people participate more in politics because they have a job and status and have more protection in society. In short, the opinion that political participation increases in proportion to age is common.

Income level is an important factor that affects people's lives, from their way of life to their perspective on events. Studies have shown that low-income people are more indifferent to politics compared to high-income people. The reason for this is that people in the low-income group primarily aim to meet their vital needs. This causes people to stay out of social life.

One of the factors affecting political participation is profession. Occupation, which directly affects the economic situation, is the main source of the behaviors listed in providing income. Occupation is related to educational status, therefore, with the increase in education, political participation also increases. While the profession affects the social relations of individuals, it also provides the enlargement of the environment.

Interest in politics increases as the level of education increases. As people's level of knowledge increases, they question the options presented to them, interpret events, monitor political developments, and this affects their political party preferences.

Mass media, which enables people to access information about current problems and the political system, increases the person's interest in social events. In addition, it also affects political demands and willingness to participate. Regular follow-up of mass media influences and changes the individual and social expectations of the person. In addition, with the development of these tools, political parties will be able to reach larger masses and express themselves. The influence of the mass media can change with factors such as the education level of the voter, which information source he uses, his family, leader and party loyalty. Political participation is affected by psychological, political and

socioeconomic factors. At the beginning of the psychological factors is the sense of activity, the idea that the person can affect the environment with his actions and change the flow of events defines the sense of activity (Kapani, 2002: 133). The fact that these thoughts are at a high level in the person directs the person to political participation more, otherwise it drives them away from the political life.

Organization membership, which is in the last step of political participation levels, is an activity in which political participation is intensely applied. Being a member of an organization can have different effects on people. Membership of an organization, which determines the area of interest of the person, may mean that the person adopts a philosophy of life in this respect. The member of the organization, who tries to resemble the members of the group he is a member of and to establish relations with other group members, is afraid of being removed from the organization if he does not comply with the rules of the organization or behave like other members (Kalaycıoğlu, 1983: 35). The experience gained in membership of an organization, which is a key status in undertaking political duties, politicizes the person and prepares him to take part in decision-making mechanisms.

E. Political Representation

While the concept of representation is defined as 'acting on behalf of a person or a community', political representation is defined by Hanna Fenichel Pitkin as 'acting on behalf of other people in politics'. Political representation has its origins in Ancient Greece. The concept of representation, which is used today, was used for the first time by the Romans as 'the writing of something that did not exist before or the political institutions acting on behalf of others' (Örs, 2006: 2). Political representation was literally used by the democrats in Europe in the 17th century and developed as an aristocratic and monarchical board of directors. In 1967, the most important basic work on political representation was made by Pitkin. Pitkin stated that there are 4 different types of political representation:

- Principal representation is the representation of members of a particular group or class.
- Formal representation refers to taking action or action that will benefit a person or institution being represented.
- Symbolic representation is having the power of symbolic representation.
- Descriptive representation is being elected through free and fair elections.

Pitkin, who concentrates on the descriptive, symbolic and formal representation types from the above-mentioned representation types, sees the primary

representation for actions. While Pitkin's descriptive representation makes sense of the relationship between the characters of the representatives and the representation, the problem created by seeing the formal representation as a transaction or action for the benefit of the person or institution to be represented is that all transactions of the representatives are accepted as representation regardless of their quality. According to Pitkin, who states that beliefs and attitudes are effective in symbolic representation, the only negative aspect of this view is that it is open to manipulation by representatives. In contrast to other types of representation, primary representation logically emphasizes the relationship with representatives. Thus, he argues that representatives should not be sensitive to representation. Often this sensitivity enables agents to combine their actions and aspirations. This harmony emerges in two ways, the first of which is the necessity of giving the power of representation to those who know what to do, and the other is that the representative has the authority to act on behalf of the person or institutions represented (Celis and Childs, 2008: 100).

According to Pitkin, the conditions that the representative candidates must have in order to act as a delegate are as follows (Celis and Childs, 2008: 101):

- When local and personal interests are not contrary to national interests,
- When political issues are linked to individual preferences,
- Where persons of equal potential are represented,
- When criticism of politics and the state includes representation.

The most important element of political representation is the candidacy process, and the candidacy process consists of three stages. These are candidacy, candidacy and participation in elections. To be nominated, the candidate must be proposed. This happens in three ways (Araslı, 1972: 55):

- Independent persons wishing to be candidates,
- Voter groups candidates,
- Candidates determined by political parties.

While some of the political systems include independent candidates, candidates determined by political parties and voter group candidates in political life, some political systems only nominate people determined by political parties. The most important role of political parties in the representation process is to nominate

candidates. Political parties have different approaches during the nomination phase. There are some basic options for nominating candidates in terms of parties. Nomination varies according to the hierarchy and level of centralization, and in line with this approach, candidates are selected only among party members.

III. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN

Today, where political participation and representation are very important, there are various aspects of political representation, which is the broadest form of political participation. These are gender, ethnic and regional directional representation. These sources of representation cause certain groups to be positioned as disadvantaged in representation. In political representation, the main element of which is the person, the inequality between the sexes is extremely important when the person is considered. The discrimination that women face in all areas of life is more visible in the political arena. This discrimination leads to underrepresentation of women compared to men at local and national level. When considered at the level of local governments, the measures and regulations taken around the world regarding positive discrimination; It paved the way for it to participate in political mechanisms and to create a representative power. There are economic, political and social obstacles that exclude women from the political arena at the local and national level, and modern political systems have tried to solve the representation problem of women with national and international measures. Agreements and documents issued at national and international level carry out studies for women. These agreements and documents are used to solve the problem of representation and participation through positive discrimination measures and socioeconomic regulations for women.

A. Historical Development of Women's Political Participation

Politics is one of the important concepts that emerged with the history of humanity and is defined as the art of governing the state or the form of government of the state (Taşkın, 2014: 25). Politics can also be defined as setting rules that concern everyone in order to bring order to all areas of society and human life, and to manage all the work necessary to protect and change these rules (Heywood, 2005: 22). Because of being a part of daily life, politics showed itself even in the most primitive times, before the formation of states, people with

different views and tendencies went to struggle for power and established political relations with each other (Akyüz, 2009: 95). Politics is a social phenomenon and covers serious and detailed issues such as the power being a source of power for the society, the way those in power use this power, the legitimacy of the use of power, whether the power is used correctly or not, the structure and change of the power mechanism (Altındal, 2007: 352).

The concept of politics, which derives from the Greek word 'polis' meaning city-state, was used for politics, but over time this word gave way to the word 'politikos', which includes everything related to the state and city affairs (Taşkın, 2014: 25). Politics firstly meant grooming in Arabic, and over time it was used in the sense of the art of governing and the ability to rule (Taşkın, 2014: 25). The concept of politics, which started to be used in the sense of state administration in the thirteenth century, has been used in the twentieth century in the sense of business related to state administration that aims and secures the good in international relations and political science resources (Dursun and Altunoğlu, 2011: 4). In addition, politics can be defined as the use of existing administrative power in a society, as well as the regulation of relations between the governed and the power, and an effort to compromise on the interests of mutual conflict (Dursun, 2002: 5).

Politics aims to bring the interests of societies together on a common ground and aims to facilitate people's living as a community. Politics covers subjects such as who has a say, their rights and freedoms, and how these rights and freedoms will be taken into account during the administration. All activities of citizens that can affect politics can be expressed as political participation. In order for the political participation to show its effectiveness and maintain its place in the society, the rules in every field depend on the protection, protection and advancement of the interests of the people. In order for political participation to be fully mentioned, it is necessary to limit the duties and powers of the government, to determine the working principles and procedures in a way that takes into account the interests of the individuals, and to regularly audit these persons or institutions (Altındal, 2009: 352). Today, it is seen that the views of individuals and society on political participation are limited and narrow, and political participation is thought to be related only to voting. Those who hold this view argue that the parliament elected by votes should adapt to the government. He argues that governments are uncontrollable and uncontrollable. In such a political environment, non-governmental organizations will not be able to be effective, and

naturally, organizations that defend women's rights will not be able to achieve success. In order for the political participation and representation of women to emerge and for the establishment of a mechanism to defend women's rights, conflicts between individuals and the government should be eliminated, and activities that will ensure equality in the society should be initiated. Laws and rules regarding the political participation and representation of women have begun to be secured by legal regulations (Turan, 1996: 8). Sexist discrimination, which is frequently encountered in the political arena, reduces the political participation of women, and it is thought that women will be successful only if they do politics like men (Demir, 2002: 6).

The movement of Turkish women is analyzed in three stages. The first stage started with the laws enacted in the Tanzimat period, and the Ottoman Empire initiated reform policies that would affect women. The second stage is the rights granted to women in the Republican period. The third is the movement that started with the end of the military intervention in 1980.

There is no article for women in the Tanzimat Fermanı, which was published in 1839 and is a movement that guarantees individual rights regardless of religion, gender or race. However, after the publication of the Tanzimat Fermanı, provisions were made in favor of women, and Ottoman women began to change in the way of modernization with the Tanzimat (Ortaylı, 1990). During the Tanzimat Period, the social and intellectual structure of the Ottoman Empire also changed, the family unit and women changed in line with this situation, education, clothing, inheritance, etc. Equality and freedom were given to women in some rights such as Learning to read and write, playing musical instruments, learning a foreign language etc. for Turkish women who started to westernize during the Tanzimat period. activities such as It was also seen that women's organizations increased during this period, and committees were established to help the people injured in the war. Such organizations have seriously affected women's participation and representation in politics after the war (Kurnaz, 1996).

The Ottoman Empire lost many wars in the 1800s, which led to the need for renewal. In this direction, the Reform Edict was published in 1856, and political and military developments were reflected in the social field. With the Reform Edict, which was an attempt to adapt to the West, cultural, military, social, political and economic

changes were made and it showed a tendency to resemble the West. The social and cultural developments brought by the Reform Edict had a serious impact on the place of women. With the declaration of the Reform Edict, for the first time, the expressions indicating gender discrimination and the disadvantaged classes in the society were removed from all correspondence (Odyakmaz and Keskin, 2017: 9). Therefore, the Reform Edict is considered to be the first regulation that includes provisions to eliminate discrimination against women and improves the position of women in society. With the movement that started in the Reform period, which started with the Tanzimat period, women struggled to obtain equal rights with men. The achievements of women with the Reform Edict are as follows (Odyakmaz and Keskin, 2017: 9):

- For the first time, discrimination against women with a sexist approach was ended.
- For the first time, expressions that do not hold women below a class began to be used.
- Private schools for girls began to be opened.
- Private teacher schools for women became operational and a female principal was appointed for the first time.
- Issue of women having the same rights as men in political life, business, art and science life, that is, in all fields, has come to the fore.
- Distinction between men and women on inheritance has been tried to be eliminated, thus ensuring that men and women have equal rights.
- Women were prevented from being sold with the abolition of slavery and concubinage.
- Reform period is a period in which women begin to gain rights in terms of their place in society.

The period of the First Constitutional Monarchy in Ottoman Empire has a serious importance due to the start of the constitutional process. With the proclamation of the First Constitutional Monarchy in 1876, a new era began in state administration (Uzun, 2005: 152). Women's magazines benefited from the atmosphere of freedom that emerged during the First Constitutional Period and began to be published (Şahin, 2018: 94). This event, which causes women's place in society to come to the fore more, is very important because it shows its effects on the rights that women have gained or will have. The First Constitutional Monarchy did not give women the right to vote and be elected in the first elections (Toprak, 2013: 183). This is important in terms of showing that the rights of women do not extend to all areas. With the proclamation of

the Second Constitutional Monarchy, the expectations of women increased and the rights they gained are listed below (Birecikli, 2008: 219):

- Participation of women in public life has taken place,
- Ability of men to marry a second wife depends on the consent of the first wife,
- New societies and associations for women were established,
- Women started to work in public institutions that were vacated instead of men who participated in the war.
- Initiatives have started to be made for the economic future of women,

The period in which women gained important rights compared to the past is the Republican period. Turkish women, who started to develop quite late in terms of education, started to work in universities during the First World War (Berkes, 2011). Three reforms have a significant share in women's reaching the modern level. These are the establishment of the Education Union in 1924, the adoption of the Civil Code in 1926 and the right to vote for women in 1934 (Doğramacı, 1993). The evolution of women's rights in the historical process is as follows:

- Granting women the right to vote in 1934
- Increasing reforms for women with the Republic,
- Recognition of the equal right to education for girls and boys,
- Women entered the parliament for the first time in 1935,
- Enactment of the maternity insurance law in 1945,
- Election of the first female mayor in 1950 (Mersin – Müfide İlhan),
- Providing equal wages for male and female workers in 1966,
- The first woman minister took office in 1971 (Türkan Akyol),
- Establishment of the policy advisory board for women in 1987,
- Abolition of the law that allowed women to work on their husband's consent in 1990,
- Opening of women's guest houses in 1990,
- The first woman governor took office in 1991 (Lale Aytaman - Muğla),
- Tansu Çiller's inauguration as the first female prime minister,
- Making changes in the Turkish Citizenship Law in 1993 with the approach of gender equality,
- Enactment of laws on working conditions of pregnant women and night work of women workers in 2004.

B. Factors Affecting Women's Political Participation

There are many factors that affect women's participation in politics. In particular, the reasons for women living in cities to participate more actively in politics are transportation, sexual harassment, social problems, not feeling safe in cities, etc. is the desire to solve such problems (Çukurçayır, 2006: 186). It is noteworthy that women participate at a lower rate than men in active participation in politics. The reason for this is the patriarchal society and family structure. Politics in Turkey has been seen as a man's job from past to present, which has prevented women from participating in politics (Eser and Dinç, 2007: 14).

The factors affecting women's participation in politics will be discussed in detail below.

1. Gender

When political participation is considered socially and individually, there are no differences between genders when the individual participation dimension such as voting is examined, but when the social participation dimension is considered, it is seen that the participation of women is low. Therefore, gender is an important factor affecting political participation. There are many economic and social factors that affect political participation and representation, but we can show gender roles for the main dynamic that affects women's political representation and participation. Gender roles are based on an approach determined by the patriarchal domination, dividing the society into two in this respect, dividing the society into two, and showing the public space as suitable for men and the private space for women (Pınarcıoğlu, 2011: 45). The woman's domain is the home from a sexist point of view. Due to the role of wife and mother on women, women work to meet the needs of their spouse and children, and this social role forces women to stay at home. (Sancar and Üşür, 2000: 204).

There are many reasons for the low participation of women in politics. These reasons are gathered in four categories. Lack of skills and training for participation, family responsibilities, discrimination and gender role socialization. It can be said that gender role socialization provides an important explanation for political gender discrimination. The lessons that boys and girls learn about what behaviors are appropriate for them from the moment they are born affect their attitudes towards politics. Therefore, in line with the requirements of the roles assigned to them, the behaviors of girls and boys are shaped and their political attitudes differ (Güldü & Ersoy-Kart, 2009: 100). The indifference of

women to politics can also be shown among the reasons why they do not participate enough in political life. The fact that women have children and is limited to domestic roles is seen as an obstacle to their participation in political life.

2. Political Awareness

Making inferences from political events and examining political events show their interest in politics. This process is a preparatory process that emerges to enable people to actively participate in politics. If a person thinks that when he participates in politics, it will be effective on the political mechanism, he will enter politics in order to positively affect the political life, but if he thinks that it will not have an impact, he will cut off his interest in the political field (Altındal, 2007: 52). One of the most important factors preventing women from participating as candidates is lack of self-confidence and lack of knowledge. Their political inexperience strengthens their perception of inadequacy in their candidacy process, which causes them to think that they will not be able to show the necessary resistance to overcome cultural and political obstacles. (Tulum Bozdag, 2014: 61). One of the important factors affecting women's participation in politics is that the parties do not have a program for women. The fact that the parties give priority to nominating male candidates and then identify female candidates leads to a decrease in trust in women. Thus, the representation rate of female candidates and women decreases (Ayata Güneş, 1995: 217).

3. Patriarchal Structure

The word patriarchy is based on the father and argues that the children in the family are descended from the father (TLS, 2014). Patriarchy can be expressed as a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, suppress and exploit women (as cited in Walby: Erkan, 2006: 47). In the patriarchal structure, men are usually in the management levels and they hold the decision-making power in their hands (Sayer, 2011: 14). Gender inequality causes oppression on women. Although women's roles in the patriarchal structure are limited, women have a large share in the continuation of the patriarchal structure. Women raise men in the role of manager, which causes women to give up their own rights.

4. Economic Aspects, Education and Profession

In the past, women, who were oppressed by their social environment and family to improve themselves, faced problems in many fields from education to the field of work due to their gender (Berkday, 2004: 526). Although women have been more involved in working life in recent years, they continue to take place in society as mothers and wives. Despite the fact that their women work, they keep the roles of housewife and mother in the foreground, leading to an increase in their personal responsibilities.

The fact that women have to make a harmony between their work life and family roles has caused some professions to be described as women's professions. Professions such as secretarial, teaching, and nursing have begun to be adopted by women, thus the distinction between male and female professions has emerged. Studies show that women who lead a life dependent on men do not participate in politics, and naturally this is an effective factor on political participation. Economically dependent women have more conservative principles, but women with their own economic freedom tend to be more democratic (KASAIID, 2000: 36).

The economic factor is one of the factors affecting political participation, and the increase in the income level of the people is directly proportional to the increase in their interest in political events. People with low income levels also have low interest in politics. Since the priority of people with low income level is to meet their basic needs, they are indifferent to other problems. In addition, the income factor is also important in accessing resources such as the internet, newspapers and magazines. Therefore, as a result of the lack of access to information, apathy arises. Occupation is also effective as a socio-economic variable on political participation. The nature of the work done can affect the political participation of the individual.

Considering the labor force and education data of women in Turkey; It is seen that 27.5 percent of them are employed. Again, it was found that 9 percent of them were illiterate and 13.1 percent were graduates of faculty (www.tuik.gov.tr). It is seen that as the education level of women increases, the rate of political participation also increases (KASAIID, 2000: 30). Education, which is one of the most important tools of socialization, is effective in gaining political value. As the level of education increases, people see themselves as more competent for politics (Turan, 1977: 77).

5. Social Structure and Violence

Social perception of women is one of the obstacles to women's participation in political life. Even in the 2000s, it is seen that there are still mental and physical barriers for women to participate in political life. The general judgment in the society about violence against women, which is a problem that exists in every period and in almost every society and has not yet been solved, is generally applied to women living in rural areas with low socioeconomic and cultural values. It is a problem faced by every woman. Gender-based violence has both individual and social consequences. Violence, which causes pain, anxiety and fear for the person, also creates serious obstacles in terms of economic and social life. Thus, women cannot participate sufficiently.

6. Quota Practices

The participation rate of women in political life is lower in developing countries compared to developed countries. There are many different factors at the root of this problem. The reasons that prevent women's participation in political life in developing countries such as Turkey are patriarchal structure, economic factors, family structure and educational status. Some practices are being carried out to overcome these barriers faced by women. In addition, one of the systems applied to eliminate psychological factors is the quota practice. The quota practice is a system that ensures a certain percentage of female participant candidates to ensure women's participation in cases where justice cannot be achieved in representation. Positive discrimination against women has been an important tool for women's representation. Quota practice ensures that the disadvantaged groups are included during the selection of the individuals to be selected (Kılıç, 2000: 17). Quota policies, on the other hand, are implemented to prevent a certain type of activity in the decision-making process and to ensure equality between the sexes. Women's quotas provide equality in representation and support the equality of men and women.

C. Factors Restraining Women's Political Participation

The participation of women in political life and their access to the political power structure vary from country to country. In developed countries, there is a continuous increase in the participation and political representation of women in political life. However, in countries with low and medium levels of human development, no serious progress has been made in the participation of women in political life. The functional and

structural constraints faced by women are shaped by the political and social relations in the society, and the exclusion of women from politics stems from political institutions and structures, political and social discourses, and functional and sociocultural limitations that restrict women's personal and collective activities (United Nations, Farzana Bari, 2005).

1. Sociocultural Factors

It is a universal phenomenon that women are pushed to a subordinate position compared to men. However, the scope and nature of women's subordination varies from country to country. The gender role not only creates the dichotomy of masculinity and femininity, but also places the female sex in a less valuable position than men in the hierarchy pyramid due to the role that society assigns to reproduction. Gender inequality is reflected at different levels in societal indicators in areas such as health, productive resource ownership, education, politics and employment. Women have problems in participating in politics when they are left behind from their roles as wives and mothers. Women, whose primary roles are to be wives and mothers, have limited time to participate in politics while taking care of their children and doing household chores (United Nations, Farzana Bari, 2005).

2. Political Factors

The structure of politics is a very important factor in terms of women's participation in politics or their exclusion from politics. According to Randall, politics is “the clear articulation or resolution of relations in the current government”. This understanding limited political activities only to the public sphere, considered family life private and made it apolitical. The private-public distinction in the classical definition of politics was used to take women out of the public-political sphere, and women could only enter the political sphere as a wife and mother. Another factor that hinders women's political participation is that politics is dominated by men. Since political parties approach issues of national importance from a male perspective, they often ignore the views of women in their parties and cause disappointment among women's party members. In addition, women in the male-dominated party cannot reach a managerial position. The high level of democratization of women's political participation is also effective (United Nations, Farzana Bari, 2005).

3. Ideological Factors

Patriarchy is a male-dominated system and shapes women's relations with politics. Andrienne Rich defined patriarchy as 'an ideological, familial-social political system in which women are subordinate to men, in which men determine which role women will play or not, through coercion, or with the labels of tradition, custom, education, division of labor' (Rich, 1977: 57). Due to this situation, patriarchy, which places women in the private life as wives and mothers, and men in the public sphere, is one of the important factors affecting women's political participation at the global level. In order to find a place for themselves in the public sphere, women have to overcome obstacles by taking into account the existing discourses and financial opportunities in the society they live in. Although it is difficult to change the ideologies of gender roles and vary when they intersect with the social, economic and political systems of a particular society, women continue to be defined as private, leading to their exclusion from politics (United Nations, Farzana Bari, 2005).

4. Economic Factors

It is getting harder and more expensive to take part in politics, which is becoming more and more commercialized day by day. More money is needed to participate in politics. Women who do not have productive resources therefore limit the scope of their political work. One of the barriers to women's participation in political life is the lack of economic resources. Equal access of women to economic resources also limits their political activities (Nagaad, 2007).

5. Lack of Political Capacity and Social Capital

Women who are deprived of social capital generally do not have a constituency. This causes women not to benefit from political participation tools such as political skills, education and training opportunities, economic resources and access to information as they should.

6. Gender Quotas

Towards the end of the 20th century, many countries voluntarily created gender quotas, which is a global strategy developed to prevent the exclusion of women from politics. Gender quotas created in the context of systemic and structural gender inequality do not provide effective representation for women to participate in the

political system through gender quotas without addressing the structural constraints on their exclusion from politics. Women who do not have economic and civil rights cannot exercise their political rights. Gender quotas should therefore be linked to the redistribution of economic and social justice in society.

D. Importance of Political Representation of Women

Although women are an important part of social, economic and political life and make up half of the world's population, their representation in politics is very low. Equal participation of women and men in decision-making mechanisms is important for the full establishment of democracy. Although there is equality before the law in many countries, this equality is ignored in life. It is important to represent women in politics in order to find solutions to women's problems (Çağlar, 2011: 56). When women can have a share in politics equally, many things will change besides politics and humanity will develop (Shaul, 1982: 491). Political Scientist Dahlerup states that there are 5 arguments for ensuring gender equality in politics. These are utility, enhancing democratic legitimacy, justice, experience, and conflict of interest. Benefit is the necessity of women's participation in representation in order to benefit from all the talents in the society, to increase democratic legitimacy, to be a modern country and to ensure democracy. Justice is that women, who make up half of the population, should achieve similar figures in representation. It is important to include women's experiences as they can make different inferences from men in line with their needs, since women are different from men in terms of experiences in the society. Conflict of interest is that men and women have different perspectives on issues such as domestic violence and equal pay, so women's participation in the parliament is important in solving these problems. (Aydemir and Aydemir, 2011: 31). In line with these arguments, equal representation of women in politics will increase social benefit, and a democratic and contemporary society will emerge.

E. Barriers to Women's Political Representation

The main reasons for the underrepresentation of women compared to men (Yaylı and Eroğlu, 2015: 519):

- Education problem,
- Problems stemming from political parties,
- Social and cultural structure,

- Economic situation,
- Women's indifference to politics.

In addition to the items listed above, many reasons are the reasons for women's lack of political representation, namely the obstacles that women face in politics. The main obstacle that women face in politics is family responsibilities and social structure. Depending on the society they live in, the duty of women is generally family activities. That is, a woman is primarily a wife and mother, and her duty is internal activities. Men, on the other hand, have taken on external activities and since they are responsible for providing for the house, it is considered normal to be interested in politics (Bozatay and Kutlu, 2014: 319). The main reason why women are economically and socially connected is that the duties of wife and mother are imposed on women. According to the gender-based division of labor, men have to have a good job and earn money (Yurdagül, 2013: 42). More than half of the female population does not work due to the burden of wives and motherhood duties on them. This affects women's political participation and representation and pushes women out of politics. The fact that women lead an apolitical life and live far from society limits their participation in decision-making processes (Çakır, 2008: 6). The male power that emerged due to the patriarchal structure prevents female power in the public world. This current power of men keeps women away from political life. They face obstacles such as not being taken seriously, being unwanted or not being allowed to be involved in politics by their spouses. Another obstacle women face in politics is their biological differences compared to men. The fact that women are biologically different from men has been examined throughout history and it has been revealed that women's childbearing differentiates their roles. Because of their reproductive abilities, they have been held responsible for domestic work. Today, although this gender discrimination has lost its old effect, women's duty to provide family services still continues. This causes women's feelings in the political arena to be weaker and their indifference to politics. Due to their social roles, the level of knowledge and experience of women is insufficient. Due to the current political and social structure, criteria such as economic freedom have damaged women's self-confidence (Bozatay and Kutlu, 2014: 140). Compared to women, men have more resources and opportunities in cases such as receiving certain wages, time and power, and these are obstacles to women's participation in politics (Bozatay and Kutlu, 2014: 140).

The central government's influence on local governments and its dependence on national politics in local politics are among the obstacles to women's representation (Başçı, 2015: 283). Media can be seen as another obstacle. The media shows women in the private sphere and men in the public sphere. While men's professions, experiences and achievements are mentioned, women's duties in the home and family are discussed in the media (Bozatay and Kutlu, 2014: 140). Another obstacle to the representation of women in politics is the thought that political participation will impose additional responsibilities on individuals. In developing countries, women spend all their time to support the family economy. This is the case in developed countries as well. Women work to contribute to the family economy, and women who work at a job or at home do not prefer to participate in politics in order not to take on another task (Shaul, 1982: 497). All these are obstacles that women face in politics, but one of the most important obstacles is the Glass Ceiling Syndrome. Glass Ceiling Syndrome is the inability of a certain group to rise above a certain position in business life due to factors such as ethnicity, religion, and gender. This concept has been defined as artificial barriers that prevent women from reaching senior positions due to stereotypes and prejudices (Örücü et al., 2007).

F. Political Representation of Women in the World and in Turkey

1. Political Representation of Women in the World

Women, who make up half of the world's population, therefore constitute a part of their social and economic life. Women watch rallies, vote, influence political decisions, participate in election campaigns and political debates, be informed, etc. Although they could participate in politics in such ways (Aydemir and Aydemir, 2011: 2), the right to vote and be elected was limited by laws in some places and the political representation of women could not go beyond being a ratio. The fact that women have lower education levels compared to men prevents them from being aware that they have the right to vote and to be elected. In countries with social poverty and low economic development, women are considered to be the leading roles in maintaining the family structure. Therefore, women do not have equal rights with men in areas such as education, work, health and family (Shaul, 1982: 491). According to the countries, the years in which women gained the right to vote and be elected are as follows:

Table 1: Years in which women gained the right to vote and stand for election by country

Year	Country	Right
1893	New Zealand	right to vote
1919		right to stand for election
1894	South Australia	right to vote and stand for election
1902	Australia	right to vote and stand for election
1906	Finland	right to vote and stand for election
1913	Norway	right to vote and stand for election
1915	Denmark	right to vote and stand for election
1915	Iceland	right to vote and stand for election
1918	Russia	right to vote and stand for election
1917	Canada	right to vote
1920		right to stand for election
1918	Germany	right to vote and stand for election
1918	Azerbaijan, Estonia, Hungary, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Poland	right to vote and stand for election
1919	England	restricted right to vote
1928		full right to vote
1920	USA	right to vote and stand for election
1925	Italy	right to vote and stand for election in municipal elections
1945		right to vote and stand for election in general elections
1930	South Africa	right to vote for the white
1985		right to vote for the native
1994		right to vote for the black
1930	Turkey	right to vote and stand for election in municipal elections
1933		right to vote and stand for election in neighborhood elections
1934		right to vote and stand for election in general elections
1934	Brazil	right to vote and stand for election
1944	France, Belgium	right to vote and stand for election
1945	Japan	right to vote and stand for election
1947	China	right to vote and stand for election
1950	India	right to vote and stand for election
1971	Switzerland	right to vote and stand for election
2003	Afghanistan	right to vote and stand for election
2006	United Arab Emirates	right to vote and stand for election
2011	Saudi Arabia	right to vote and stand for election

Source: Parliament Bulletin, Information Website, Wikipedia, IPU, 2016

It goes back to the 19th century that women entered into an organized struggle for votes. The first women's right to vote and stand for election in the world was given in 1776 in New Jersey, USA, but this right was withdrawn in 1807. In the 19th century, the struggles related to this issue increased and with these struggles, women won the

right to vote and stand for elections in many countries. The number of women deputies increased considerably between 1945 and 1955. Although the number of deputies in today's world is approximately 46,000, women can make up approximately 10,000 of this number, which shows that the representation rate of women is 23 percent.

Table 2: Percentage of Women’s Representation in Parliament in the World

	Total of Two Houses	Legislature	Senate
Total Deputies	46.048	39.151	6.897
Total	45.773	38.876	6.897
Women	10.526	8.977	1.549
Men	35.247	29.899	5.348
Percentage of Women	23%	%23.1	%22.5

Source: IPU, 2016

When we look at the regional parliamentary representation rates of women in the world, it seems to be above the average in Scandinavian countries.

Table 3: Regional representation of women in the world

	Total of Two Houses	Legislature	Senate
Scandinavian Countries		41,60%	
America	27,80%	27,80%	27,70%
Europe - OSCE member countries (including Scandinavian countries)	25,70%	25,90%	25,10%
Europe - OSCE member countries (except Scandinavian countries)	24,60%	24,40%	25%
Asia	19,20%	19,50%	16%
Sub-Saharan African countries	23,30%	23,50%	22%
Arab countries	18,30%	19,10%	12,60%
Pacific	16,40%	14,20%	33,70%

Source: IPU, 2016

When we look at the representation rate of women in parliament around the world, it is seen that this rate has increased from past to present. While the proportion of female MPs was 3 percent in the world in 1945, this rate increased to 10 percent in the 1970s. It was 13 percent in the 2000s, 16 percent in 2005, 19 percent in 2010, and 22 percent in 2015 (IPU, 2016). According to the world country ranking, the country with the highest

number of female MPs among 193 countries is Rwanda (IPU, 2016). Turkey ranks 126th out of 193 countries in terms of female parliamentarian ratio. There are also countries that do not have any female parliamentarians. countries such as Haiti, Tonga, Qatar and Somalia (IPU, 2016). Even today, insufficient representation of women in the political arena is an indication that gender discrimination is still in question (Öztürk, 2012: 2).

2. Political Representation of Women in Turkey

As of 2020, the total population of Turkey is 83 million 614 thousand 362 and 41 million 698 thousand 377 of this population is women. Despite this, the political representation rate of women is quite low (TurkStat, 2020). When we look at the political representation of women, the history should go back to the Ottoman Empire. In the Ottoman Empire, women are not given the right to vote and stand for elections, and they are not included in the census. The first year women were included in the census was 1882. The reason for this is to determine the place of women in the use of the scarce resources of the state (Konan, 2011: 164). With the First Constitutional Monarchy, women moved in the Ottoman Empire, but this movement gained momentum with the Second Constitutional Monarchy. Women have taken action in the fields of education, law, economy, law and politics (Gökçimen, 2008: 9). When women started to take part in the Party of Union and Progress, the struggle for equality with men began and women began to demand the right to vote and stand for election (Konan, 2011: 164). During the Balkan War and the First World War, these attempts of women remained in the background (Aydemir and Aydemir, 2011: 10), and women brought these demands to the agenda again in the 1920s. Regime change in 1923 became the hope of women. In June 1923, with the efforts of Nezihe Muhiddin, the party's charter, named "People's Party of Women", which aimed to gain women's rights through socialization and education instead of a political purpose, was submitted to the Ministry of Interior; however, the request to establish a party was rejected because women did not have the right to vote and stand for election at that time (Zihnioğlu, 2003: 261). In February 1924, the Turkish Women's Union was established. The purpose of the establishment of this union is for women to participate in social life equally and to gain their political rights (Turkish Women's Union, 2017). The Union continued its efforts for women to gain their political, social and economic rights, and hosted the first international International Women's Union meeting in 1935. The Law

of Unification of Education provided equality between men and women in terms of education and enabled women to benefit from educational opportunities (Konan, 2011: 167). In 1926, with the adoption of the Civil Code, gender equality before the law was accepted. After the establishment of the Republic, women were granted the right to participate in municipal elections and vote in 1930 with the Law No. 1580 (Ekşi, 2005). With the amendment of Article 20 of the Village Law in 1933, women were given the right to vote and stand for election for mukhtar (Aydemir and Aydemir, 2011: 11). In 1934, women won the right to vote and stand for election as parliamentarians. For the first time, women were able to use the right to vote in 1935.

Table 4: The Ratio of Female Deputies in the Parliament from Past to Present in Turkey

Year	Number of Deputies in House	Number of Female Deputies	Percentage of Women
1935	395	18	4,6
1943	435	16	3,7
1950	487	3	0,6
1957	610	8	1,3
1965	450	8	1,8
1973	450	6	1,3
1991	450	8	1,8
1999	550	22	4,2
2002	550	24	4,4
2007	550	50	9,1
2011	550	79	14,3
2015 (June)	550	98	17,8
2015 (November)	550	91	14,9

Source: Kader Statistics, 2016

Despite obtaining the right to vote earlier than in many European countries, women are absent from politics. As can be seen from the table, women remained at a representative rate and could not be vaccinated. Since women won the right to vote and stand for election in 1934, some changes have been made to increase the level of low representation in politics. These changes began with the signing of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women in 1979 (CEDAW) in 1985 and its entry into force in 1986 (Gökçimen, 2008: 31). Countries that are party to the convention will submit their periodic reports to CEDAW once every four years. In this direction, Turkey established the General Directorate of Women's Status in 1990. This directorate is tasked with creating policies, cooperating with stakeholders, developing

strategies and ensuring coordination in order to ensure equality between men and women, strengthen the position of women in social life and prevent discrimination against women.

The right to participate in politics without gender discrimination has been taken under control by the constitution and laws, and since positive discrimination against women will not be considered against equality, some parties have created an election quota for women in their statutes. While there is no quota for women in the MHP and AK party statutes, a quota of 33% is applied in CHP, 20% in DP, and 40% in BDP. There has also been an increase in local elections compared to the past. While there were no female mayors in metropolitan municipalities before 2014, female mayors were elected in 3 of the 30 metropolitan municipalities in the 2014 elections.

G. Ways to Increase the Ratio of Women in Political Representation

In political participation, which is divided into two as active and passive participation, the equal position of women and men is called passive participation, while the rate of women in active participation is low. Active participation is the status of candidacy or representation within administrative or political institutions, while passive participation is situations such as participating in rallies and demonstrations, voting (Bozatay and Zorlu, 2014: 142).

Although the political representation of women has increased compared to the past, it is still not at the desired level. In addition to women's own efforts, there should be measures to be taken by the parties and the government in order to increase this rate. Women's rights regarding family life, education and job opportunities, and political participation should be guaranteed by the government (Shaul, 1982: 497). Political and legal equality granted to women by laws should be reinforced with economic and social equality (Başçı, 2015: 284). The roles of women in society should be changed, prejudices should be broken, women's presence in the socio-economic structure should be contributed and they should be included in economic life. Local political agendas should be created in a way that can be controlled and monitored by women (Alkan, 2004: 6). In order for women to take an active part in politics, it must first be ensured that they vote and can use this vote freely without being under family pressure or other pressures (Çakır, 2008: 43). During the election periods, the number of women in the candidate lists should be increased, besides, they should be nominated

with a high probability of being elected (Yaylı and Eroğlu, 2015: 520). Parties should reduce the nomination fees received from electoral candidates for women or not at all (Bozatay and Kutlu, 2014: 140). Cooperation between local organizations of political parties, women's organizations and provincial organizations of the central government should be established, and action plans should be supported to ensure gender equality at the local level. In local administrations, gender equality units should be established for equality between women and men (Yaylı and Eroğlu, 2015: 520).

The steps to be taken in order for women to have equal voting rates are listed below (Shaul, 1982: 498):

- Having a lot of work experience
- Having a good education,
- Getting an education in jobs that can lead them in politics,
- Strive for the equal distribution of domestic responsibilities,
- Establishing women's groups for lobbying activities and skills development,
- Developing advisory relationships with those in a position to influence the government or political parties,
- Working effectively with political party structures,
- Having more information and to reduce the isolation by using the opportunities in this direction,
- Increasing the image of women by observing textbooks and media descriptions,
- Supporting candidates sensitive to women's problems

The most important application that will increase the ratio of women in politics is the 'Quota practice'. The quota practice is to ensure that women or men are represented in a certain ratio or number in the candidate list, parliament, board or management level. This practice is positive discrimination aimed at providing equal representation for women. The main purpose of the application is to eliminate the obstacles and disadvantages faced by women (Çağlar, 2011: 72). In the arrangements to be made for this purpose, the representation of women in the parliament should be at least 30%-40% (Aydemir and Aydemir, 2011: 35). The quota system has been evaluated in five different categories (Sitembölükbaşı, 2007: 15):

- Proportional Quota: It is the quota applied by the parties themselves. Representation of each gender according to its proportion in the total members is secured. The purpose of this quota; to encourage the underrepresented gender to be members and to ensure equality in political participation (Sitembölükbaşı, 2007: 15).
- Fixed Quota: It is the process of allocating a certain number of seats to compensate for the gender deficiency among the candidates, and this process can be regulated by the constitution, law or party domestic law (Sitembölükbaşı, 2007: 15).
- Constituency Quota: In places where more than one representative is elected for a constituency, political parties determine the female candidates to be elected by quota. With this system, at least one woman can be elected from each constituency.
- Empty Seat Quota: if the seats allocated to women cannot be filled for various reasons, these seats will not be filled by men either. The purpose of this is to leave the seats empty and prevent women from becoming members in order to prevent alienation from the egalitarian system.
- Candidate List Quota: this quota is similar to a fixed quota and envisages a balanced distribution of women in terms of gender as well as a certain percentage.

Quotas are enforced through the constitution, law or parties. In the 1930s, some parties started to implement it voluntarily, and in the 1990s, it turned into the practice of parties to increase female candidates in local and national elections by the national assemblies (Sitembölükbaşı, 2007: 15). There are also some obstacles to the quota implementation (Sitembölükbaşı, 2007: 15):

- The social structure is patriarchal,
- The idea that women cannot achieve success without support,
- The thought that quotas applied in favor of women would be unfair to men,
- The quota practice is contrary to the statement in the constitution that there is no discrimination between people by religion, language, gender,
- Pacifying women who can easily reach certain statuses due to the quota practice, with the feeling that everything can be done,
- Lack of number and quality of women to fill the quota in traditional societies,
- According to those who struggle with gender equality, the idea that the quota practice will prevent women from fighting more and cause a glass ceiling.

The quota practice, which is applied in accordance with the rule, does not cause discrimination and inequality, on the contrary, it ensures the elimination of existing discrimination. Due to the social structure of male hegemony, it provides equality by opening politics to women.

IV. WOMEN IN LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

A. Concept of Local Government

The concept of local government is defined in different ways. Urhan (2008: 85) defines it as 'public legal entities that are established to meet the common needs of the community living in a certain region, whose decision bodies are elected by the local people, whose authorities and duties are determined by laws, and which have their own budget and personnel'. Çiçek (2014: 54), on the other hand, defines it as "an autonomous form of government, whose decision-making bodies are elected by the people, established to meet the common needs of a local community, apart from the central government". With these features, local governments constitute one of the basic elements of the democratic structure of the government and take place in order to increase local public services as an organized institution in the society (Sayıştay, 2019).

Local governments, which emerged with the past developments of societies in order to achieve certain goals and meet needs, respond to the needs and developments in social, administrative and political terms (Keleş, 2011: 111). Local governments, which are public legal entities that are in the interest of the local people and have an impact on the lives of the citizens, are called democratic education institutions (Poyraz, 2017: 138). Çukurçayır (2012: 93) defines the concept of local government as "transferring the authority to an authority with less authority for the realization of local especially public services by public legal entities other than the state legal entity".

Local governments, which are the closest units to the people, are the most appropriate form of administration due to this feature. Due to the small geographical distance between the electorate and the elected, it is seen that a real electoral process is carried out together with popular control. In addition, local governments can expand their representation base by taking advantage of being different from the segments that have the opportunity to represent. Therefore, the representation feature is more in local governments (Çiftçi, 1996: 6).

Local governments, which take an active role in the provision of public services to the public, meet the needs of the people at the local level together with the rules determined by the center. Local administrations have important duties such as determining the means for the delivery of services, producing solutions to the socio-economic problems of the people and realizing their own goals. Citizens are close to their managers and thus they can meet with the manager under necessary conditions. As a result, local governments are organizations that positively affect democratization and strengthen democracy through participation.

B. Historical Process of Local Governments

The constitutional institutions established within a certain legal order in order to meet the local and common needs of small communities (such as villages, towns, cities) within the borders of the state are called local governments (Nadaroğlu, 2001: 3). According to another definition, local governments are “institutions that meet the common needs of local communities, provide public goods or services, and are managed by bodies elected by local citizens” (Ulusoy and Akdemir, 2012: 20). Local administrations have emerged with the historical development of societies in order to meet certain needs and achieve certain goals (Keleş, 2016).

These organizations, which were formed in small communities, became autonomous units that emerged with the loss of power of the central state, especially in European countries during the medieval period (Toptop et al., 2006: 2). It can be said that there is a direct relationship between local governments and the birth of cities. The birth of cities led to the beginning of a new era in Western Europe. Until this period, there were two orders in societies. Cities are places that host more population compared to villages, where fewer people work in agriculture compared to villages, and where the needs of societies such as work, settlement, entertainment and rest are met (Keleş, 2016: 78). In the light of this information, list the characteristics of cities as follows (Görmez, 1997: 10):

- There is social mobility,
- They are dense and crowded settlements in terms of population,
- It has a heterogeneous social structure and includes different social communities from the same beliefs and cultures.

According to Mumford and Sioberg, the basic conditions of urban life are as follows (Görmez, 1997: 8):

- Advanced technology,
- Complex organization,
- Ecological basis.

It is accepted that local governments emerged based on the commune tradition. The commune can be defined as the associations established to solve the problems that arise due to the coexistence of the community living in a certain area and to meet the collective needs (Ertan, 2002: 23). Communes, which are the smallest and basic organization that have survived from ancient times in Western and Central Europe, are the smallest administrative-spatial unit and the lowest local governments in Europe today (Bozkurt and Ergun, 2008: 150). The developments in European trade were very effective in the emergence of communes. With the developments in trade, cities began to be established on ports, road junctions and suitable lands. Rich people who started to live in the city, especially engaged in trade, formed guilds in the cities and defended their rights against the feudal lords. With the development of trade, merchants and people sometimes fought with the central state and sometimes with the church and won their rights. In addition to these, the bourgeoisie was supported by the kings against the feudal lords, and this development was also effective (Görmez, 1997: 24). The characteristics of the commune administrations are established with the patents given by the king or feudal lords, these patents include provisions such as the establishment of the commune, administrative, judicial and financial rights against the king or feudal lord, and the administrative structure. In this direction, it can be said that it is possible for the communes to use weapons to defend themselves, collect taxes on their own behalf and establish an independent court (Oktay, 2008: 122). Although it varies by the region, the mayor of the communes is one of the leading figures of the city. The mayor is sometimes determined by the kings, and sometimes by the king. Communes lost their authority and independence with the emergence of centralized states (Ertan, 2002: 24). After the 16th century, nation-states began to form, and regionalism had negative effects on urban life. With the development of nation-state concepts, the state has demonstrated its ideological superiority compared to cities (Keleş, 2016: 35). In the 18th century, local governments functioned as the main institution since the only sovereign power in this period was the state (Görmez, 1997: 28).

C. Local Government Types

Among the types of government, the closest administrative units to the citizens are local governments. This concept is an important element in which the public chooses the person who manages the resources that have the most participation from the democratic point of view and that the people benefit from first hand. The 1982 Constitution defines local governments as follows; ‘Local governments are public legal entities that are established to meet the common local needs of the people of the province, municipality or village, whose foundation principles are specified by laws and whose decision-making bodies are specified in the laws, and which are formed by being elected by the voters’ (Constitution, 1982: 42).

1. Special Provincial Administration

The Law on Special Provincial Administration, which was adopted in 2005, was regulated by the law numbered 5302 and covers not a single settlement but places that do not have a settlement or have more than one settlement (Güler, 2010: 286). Therefore, it carries out its works not only in provinces, towns, villages, but also in areas such as plains, streams and fields. Unlike municipalities, special provincial administrations operating within the provincial borders are a unit that balances both the municipality and the village, or the central and local administration at the local level between both (Eryılmaz, 2007: 139). The executive body of special provincial administrations is the governor and is appointed by the central government. It consists of three bodies: the governor, the provincial council and the provincial committee. The head of the special provincial administration is the governor, who represents the special provincial administration, makes preparations during the decision-making stages and executes the decisions taken, has powers such as budget, expenditure and collection, and also chairs the provincial committee (Ünal, 2012: 263). The provincial council, which is another decision-making body of the special provincial administration, convenes automatically on the fifth day after the election results are announced. Presidential council elections are completed in three days and it is the duty of the council president to maintain order (Special Provincial Administration Law, 2005: 9288). The agenda of the assembly is determined by the president and notified by the general secretariat at least three days in advance. Decisions taken by the provincial council are to accept the budget, to take decisions by discussing investment,

work and strategic plan programs, to decide on borrowing, to decide by negotiating about the development plans. (Special Provincial Administration Law, 2005: 9287). Decisions taken by the assembly are sent to the governor within five days. If the decision is found to be unlawful, the governor returns it to the provincial council with its justifications within seven days. The business committee, which is the advisory and decision-making body, consists of elected and appointed people. It consists of a total of 7 members, including the governor, the general secretary, three members elected by the provincial council, and two members elected by the governor (Zor, 2018: 85). The provincial committee reviews the budget and the final account and gives an opinion to the provincial council. It reviews the annual work program and strategic plan, and determines the expenditure places of appropriations and expenses. It determines the opening and closing hours of the places in the public areas that are not within the borders of the municipality (Special Provincial Administration Law, 2005: 9291).

2. Municipalities

Municipalities, which have a history of approximately 150 years, are a form of local government inherited from the Ottoman Empire to Turkey and developed day by day (Eryılmaz, 2019: 191). The first municipality was established in Istanbul in 1855 under the name of Şehremaneti. However, it was not possible for it to acquire a legal qualification for a while. It took 1930 to create the concept of municipality in real terms (Falay et al., 2010: 195). In 1930, the Municipal Law No. 1580 came into force, and after 75 years of being in force, district municipalities and metropolitan municipalities were established in 1984 with the Law No. 3030. In 2005, the Municipal Law No. 5393 came into force and revisions were made in many areas (Parlak and Ökmen, 2013: 243).

While the threshold of the municipalities established in line with the population criteria was 2000 in the law numbered 1580, it was increased to 5000 in the law numbered 5393 (Ulusoy and Akdemir, 2014: 236). The powers and duties of municipalities differ from country to country. The determination of these duties and authorities is carried out with three principles (Keleş, 2016):

- Principle of general authority,
- Principle of list
- Principle of authorization

Within the scope of the general authority principle, municipalities are responsible for carrying out all local services that are not prohibited by law or are not under the responsibility of other administrative units. The principle of authority can only act on issues authorized by the legislature (Eryılmaz, 2019: 72). In the list principle, the powers and duties of the municipalities are specified in the laws one by one, and this is called the counting procedure. In Turkey, the list method, in which the authorities and duties of the municipalities were specified one by one, was applied. Afterwards, the principle of generality was introduced in the determination of municipal authorities and duties, and it was desired to enable municipalities to perform services that are not prohibited by law or left to other administrations (Kaya, 2006: 17). The reasons for the dissolution of the municipal councils are limited by the law numbered 5393. While the municipal council could be terminated for four reasons in the law numbered 1580, the law numbered 5393 eliminated two reasons for termination (Sobacı, 2015: 22). The duties and responsibilities of municipalities are listed below (Eryılmaz, 2019: 195):

- Carrying out studies on cleaning, parks, green areas, solid waste, afforestation, environmental health.
- Providing support to the fields of culture and arts, tourism, aid and social service, sports and youth, opening shelters for women and children, gaining profession and skills,
- Facilitating marriage, cemetery and burial procedures,
- Licensing and inspection of public recreation and entertainment areas and non-sanitary establishments,
- Ensuring the development of economy and trade,
- Creating city and geographic information mechanisms,
- Establishing and operating health-related facilities,
- Providing services such as fire brigade, ambulance, rescue, police,
- Providing the necessary materials and needs for the maintenance, repair and construction of public schools,
- Finding solutions to the city's infrastructure problems and public transportation issues such as water, sewerage, transportation, license, inspection, strategic planning,
- Conservation, maintenance and repair of areas related to the city's history and historical textures, cultural and natural assets,
- Establishing wholesalers and retail stores, bus terminal, fairground, marina and slaughterhouse.

Municipalities have to perform the duties listed above. These tasks aim to meet all the needs of citizens within the borders of the municipality.

3. Villages

Villages are the first and smallest local government units accepted in Turkey. Until the Tanzimat Period, no regulation was made regarding the villages. The regulation of villages dates back to the 19th century. Villages were mentioned for the first time in a regulation that came into force in 1858. However, in the said regulation, there is no information such as any explanation about the subject except the name. The first detailed regulation regarding the villages was the Provincial Regulations, which was issued in 1864. The Regulation includes the configurations for special provincial administrations as well as the provisions related to villages. Regulation divided the country into villages, districts, towns and provinces. With the arrangement, the village headman and the council of elders will be chosen from among the village people (Cevher, 2010: 36).

In the constitution prepared in 1924, these local government units were named as villages, gained legal personality and it was decided to put the elections to the vote. Regions with a population between 150 and 2000 are considered as villages (Ergün, 2008: 64). The acceptance of the villages that have existed since ancient times as local governments was realized in 1924 with the law numbered 442 (Kestane, 2006: 20).

Villages have responsibilities that they have to fulfill. These are responsibilities for education and health, responsibilities on a voluntary basis, and responsibilities for making the village a livable area. The authorities of the villages are to ensure the security of the village, to carry out law enforcement and municipal police activities, to collect taxes.

D. Position of Women in Local Governments

The administrative system in Turkey is divided into two as central and local governments. In addition to the provincial, district and village administrations, it is responsible for the execution of general policies that concern the whole country such as health, safety, security, legal regulations, while local administrations are responsible for carrying out policies regarding the realization of local public services within the scope of legal limits and supervision determined by the central government (Alkan, 2005; 32). Local administrations exist to meet all kinds of cultural and social needs of the people of the region and to solve their common problems. Therefore, local administrations

should ensure that the right of the region can live in a safe, healthy, orderly and planned environment, work, shelter, benefit equally from education, health, socio-cultural activities, supervise the work done and participate in political decisions (Alkan, 2005: 33). When we look at local governments in Turkey in terms of women's participation and representation, it is seen that they remain in the background. Since the expectations, problems and needs of men and women in society are different, policies related to local services also affect men and women differently. Although women gained their political rights in the 1930s, their representation and participation rates are quite low. Political participation of women has increased compared to the past. But there are still problems in developing rural women's awareness of the importance of involvement. While voting, women in these regions are influenced by men such as husbands, fathers and elder brothers, and they vote in line with their views/wills. This situation is reflected in the secondary position of women in society (Çitçi, 1989: 88).

In Turkey, women are not adequately represented in all social processes and decision-making mechanisms, especially in politics. The lack of adequate representation and participation in politics poses a serious problem for democracy. The main reason why women's representation and participation is limited compared to men is the position of women in society. Especially in societies with extended family type, it continues to be a problem to see politics as a male job. The fact that families are also indifferent to politics affects girls and pushes them to stay away from politics. In addition to these, the policies implemented by political parties also produce consequences against women. Although it is known that the female participation and representation rate is low, no corrective measures have been taken with the laws. The factors that negatively affect women's participation and representation in local governments are as follows (Tokman and Kendirci, 2006: 12):

- Developing policies for women in line with the preferences and possibilities of local government administrators,
- If the services provided by local administrations become paid, women cannot benefit from these services and measures are not taken to solve this problem,
- The duty of opening shelters for the protection of children and women is not given a legal guarantee in terms of personnel and budget,

- In the context of women's rights in the city and the responsibilities and duties of local administrations, the means to be used in the realization of the right to information and transparency regarding the development of an egalitarian relationship are limited,
- Failure to impose a legal obligation to establish a unit within the scope of local administrations, which will develop equality between women and men, and which will consider the problems and expectations of local services.

As can be seen, no measures have been taken to increase the participation and representation of women, and opinions regarding the low representation rate have been put forward. The first view is that the number of women is not important in local politics. Its representatives are elected by the people of the region, and these representatives are accountable to those who elect them. In politics, which is a struggle, those who win the struggle also represent others, so gender does not matter in political representation. Politicians, scientists, etc., who advocate this. Individuals argue that the low level of political representation and participation of women is universal. Another view is the underrepresentation view. This view sees the underrepresentation of women as a problem. In order to achieve gender equality in politics, women's participation in political life is necessary.

In summary, the low level of representation in the administrative and political fields is unacceptable, even though it has been a long time since women gained their political rights in Turkey. Measures should be taken to overcome this problem, and it is a serious issue to focus on developing incentive policies to increase women's political participation and representation.

E. Necessity and Effects of Women's Representation in Local Governments

Women, who make up half of the country's population, are not adequately represented in politics and the solution to their problems remains incomplete. If it is desired to make democratic participation effective and to support the equal participation of the society in the administration, women's participation in politics should also be ensured. In addition, since local administrations are the closest democratic units to the public, they perform various services, but the gaps in these services are usually filled by women. The fact that women are not included in the administration will cause the services they need to be deficient. According to the data obtained from the studies carried

out recently, it is seen that women participate in local politics voluntarily. However, in the research conducted on women's participation in local governments in 68 countries, Turkey was ranked 62nd (Çağlar, 2011: 68). Considering the representation status of women, they found a lower level in the hierarchical order. Democracy will be in a better position in terms of gender if they are brought on an equal footing with men.

F. Problems Encountered by Women in Participation and Representation in Local Governments

In most of the democratic countries, all kinds of rights have been given to women. Obstacles related to the right to vote and be elected have been removed by laws, and equality before the law has been provided to women. However, there are many obstacles to women's participation in political life. The first of these is the social structure. The roles imposed on women by society cause women to be limited to family activities. For this reason, the field of activity of women is seen as the home. The duties assigned to women are to be wives and mothers. Men's social roles are activities outside the home. For this reason, it is much easier for men to participate in politics (Tureli and Çağlar, 2010: 24). The perception of politics as men's work and the fact that women's fields of activity are seen as homes in this structure, which has emerged due to gender roles, negatively affect women's level of interest in politics. In addition, the fact that families are far from politics affects especially girls (Negiz, 2008: 227). Patriarchal thought that works against women negatively affects women's participation in both local and national politics. Seeing the public sphere as a male dominance area in line with gender roles causes politics to be under male hegemony. As local politics, like national politics, are structured by men to seize power and share rent, a democratic participation model cannot be developed for women. For this reason, there is a need to reconstruct local politics with values such as equality and democracy (Pınarcıoğlu, 2011: 75).

Studies on political participation show that men participate more in political life than women. It can be said that this difference is related to the behaviors imposed on men and women from an early age. Because of these stereotypical attitudes, women are excluded from political life. When the studies are examined, it can be seen that there are specific differences between the political behavior of men and women. Recent studies, on the other hand, show that the differences between men and women are decreasing. The

fact that women receive good education and take more place in business life has an impact on the change in social roles. Women have recently been more interested in political life and have been able to defend their rights more consciously (Negiz, 2008: 228).

Another socially based problem is the dominance of the male model in politics. Politics shaped by male norms stays away from women. While men work outside the home, earn money, and take care of the public sphere, women are trained to think about their families and children (Sancar-Üşür, 2000: 208). In this context, it can be said that one of the factors that prevent women from being involved in politics is that they see themselves as technically inadequate. Generally, women had to stay away from politics due to social structure or economic inadequacies. While this caused women's technical inadequacy, it also led to a decrease in their self-confidence.

In Turkey, women are usually directed to women's branches that are structured as assistants in the party. Instead of responsibilities such as preparing women for politics and representing women's problems in the political arena, women's branches, which have a structure that carries out activities such as house tours, neighborhood meetings, picnics, and bazaars, seem to have a social structure rather than a political one (Sancar-Üşür, 2000: 214). Another reason that prevents women from being involved in politics is the party's nomination methods. While determining candidates by political parties, the methods of center poll, primary election and organization poll are used. These methods have some advantages and disadvantages for female candidates. For example, the support of the non-governmental organization to the woman who is a candidate can be an advantage for the pre-selection. However, this advantage depends on the strength of the women's organization within the party. In cases where the party tends to nominate more female candidates, the center poll method can also be advantageous. The disadvantage of this method is that it will increase the dependency of the candidates on the leader. In addition, the transparency of the nomination process is very important for women. It is important that this process is predetermined in terms of women's working and monitoring the process during this period (Gökçimen, 2008: 46).

It can be said that another factor affecting the political representation and participation of women is the electoral systems. Electoral systems are limited to majority or proportional systems. In a majority system, large parties get more seats in

parliament than they win, increasing the potential for a one-party government to be formed. In the proportional system, there is a more equal relationship in the number of seats and votes won than in the majority system, increasing the possibility of coalition government. In Turkey, an electoral system that considers the principles of stability in administration and justice in representation is being implemented, and this system is also effective on women's representation. It is accepted that the most convenient system for gender equality in politics is the proportional representation system.

G. Problems Faced by Women in Representation in Local Governments

People who begin to learn the roles assigned to them from birth, adopt these roles so much over time that they do not need to think about it or question it. The roles that women are taught from birth are to be conciliatory and family-oriented. The main duty of women is coded as being a good mother and wife. Men should be able to support themselves and their families. As a result, this inequality between men and women also shows itself in politics, and politics is seen as a work that is wearing out, that has no place for emotions, that requires strength and determination. Women, on the other hand, are emotional by nature and are not brought up to be leaders. For these and similar reasons, only a few women were included in political parties. However, various policies can be developed to enable women to be active in politics. For the equality of women and men, women should also participate in the political decision-making processes and produce appropriate solutions for their own problems. Representation of women in the political arena is dependent on political parties, but political parties have not focused much on this issue until recent years. In other words, the main reason underlying the problem of women's lack of political representation is the different upbringing of men and women. The social and traditional roles assigned to women restrict them. The fact that women concentrate on the family and stay away from the public sphere has reduced their technical knowledge and self-confidence. In addition, the fact that the family directs women even in voting behavior is another obstacle faced by women. Women who have a good education, have a profession and are in a certain socioeconomic position are more advantageous than other women and can participate in decision-making processes.

H. Projects Implemented in Turkey to Increase Local Participation and Representation of Women

There are many initiatives to increase women's participation and representation in local politics. In addition to the Women Friendly Cities and Local Agenda 21 campaigns, the activities of Ka.der are also very important. In addition, the search for co-chairs and the experience of independent feminist mayoral candidates are also projects to increase the level of representation of women.

1. Local Agenda 21

Local Agenda 21, the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development convened in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, is a project that includes the people living in the cities in order to develop the cities in terms of environmental, economic and social, and to prevent and treat the environmental problems that arise in the cities. With this project, people living in cities all over the world try to come up with a plan to be implemented systematically in the face of poverty, gender inequality, hunger, disease, lack of education and the problems that arise in the ecosystem. The objectives of Local Agenda 21 are as follows (Emrealp, 2005: 19):

- Local administrations get the common opinion of the city with the participation of the people of the region,
- Developing cooperation and coordination between local administration unions and representatives of other local administrations in order to improve information exchange and experience,
- Developing cooperation between local governments and international communities and supporting initiatives that will strengthen cooperation between local governments at the global level,
- Developing programs to ensure the active participation of youth and women in the planning, implementation and decision-making processes of local governments in all countries.

The Local Agenda 21 project in Turkey consists of 3 separate programs. These are 'Localizing the United Nations Millennium Development Goals and World Sustainable Development Summit Implementation Plan through the Turkey Local Agenda 21 Governance Network', Establishing a Sustainable Relationship Network

with the Purpose of Promoting Local Democratic Governance in Turkey', 'In Establishing Local Partnerships and Cooperation Network for Transparency' Youth and Strengthening the Role of Women' projects (Emrealp, 2005: 30).

Some mechanisms have been established within the scope of Local Agenda 21 in order for women to be included in the city administration at all levels. working groups, women's councils, city councils, youth councils (Bora and Isat, 2006: 42). In Turkey, 62 local administrative units are within the scope of the program, and the number of formations such as women's councils and women's commissions is 36. With the decision of the municipal council, participation in the program can be ensured, and then participation in the program can be ensured by paying the contribution to be used in the formation of the Local Agenda 21 General Secretariat by the Local Agenda 21 Coordinatorship. Within the scope of the program, there are 11 metropolitan cities, 23 provinces, 25 district municipalities and 3 special provincial administrations. Due to the insufficient representation of women in the city councils, women's councils were established within the scope of Local Agenda 21. The main task of these assemblies is to reach all women in the city. The establishment of women's councils has also increased the power of women in city councils. This made it easier for women's problems to come to the fore.

2. Women Friendly Cities Project

Since cities are the first places where citizenship rights are exercised, the characteristics, activities and infrastructure of cities should be in a structure that all citizens can use effectively without discrimination between men and women. In order to make it a more livable place for women, women should be represented in the administrative units where decisions about the city are taken. Cities that will be women-friendly should include women in the decision-making process and ensure gender equality. It should make women's lives more livable in the city through the use of tools in which these policies can be implemented efficiently.

The 'Women Friendly Cities Project' initiated by the 'Women Friendly Cities United Nations Joint Programme' aims to create a way of cooperation and joint work between local administrations, women's organizations and public institutions so that women can be effective in decision-making processes at the local level. Within the framework of the project, it was decided to prepare a 'Local Equality Action Plan' and

Şanlıurfa, İzmir, Trabzon, Nevşehir, Kars and Van were selected as pilot provinces. The studies to be started in these provinces will contribute to the development of the women-friendly city model in other provinces later on. A Local Equality Action Plan was prepared with the participation of the governorship, municipality, special provincial administrations and women's organizations and this plan focused on seven areas. These are the elimination of violence against women, employment and economic empowerment, women's participation in local decisions, proportional use of health and education services, urban services and social perception change for equality. Many suggestions were made in the plan regarding the inclusion of women in local politics, some of which are as follows (Sancar, 2008: 242):

- Participation of women in city councils and establishment of women's councils,
- Ensuring cooperation between local administrations and women's non-governmental organizations,
- Establishing a gender equality unit in local administrations,
- Participating in local specialized commissions of local women's organizations and monitoring the assemblies,
- Ensuring the participation and support of women's organizations during the preparation and implementation of the strategic plan,
- Establishment of the Local Equality Action Plan Committee for the implementation of the Local Equality Action Plan and the development of the Service Delivery Model,
- Carrying out in-service training and incentives for women working in local administrations to take part in decision-making authorities.

After the success of the six provinces, the applicant provinces were ranked by capacity and need, and the selection of provinces was made in order of value intervals. As a result of the analysis carried out, seven new provinces (Antalya, Gaziantep, Bursa, Adiyaman, Mardin, Samsun, Malatya) joined the program. The first six provinces participating in the program have moved on to the second phase, and the main purpose of the second phase is to place the idea of gender equality in the programming and planning processes of local administrations. In this direction, it is aimed to increase the cooperation between women's organizations and local

governments. The Women-Friendly Cities Program, of which the General Directorate of Local Administrations of the Ministry of Interior is the main stakeholder and national partner, is carried out by UNFPA (United Nations Population Fund) and UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) and the Joint Program on Women-Friendly Cities, Swedish International Cooperation and Development Agency (SIDA) is financed by The objectives of the program are to develop the capacity of women's non-governmental organizations operating within the scope of gender equality, to increase the capacity of local administrations to include gender equality activities in the planning processes, and to strengthen cooperation between local administrations and local women's non-governmental organizations and grassroots organizations. The aims of the program are as follows (Women Friendly Cities Booklet, 1):

- Strengthening the Ministry of Interior, other ministries and local governments in gender-sensitive local service delivery and policy development,
- The dissemination of the results achieved in the first phase in six provinces to the neighborhood level through the neighborhood management system,
- Developing gender-based strategic plans and budget preparation approaches in the provinces where the project is implemented,
- Ensuring capacity building of NGOs operating in the provinces where the project is implemented, on gender and advocacy issues,
- Increasing sensitivity to gender equality as a result of awareness activities carried out in the provinces where the project is implemented,
- Developing participatory mechanisms by local governments and women's non-governmental organizations to improve the living standards of women in the provinces where the project is implemented,
- Developing a gender-sensitive urban planning approach in order to make the provinces where the project is implemented become a woman-friendly province,
- Preparation of legislative proposals and sending them to central administrations in order to ensure the sustainability and functioning of the gender equality mechanisms developed in the program within the scope of legal frameworks.

3. Independent Feminist Mayoral Candidacy

Independent candidates become more visible to voters in local elections compared to national elections. Voters generally give importance to the image of the party in national elections, but they focus on the image of the candidate in local elections. However, the image of the party and the candidate complement each other. Since the awareness of the parties has an intense effect on the voters, the process of being elected in the local elections is also difficult for the independent candidates.

Feminists defend that feminism is a politics, and they wanted to show their political stance by nominating and supporting an independent woman candidate in local elections. They wanted to experience an election campaign experience in order to develop politically, and they preferred this experience to be based on local elections. In this context, feminist Ülfet Taylı was shown as an independent candidate for the Feminist Collective Beyoğlu Mayoralty. Taylı's idea of providing childcare training to men, providing a safe life to women who work in the informal sector and try to make a living, creating a Beyoğlu that can be visited comfortably at night without fear of being harassed, multi-purpose women's shelters project that gives priority to women over family, free or cheap for women. There were projects that prioritized women, such as granting the right to transportation.

4. Ka.der's Campaigns Regarding Local Politics

Ka.der, which was established in 1997 with the aim of ensuring that women are represented equally in all decision-making mechanisms where they are appointed or appointed by election, thus strengthening democracy and society, is determined to take steps to end discrimination against women, against racism, violence, war, environmentally conscious, striving for a strong democracy, it states in its statute that it will support the participation of women candidates in politics, not for individual interests, but to be the real representatives of the people and women (Aksu, 2002: 116). Ka.der, which has 6 representatives, 7 branches and 3 initiatives, is headquartered in Istanbul. Its main purpose is to increase the level of female representation to 10% since its establishment. Ka.der's main goal is to increase women's participation in national politics, but there have been some shifts to local politics. Interest in local politics started as a result of a meeting held in 2002, and the 'This Day for Tomorrow' campaign launched under the leadership of the Ankara branch was planned by a six-person team consisting of women activists, academics and experts. The 'Local Politics Working

Group' was established in 2003 and aimed to establish interaction between women's organizations and local politics. For this, the strategy and targets were developed over two years. During this process, the focus was on organizing women, supporting female candidates, and attracting the attention of the media. The campaign objectives are as follows (Ka.der Local-Politics Working Group, 2006: 7):

- Encouraging and support women to be candidates in local government elections,
- Raising the awareness and sensitivity of local administrations on gender equality,
- Increasing the awareness of female voters and to draw media attention to the issue,
- Increasing role models that increase women's participation in local administrations,
- Enabling women's organizations to take action within the scope of the goal of being involved in local politics,
- Creating perspectives that will improve local politics in terms of gender equality,
- Increasing cooperation between municipalities and women's organizations,
- Influencing the programs of the government and political parties related to local administrations,
- Strengthening local action in light of concrete objectives.

During this period, trainings were held for women members of non-governmental organizations and political parties, and the number of these trainings reached 23 in the last month of 2003. Trainings were held with women's organizations, trade unions, political parties and women in slum areas. In this direction, a communication network has been established between women mayors elected in local administrations, council members, provincial council members and mukhtars. Women who prepared the Local Election Declaration held 91 meetings in İzmir, Antalya, Ankara and Denizli to increase the representation of women. They also published the book "Woman's Head", describing the campaign process and the activities carried out (Ka.der's Local-Politics Working Group 2006: 8). With the 'mustache campaign' carried out in the elections held in 2007, well-known female artists and businesswomen wore ties and mustaches and took part in banners containing the questions 'Does it matter to be a man to enter the parliament?'. As a result of the positive reactions received, it was seen that many women applied to political parties for candidacy. As a result, in the second leg of the Ka.der campaign, posters with the slogans of "Women for the Assembly" and "Target: Top Three on the Lists", featuring female and male celebrities, were prepared.

Ka.der's first provincial campaign was carried out for the first time during the 2009 local elections. In the 2007 elections, a wide campaign process was started in the visual and written media to support the female parliamentary candidates, and its extension continued in the 2009 local elections. Efforts continued to get more women to be nominated from the standings. The overall goal of the campaign is 'to increase the representation of women in local administrations in the long run'. The specific goal of the campaign is to "increase the representation of women in local administrations as a result of local elections, to ensure that local administrations produce women-friendly policies, and to organize activities for political parties to apply positive discrimination to women candidates with the participation of other stakeholders". However, this effort of Ka.der was not enough to break the society's prejudice against women candidates (Ka.der 7th Ordinary General Assembly Annual Report, 2010: 12)

During the 2009 local election period, Ka.der used the leaders of the three major political parties in their campaign images. Since the party leaders are the first-degree influencers in the determination of the candidates, it has been emphasized that the issue that the three party leaders agreed on is the female candidates. The slogan 'We All Have the Same Mind' took place in the local, national and international press, and the under-representation of women in politics was tried to be brought to the agenda. Although Ka.der aimed to reach 50% female representation before the 2009 local elections, the targeted result could not be achieved again because the leaders gave priority to male candidates.

V. FIELD SURVEY OF WOMEN REPRESENTATIVES IN MUNICIPAL COUNCIL OF ISTANBUL

Local politics, including women's living space and vital problems, are offered by local governments and are mostly demanded by women. It has been observed that the proportion of women in local politics has increased recently compared to the past. The total number of women councilors in 39 district municipalities of Istanbul is 255, and it is the province with the highest number of women councilors. The conditions under which women's representation in local politics is determined, what demographic characteristics women should have in order to take part in local politics, how they enter local politics, the problems they face in the process of being involved in local politics and the solutions related to them have been determined as the main research topics.

A. Administrative Structure of Istanbul Province

Istanbul, the province with the largest population in Turkey, is home to 15 million 462 thousand 452 people according to the 2020 data of the TurkStat "Address Based Population Registration System". Istanbul, which is managed with the metropolitan administrative model, has a structure consisting of district municipalities as well as the Metropolitan Municipality. With the Law No. 3030 dated 20 June 1984, the jurisdiction of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality was determined, and then, with the Law No. 5216 of 10 July 2004, amendments were made. The last regulation was made on March 6, 2008 with the law numbered 5747.

Local administrative units selected in Istanbul are composed of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and 39 district municipalities (Adalar, Arnavutköy, Ataşehir, Avcılar, Bağcılar, Bahçelievler, Bakırköy, Başakşehir, Bayrampaşa, Beşiktaş, Beykoz, Beylikdüzü, Beyoğlu, Büyükçekmece, Çatalca, Çekmeköy, Esenler,

Esenyurt. , Eyüp, Fatih, Gaziosmanpaşa, 97 Güngören, Kadıköy, Kağıthane, Kartal, Küçükçekmece, Maltepe, Pendik, Sancaktepe, Sarıyer, Silivri, Sultanbeyli, Sultangazi, Şile, Şişli, Tuzla, Ümraniye, Üsküdar and Zeytinburnu).

The most important administrative organ of the municipalities is the councils. Assemblies consist of directly or indirectly elected members. The population of the province of Istanbul, the ratio of men and women are shown in the table below.

Table 5: Istanbul districts female – male population and percentages

District	Female Population	Male Population	Total Population	Women%	Men%
Adalar	7.675	8.358	16.033	47,87	52,13
Arnavutköy	144.041	152.668	296.709	48,55	51,45
Ataşehir	214.897	207.697	422.594	50,85	49,15
Avcılar	217.469	219.428	436.897	49,78	50,22
Bağcılar	362.731	374.475	737.206	49,2	50,8
Bahçelievler	294.030	298.341	592.371	49,64	50,36
Bakırköy	120.488	105.741	226.229	53,26	46,74
Başakşehir	233.335	236.589	469.924	49,65	50,35
Bayrampaşa	134.286	135.664	269.950	49,74	50,26
Beşiktaş	95.798	80.715	176.513	54,27	45,73
Beykoz	123.685	122.425	246.110	50,26	49,74
Beylikdüzü	186.957	178.615	365.572	51,14	48,86
Beyoğlu	109.625	116.771	226.396	48,42	51,58
Büyükçekmece	129.901	127.461	257.362	50,47	49,53
Çatalca	36.258	38.447	74.975	48,72	51,28
Çekmeköy	136.816	136.842	273.658	50	50
Esenler	216.999	229.277	446.276	48,62	51,38
Esenyurt	465.555	491.843	957.398	48,63	51,37
Eyüp	202.627	203.218	405.845	49,93	50,07
Fatih	197.445	199.149	396.594	49,79	50,21
Gaziosmanpaşa	242.995	244.783	487.778	49,82	50,18
Güngören	138.853	141.446	280.299	49,54	50,46
Kadıköy	263.59	218.424	474.514	54,68	45,32
Kağıthane	218.968	223.447	442.415	49,49	50,51
Kartal	239.896	234.618	474.514	50,56	48,44
Küçükçekmece	393.749	395.884	789.663	49,86	50,14
Maltepe	258.152	256.869	515.021	50,12	49,88
Pendik	359.374	367.107	726.481	49,47	50,53
Sancaktepe	225.117	231.744	456.861	49,27	50,73
Sarıyer	169.893	165.405	335.298	50,67	49,33
Silivri	87.061	113.154	200.215	43,48	56,52

Sultanbeyli	167.197	176.121	343.318	48,7	51,3
Sultangazi	263.444	274.044	537.488	49,01	50,99
Şile	18.195	19.709	37.904	48	52
Şişli	136.862	129.931	266.793	51,3	48,7
Tuzla	134.127	139.481	273.608	49,02	50,98
Ümraniye	355.728	358.075	713.803	49,84	50,16
Üsküdar	267.091	253.680	520.771	51,29	48,71
Zeytinburnu	140.467	143.190	283.657	49,52	50,48

Source: TurkStat

According to a study carried out on female representatives in municipal councils, while comparing female representation rates in the study carried out by the researcher, municipalities were not taken as a whole, but were examined according to their population sizes. Municipalities were divided into cities, towns and rural areas, and it was revealed that female members were represented more in cities (Çitçi, 1989: 20).

Table 6: Number of female council members in Istanbul district municipalities

District	Number of Women Voters	Total Number of Council Members	Female Member of Council
Adalar	7.148	8	2
Arnavutköy	138.752	37	6
Ataşehir	210.657	37	4
Avcılar	204.541	40	8
Bağcılar	353.024	45	9
Bahçelievler	291.249	45	10
Bakırköy	118.039	31	10
Başakşehir	227.653	23	7
Bayrampaşa	127.428	37	5
Beşiktaş	93.137	29	7
Beykoz	119.934	31	7
Beylikdüzü	180.691	37	8
Beyoğlu	99.756	31	4
Büyükçekmece	117.186	31	5
Çatalca	34.011	10	1
Çekmeköy	128.315	37	6
Esenler	207.431	37	7
Esenyurt	198.759	45	7
Eyüp	194.289	39	8
Fatih	176.337	37	8
Gaziosmanpaşa	225.445	37	6
Güngören	127.935	37	9
Kadıköy	259.852	38	13
Kağıthane	210.545	37	7
Kartal	229.876	37	7
Küçükçekmece	370.861	45	6

Maltepe	240.478	37	8
Pendik	330.152	45	8
Sancaktepe	220.681	37	5
Sarıyer	160.635	37	7
Silivri	84.364	31	6
Sultanbeyli	150.174	37	6
Sultangazi	255.265	42	5
Şile	17.125	15	1
Şişli	135.784	37	9
Tuzla	110.227	37	4
Ümraniye	326.958	46	8
Üsküdar	248.159	46	8
Zeytinburnu	134.728	37	3

Different determinations can be made about 39 district municipalities of Istanbul. As can be seen in the table above, it can be seen that the female representation rate in districts with high populations such as Esenyurt, Küçükçekmece, Bağcılar, Ümraniye and Pendik is at the same rate as the provinces with a lower population. The reason for the low level of representation is the effect of patriarchal codes, which are still valid today. The representation rate of women is higher in Şişli, Kadıköy, Güngören, Bakırköy, Bahçelievler, Bağcılar districts compared to other districts. The sectarian and ethnic diversity in these districts has increased the female representation rate.

Considering the whole of Istanbul, it is striking that the population level has an absolute effect on the female representation ratio, but this is not the dominant factor (Çitçi, 1989: 20). The patriarchal structure of the relevant municipality population is one of the reasons why there is less female representation. It is seen that the rate of female representation is high in districts (such as Kadıköy, Bakırköy) where the patriarchal codes have begun to be deciphered. Considering all the districts, it is seen that the rate of female representation has increased in the last elections compared to previous years. In summary, today, patriarchal structure and ethnic and sectarian differences have preceded the population factor in determining the female representation rate in local governments.

B. Women Representatives in Istanbul Municipal Assemblies

As a result of the 31 March 2019 election, a total of 255 female and 1127 male municipal councilors were elected in 39 districts of Istanbul, and the female representation rate in the municipal councils of Istanbul districts reached the highest level in the history of the republic with approximately 18%. Female councilors have been elected in all districts of

Istanbul and their number varies between 1 and 13. Kadıköy, Bahçelievler, Bakırköy, Bağcılar, Güngören, Şişli, Maltepe, Üsküdar, Ümraniye, Pendik are the 10 districts that reached the highest level of female representation as a result of the 31 March 2019 election. The female representation rate in the ten counted counties varies between 17% and 34%. Considering the election results, it is seen that 13 female councilors (34%) were elected in Kadıköy, the first district with the highest level of female representation, and 10 female councilors were elected in Bahçelievler and Bakırköy, which ranked second. When we look at the number of women sent to the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Council in these districts, where women's representation is higher than in other districts, it is seen that there is only one person. Although the level of female representation of 34% has been achieved within the scope of districts, this ratio has not ensured that women are represented in higher administrative units, and the best example of this is the number of female council members sent to the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Council. Although Kadıköy, Bakırköy and Bahçelievler are the districts with the highest number of women councilors, they sent only one woman councilor to the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Council.

When we look at Istanbul in general, it is seen that the rate of female council members involved in local politics is 18%. In order for women to be active in politics and to implement women-friendly policies, they need to be represented by 30-40% as a critical threshold. Only Kadıköy could catch this rate. It has been observed that the number of female representatives has increased in the 2019 elections compared to the previous elections, but it is clear that this increase is entirely determined, directed and controlled by men.

In the province of Istanbul, a female mayor was elected only in Sancaktepe district out of 39 municipalities. The number of female deputy mayors of 39 municipalities in the province of Istanbul is as in the table below.

Table 7: Number of Female Deputy Mayors in Istanbul Province

Municipalities	Number of Female Deputy Mayors
Avcılar	2
Bahçelievler	1
Beşiktaş	1
Beykoz	1
Beylikdüzü	2
Beyoğlu	1
Büyükdere	1

Esenyurt	1
Eyüp	1
Kadıköy	2
Maltepe	2
Sancaktepe	1
Sarıyer	2
Sultanbeyli	1
Sultangazi	1
Şişli	1
Tuzla	1
Ümraniye	2

Compared to previous periods, it is seen that the number of female representatives has increased today, but it still has not reached the required level.

C. Purpose, Universe and Scope of the Research

The purpose, problem, assumptions, sample and method of the study will be explained below.

1. Problem of Research

Participation and representation of women in local governments is an issue that has started to gain importance recently. There are two main reasons for this. The first of these is the transition of the concept of governance, which has developed as the 'New Public Management Approach' and its extension, from citizen-oriented to customer-oriented, and to ensure that the people of the region take an active part in the public decision-making stages in this transition process. The second is the power gained by the increasing women's movements after the 1980s to liberate women and make their own choices. The women's movement has neglected local politics for many years, seeing the solution of women's problems only in national politics. Especially with the reduction of the central government's influence on local governments, women's movements started to take local politics into account for the solution of their problems.

The representation of women in local governments has been the subject of few studies before, and the subject of these studies was the demographic characteristics of women elected to local governments (Arıkboğa, Oktay and Yılmaz, 2007: 103). In addition to this, studies have been carried out associating the population level of local administrations with the representation of women (Arıkboğa, 2009: 41). In the studies carried out, it is tried to be analyzed by drawing attention to a different element of the

local representation of women. In our study, we will try to make holistic analyzes with an approach extending from the beginning of the representation processes of women local councilors to the period when they were active in politics and their goals for the future. In addition to seeking an answer to the question of "how should women's representation be at the local level", the study also includes side questions:

- What qualifications should women elected to local councils have?
- In what ways do women enter local politics?
- What kind of problems and obstacles do women face at the stage of entering local politics, and what measures can be taken against them?
- What are the aims of women in local politics, what does local politics mean for women?
- Who and how do women represent in local politics?
- Do women in local politics get what they expect?
- What are the opinions of women about continuing in local politics?
- What are the future plans of women local politicians?

With the expansion of local politics, women also had the opportunity to participate widely. Women have the opportunity to engage in politics in a wide range of areas, such as provinces, district organizations, women's branches, mukhtars, and provincial councils.

In our study, female members in the councils of municipalities were chosen as the target audience. For long periods the local representation of women remained below the national representation level. Although this trend continues today, there has been a significant increase in the number of local female representatives compared to previous years. This increase necessitates investigating the changing internal and external conditions in the process of women's participation in politics and how women participate in politics. The main reason for studying within the scope of Istanbul province is because it is the province in which the highest number of female council members are elected across the country.

2. Assumptions and Purpose of the Research

In the third and fourth parts of the research, a theoretical approach is presented through the participation and representation of women in politics, as well as the obstacles they face in this process and the tools to be applied to remove these obstacles, and in the last part, the topics covered in the third and fourth sections will be analyzed on the women

councilors of Istanbul. The main purpose is to describe the experiences and accumulated knowledge of women elected to municipal councils in Istanbul after the 2019 elections. This fieldwork will not only concern women involved in local politics, but also broaden the perspective of male and female candidates who want to participate in local politics in the future. In addition, in the process of determining the candidates to be elected to the representation mechanisms in local governments, it is very important that the male-dominated structure, which is responsible, sees the current situation at first hand, and it is very important to determine to what extent, how and under what conditions they will carry female candidates to local representation units in the future. The main purpose of the study is to produce scientific information that will show how and under what conditions women's representation and participation in local politics is determined.

The main assumptions of the study are as follows:

- The central government has an effect on local governments, and it is seen that local political decisions cannot be determined independently from national political decisions thanks to this effect.
- The influence of political parties on local political decisions that depend on national politics increases. This causes the voters to vote for the paw, not the candidate, in the local elections.
- The form of political representation cannot be determined independently of the social and economic structure. Representatives are elected as an extension of this social and economic structure. However, representatives are determined among those who have the most opportunities and resources. These resources and opportunities are generally owned by men.
- There are various perspectives on the representation of women by political parties in Turkey. The most important indicator of this situation is the various approaches to quota. While some of the political parties develop a certain amount of quota in the party statutes, others take positive discrimination measures voluntarily.
- Although the local representation opportunities for female candidates have been diversified recently, the lack of representation still continues for female council members.
- The data obtained as a result of the research are not generally accepted results, and different data can be obtained with different samples in different provinces and at different times.

Four hypotheses have been developed regarding the main problem of the study, "how does the representation of women take place at the local level".

H1: Women, who are seen as a means of gaining votes by political parties, operate in women's branches, especially as an extension of their women's roles. With his work here, he wins votes for male candidates and helps them to come to power. Men reward women's efforts to gain votes by giving them a certain amount of political representation.

H2: International institutions have drawn attention to women's problems and women's representation, and this has led to an increased interest in this issue, this increase in interest has taken place from national political mechanisms to local mechanisms.

H3: The public opinion created by the increasing women's movements in Turkey, especially after the 1980s, shifted to politics, albeit belatedly.

H4: It is seen that women have started to be used as a showcase in local politics as well as in national politics. For this reason, the level of political representation of women has increased. On the other hand, the fact that the female representation rate does not approach the male representation rate increases the tendency of women to be used as showcases.

3. Sample and Population of the Research

Our study has chosen the female council members who participate in the municipal councils in the city of Istanbul in the local elections of 31 March 2019 as a field of study. There are a total of 255 female council members in 39 districts of Istanbul. Although there are women councilors in each district, the number of women councilors varies between 1 and 13. A field study was conducted with a sample group of 75 women (29.41%) out of a population of 255 women councilors from each district, taking into account features such as socioeconomic level and geographical location.

4. Scope and Method of Research

In the second and third parts of the study, the theoretical framework regarding the participation and representation of women in local governments is presented. In this section, the results of the field study on women councilors in Istanbul district municipalities will be evaluated in order to support theoretical approaches. The study is structured within the framework of the structural-functionalism method, and the method tries to reveal the functions and structure of society in the analysis of social phenomena (Paloma, 1993: 76). Society consists of rings according to the structural-

functionalism method. Every people is necessary for the social system to work. Because in order for the system as a whole to work, there must be cooperation and harmony between the parts. According to political science, where the systems approach is frequently used, the social system is a part of the political system. The political system approach, which enables the effective use of the structural-functionalism method, was developed by David Easton, and according to Easton, the political system has three members. These members are the political regime, the political community and the political authority. The political regime refers to the rules and behaviors determined by the political society, the political authority refers to the administrators whose decision-making authority is given by the system elements, and the political community refers to the voters. In the absence of these members, it is not possible to make a structural-functional analysis (Çam, 2005: 16).

In the study, the analyzes will be made by adhering to the political system model of the structural-functional method, which is accepted as the reference point, and the causal link between the political regime, political society and political authority will not be broken in line with our main problem, 'how should women be represented at the local level'. Apart from being excluded from politics just because they are women, women also experience exclusion due to the political regime, which are the elements of the political system, and the political-economic game between the administrators and the voters. For this reason, the problem of local political representation of women is too complex to be analyzed only with a feminist approach. The biggest weakness of the structural-functional model is that it narrows the field of action and ignores change. Therefore, besides the structural-functional method, the analysis techniques of the feminist approach are also used in the study. Fieldwork was carried out between October 2021 and January 2022. An attempt was made to establish a database of 130 female council members elected from 39 district municipalities of Istanbul, and their responsibilities, duties and demographic structures were analyzed. The database was tried to be created with the CVs of the council members on the websites of the municipalities, but sufficient data could not be reached. Afterwards, e-mails were sent to 130 women council members requesting their detailed CVs, and sufficient responses were not received. The study continued by making an appointment with the returning female council members. 75 female council members from 39 municipalities were

interviewed face-to-face, via e-mail and zoom. In the first stage, a questionnaire of 30 questions was shared with the female council members, and the questionnaire consisted of open-ended questions. In the second stage, female council members were evaluated in line with criteria such as political activity intensity, seniority and experience. Since these criteria are intertwined with each other, attention was paid to ensure that the female council members to be interviewed had a significant impact on at least one of these criteria. In addition to the data obtained with the 30-question survey before, the in-depth interview, which provides the collection of qualitative data for detailed analysis, reveals strong data about the positions of women councilors in local administrations. In-depth interviews were conducted with 10 female council members.

The intensity of political activity refers to the activities of women council members, and these activities are youth branches, women's branches activities, party organization duties, parliamentary activities, civil society activities and activities carried out in commissions that actively work. All of the female council members interviewed in-depth participate in the work of the commission, and these commissions are law, zoning, women and tariffs. The criterion of seniority refers to the active time spent in politics. In order to find different perspectives in the selection of the council members to be interviewed in-depth, a sample was formed from the women councilors who had been in local politics for a long time and the women councilors who started their political life with the 2019 elections. The experience criterion, on the other hand, expresses the experience and knowledge gained by women councilors in different fields in politics. The professions of female council members provide the knowledge that they will be effective in local government units.

VI. FINDINGS OF THE RESEARCH

The main purpose of the field research is to find answers to the question "How does the representation of women take place at the local level" with 7 sub-questions. In this context, the demographic characteristics of female council members, their processes of participation in politics, the ways of being involved in politics, the problems they face in political life, their positions in local politics, their responsibilities and political gains, and their thoughts about the future are evaluated.

A. Demographic Characteristics of Female Council Members Involved in Local Politics

The importance of revealing the demographic characteristics of women participating in local politics is to determine which demographic characteristics will highlight female candidates. Demographic characteristics are analyzed in six sections: education level, age, occupation, place of birth and residence status.

Table 8 shows the distribution of female members according to their educational status. There is no education level requirement to be elected a mayor or a council member for municipalities.

Pursuant to Article 24 of the Municipality Law, "literacy in Turkish" is a sufficient condition. As can be seen in the table, 78.66% of the members are at the undergraduate and higher education level. 17.33% of them have primary and high school education. It is seen that 75 female council members participating in the research have higher education than both male members and their fellows in the total population. In line with the available data, it is understood that women should have an above-average education in order to participate in local and national politics.

Table 8: Distribution of Female Council Members Participating in Local Politics by Education Level

Education Level	Number of Female Council Member	Percentage (%)
Primary	1	1,33
Secondary	12	16
Associate	3	4
Undergraduate	49	65,33
Graduate	9	12
Post-Graduate	1	1,33
Total	75	100

The distribution of 75 female council members included in our study by age groups is also shown in Table 8. The minimum age range for female council members is 18-30 (8%). For women, this age range is the period when the most time is devoted to work and family life. Therefore, women have difficulties in adapting to political life. The age range with the highest number of female council members is 41-50 (37.33%). According to the standards of Turkey, women in this age range are women who have put their business life into a certain routine and raised their children. At this age, it becomes easier for women to participate in political life. Women between the ages of 61-70 are also members who have been in politics for many years, even if their number is small (5.33%). Considering the data in the table, it is seen that the average age of participation in politics is 45. In other words, women council members can participate in politics when they ease their work and family life responsibilities.

Table 9: Distribution of Female Council Members by Age Groups

Age Group	Number of Female Council Member	Age Group %
18-30	6	8
31-40	22	29,33
41-50	28	37,33
51-60	15	20
61-70	4	5,33
Total	75	100

Table 9 shows the distribution of 75 female council members by occupational groups. The decline in the level of tradesmen is the most striking factor. In the study of Çitçi in 1989, there were women with the highest number of tradesmen in the parliament in the Marmara region (Çitçi, 1989: 105). Among the 75 female council members included in our study, it was determined that the highest number of experts

(41.33%) was from the profession. This shows that parliamentary membership is not only limited to the local, but as in national politics, expert representatives have begun to dominate in local politics. Because local politics gradually becomes areas where national policies are determined, rather than a platform where solutions are sought only for local problems. As can be seen, the decrease in housewives and shopkeepers among female council members indicates that local politics has lost its connection with daily life and its administrative aspect has become stronger.

Table 10: Distribution of Women Councilors by Occupation

Occupation	Number of Female Council Member	%
Housewife	10	13,33
Shopkeeper	2	2,67
Retired	15	20
Worker	17	22,67
Specialized Professions (Lawyer, Architect etc.)	31	41,33

Table 10 shows the distribution of female council members by place of birth. It is seen that the birthplaces of 75 female council members included in our study are different provinces. The number of female council members born in Istanbul is higher than in other provinces. It is very important for local political representatives to know the place where they are elected.

Table 11: Distribution of Women Councilors by Place of Birth

Place of Birth	Number of Council Member	Place of Birth	Number of Council Member
Adana	1	İzmir	4
Antalya	3	İstanbul	17
Ankara	4	Kayseri	3
Bulgaristan	2	Konya	2
Balıkesir	2	Manisa	3
Bolu	2	Malatya	4
Bayburt	1	Muğla	2
Çorum	1	Ordu	2
Erzincan	4	Rize	1
Erzurum	1	Samsun	2

Eskişehir	3	Sivas	5
Giresun	1	Tekirdağ	1
Gümüşhane	1	Tunceli	1
Hatay	1	Zonguldak	1

In addition, it is very important that the council members are elected as a council member in the district municipality where they reside. It is important that the candidates are residents who know the district well. 74% of the female council members included in our study reside in the district where they were elected. Others (26%) reside in a different district than the one they were chosen from. These are usually people nominated from the center quota.

The last demographic characteristic is the marital status of female council members. Of the female council members included in the study, 47 (62.67%) were married and 28 (37.33%) were single. It is seen that women generally have a high level of education, reach a certain level in their careers, and participate in politics at later ages, as married people ease their family responsibilities.

B. Entry Process of Women Councilors into Local Politics

As a result of the data obtained as a result of the field research, it was determined that female council members entered local politics through five channels. These channels are citizenship relations, non-governmental organization membership, political parties, youth politics and coming from a family engaged in politics.

Along with the immigration problem, citizenship relations have become an important factor in the determination of local political units in metropolitan cities. Citizenship network in cities and towns is the capillary of big politics (Kurtoğlu, 2004: 360). Citizenship ties are especially important for men's entry into local politics. The power of women to participate in politics decreases due to family ties in society and compatriot relations that ensure the reproduction of patriarchy with masculine consciousness. In Kurtoğlu's study, the reasons for not having any female council members in Ankara Keçiören district were investigated in terms of men. According to male council members, women are already involved in politics with their activities, and the reason why they cannot be elected as a council member is the personal problems of women (Kurtoğlu, 2004: 362). Men can use their fellow citizens

effectively, but the presence of women in local politics requires personal effort. The reason for the underrepresentation of women in local politics is that they do not want to enter politics (Kurtoğlu, 2004: 362). Only 1 (1.3%) of 75 female council members who participated in the study participated in politics as a result of citizenship.

9 (12%) of the female council members included in our study stated that they entered local politics through non-governmental organizations. In a sense, people involved in civil society activities are preparing for politics. In line with the information obtained, it is seen that the influence of non-governmental organizations in the participation of women council members in politics is weak. The low number of women councilors participating in politics through women's organizations causes women's problems and a weakening of the relationship with women's groups. Other non-governmental organizations that enable women council members to participate in politics are aid and human rights organizations, professional organizations and school-parent unions.

Political parties attract women members into political life in two ways, the first of which is encouraging women to become members, and the other is the method of inviting women to political life. 21 (28%) of the female council members who participated in the study stated that they switched to local politics after being a member of a political party. These council members were elected as councilors after they actively served in the provincial, district administrations and women's branches. Political parties, on the other hand, complain that there are no female candidates that they can evaluate in the political arena. Therefore, political parties invite female candidates who can be evaluated in the political field. Although these invitations are common in metropolitan cities, women candidates need to fight more in small settlements and lower levels of politics. 31 female council members (41.3%) stated that they participated in political life at the invitation of political parties. Most of the women council members participating in the study decided to join politics upon the invitation of the party. Since it is thought that it can provide voter support to socially and professionally successful people, proposals are made by political parties. Relevant female members show themselves and receive offers, especially with the influence of social environments or friend circles. Some female members stated that the reason they entered politics was due to the influence of the 'leader'. This situation shows that women participate in politics because of the party leader, they trust the leader very much, and this trust brings many women into politics without any expectation.

9 (12%) of the female council members who participated in the study stated that they started politics during their student years and worked in the youth branch. The problem of representation of youth and women in local politics has a similar structure. Young people also experience the problems that women experience while participating in local politics, regardless of gender. Political parties want young people to work in election campaigns and to persuade their close circles to vote, and they see this as a part of political participation (Kalaycıoğlu, 1983: 22).

Coming from a family involved in politics in the process of women's participation in politics will be a facilitating factor for women. Coming from a political family will have two effects. Women who come from a political family have the chance to see, learn and live politics from their families. These women can participate in political life more easily because they know how politics is an activity and how it is done. The other effect is that women coming from families who are involved in politics have a social and political environment, and the possibilities of this environment cause them to face fewer obstacles when entering politics. Only 4 (5.3%) of the female council members who participated in the study stated that they wanted to be involved in politics because they came from a family engaged in politics and that they benefited from their families' political relations. In the process of participating in local politics, it is important for women to come from families engaged in politics, especially if their spouses are politicians.

C. Barriers and Solution Strategies Encountered by Women Councilors in Local Politics

According to the data obtained as a result of the study, we can collect the obstacles faced by women councilors in local politics under three headings. These are barriers due to economic factors, barriers due to social factors and barriers due to political factors. These obstacles are faced by women both when entering politics, during the election phase and after their election. Women councilors faced obstacles in their political lives stemming from social, social and familial factors, and this situation forced women at every stage of politics. Even if all the women council members included in the study did not come on their own, they stated that familial and social factors create serious problems for women to be involved in politics and to engage in active politics. Considering family responsibilities, which are generally more important for women at a young age, as well as business life, women's probability of being involved in politics decreases. In terms of family life, there are serious

differences between women's participation in local politics and their participation in national politics. Since local politics is more easily accepted in women's family life, women can take part in politics without thinking that they neglect their responsibilities. According to the statement of the women councilors who participated in the study, the men in the family do not view women's involvement in politics positively for many years. Today, men have developed a moderate attitude towards women's politics within the women's branches. It is seen that familial factors, which are the reason why women are less involved in politics, are male-centered.

Another social factor that prevents women from participating in political life is social barriers. All 75 female council members who participated in the study agreed that social factors prevent women from doing politics. According to women council members, social barriers are the prejudice that women are used only as a showcase in politics, that society sees politics as men's work, and that female candidates cannot receive the support of voters. Women face these obstacles not only in the process of participating in politics, but also while doing politics. The use of women as a showcase is a common trend in active politics, and when society sees politics as men's work, coupled with the thesis that women will not understand politics, women are pushed out of political life.

Women council members, who need a certain social capital to participate in politics, think that they cannot continue their existence in politics without these equipment. According to the women council members, these equipments are professions close to politics, high education level and an active social circle of friends. Political parties reduce the possibility of evaluating women candidates due to the prejudice that they cannot provide voter support against female candidates. 71 (94.7%) of the female council members participating in the study stated that they did not have any problems with the voters since they acted in line with the party programs during the election campaign.

In a field study conducted by Ka.der with 17 female deputies in 2009, they concluded that the reason why women could not get the support of voters was due to personal reasons and ideological preferences (Ka.der, 2009). Similar results to the results of Ka.der's study were also obtained in female council members who participated in our study. Although the members tend to see the electoral problems they have experienced as ideologically based, these problems are actually linked to

gender problems. The sanctions of the voters, who evaluated and excluded female candidates only with their dressing style and physical appearance, extended to neighborhood pressure. Another obstacle stemming from the social factors that women face in local politics is the use of women as a showcase. It is argued that this is why the level of female representation remains so low in local politics (Alkan, 2005: 89). 53 (70.7%) of the female council members participating in the study stated that they think that women are being used as a showcase in local politics. Although the number of women in local politics reached its highest level in the 2019 elections, the use of women as a showcase has increased since this increase was not at a level to ensure the viability of women's politics. In other words, the realization that women can be used as a showcase in local politics may be one of the reasons for the increase in the number of women.

In the process of participating in politics, women also encounter obstacles arising from economic factors. It is seen that women council members experience economic problems from the stage of participating in politics to the campaign and candidacy period, and then during the periods when they are active in politics. Of the 75 female council members included in our study, 69 (92%) stated that economic problems are a serious obstacle in the process of participating in politics. In order for women to be candidates in the elections, they must have a certain economic power. Political parties that receive candidacy application fees at different levels make positive discrimination for women in these fees. However, there are still female candidates who cannot afford this fee. In local elections, although not as much as in national elections, there are definitely expenses to be made by the candidates. 38 (50.7%) of the female council members included in our study stated that they made such expenditures. However, these members stated that they made these expenditures of their own will, that is voluntarily, and that their parties did not make any requests from these members.

Women also faced obstacles due to political factors in the process of participating in politics. The political obstacles faced by the female council members included in our study will be examined under five headings. These are the obstacles stemming from the masculine politician perspective, the obstacles originating from the political party, the obstacles arising from the competition of women in the political field, the obstacles arising from the electoral system and the political system, and the obstacles arising from the use of the headscarf as a political symbol. The masculine point of view is one of the political

barriers that women face when participating in politics. Women councilors state that men consider women candidates politically and institutionally inadequate. One of the common problems of all female members is that male members hold meetings late in the evening or very early in the morning in order to remove women from political life (Yaraman, 1999: 29). The pressures and exclusions faced by women members in local councils amount to mobbing. The mobbing of women members of the opposition party, especially by powerful male politicians, makes it difficult for women to survive in politics. Political parties direct their female members to women's branches, youth branches and district administration activities. In other words, masculine party administrations place women in political administrative systems for incentives and rewards. The form and amount of the placements are also determined by the masculine will. Another political factor that causes women to be excluded from political life is competition between women. 32 (42.7%) of the 75 female council members included in the study think that the competition among women causes serious problems for women in the political arena. Competition may occur between women who are members of the same or different parties, because women see men as untouchable in politics and because they think they cannot compete with them, they see women as rivals and enter into competition. Women members state that the electoral system and the political system keep women away from political life. According to the council members, the quota practices used by the parties to increase women's representation make it difficult for deserving women to enter the process. Another factor that prevents women from being actively involved in political life is the use of the headscarf as a political symbol. Council members with headscarf state that they still have problems due to their headscarves, albeit less than in the past.

Due to the obstacles arising from economic, social and political factors, women either cannot participate in political life at all or are absent. It is not possible to solve the economic and social factors that cause the problem of underrepresentation of women in the political arena with one or more tools. In order to remove these obstacles, the codes of patriarchy should be solved and an economic balance should be achieved. However, more active participation of women in politics can be achieved by taking political measures. In order to reduce the level of underrepresentation of women in the political arena, tools called positive discrimination practices are used. The most common and well-known of these tools are gender quotas. 27 (36%) of the female

council members participating in the study consider it necessary for political parties to implement gender quotas. On the other hand, 14 female councilors (18.7%) emphasize that parties cannot be successful only with the quota practice, besides the quota, parties should make arrangements to support female candidates.

D. Position and Responsibilities of Women Councilors in Local Politics

Local politics is a part of women's lives. Women councilors included in our study state that local politics is different from national politics. In the study named 'Local Governments and Gender', it was emphasized that local services and local governments should have a gender sensitive structure. When the local needs of women were asked to the appointed and elected male members of the study, the answer was "men and women have the same needs". In addition, male subjects who emphasized the lack of social and cultural services also stated that women may have special needs. As a solution, they showed the conferences they held for women. It is seen that the neighborhood women included in the study are more conscious of the demands than the appointed and elected women. Therefore, services should be provided and policies should be developed for women. Thirteen (17.3%) of the female council members included in our study stated that they do not see themselves as the representatives of women, they actually want to be the representatives of women, but the male-dominated structure and the low number of women prevent this. 62 (82.7%) of the female council members included in the study stated that they see themselves as the representatives of women.

Some of the answers to the questions "Who and what do women represent at the local level" and "Who do you represent" are as follows:

- I represent everyone, but I do not represent politicians who brag about the people's money,
- I represent Kemalist, modern and secular women,
- I represent men as well as women,
- I represent headscarved women.

The answers are generally ideological definitions, and although the gender dimension is included in the answers, it is clear from which social view or ideology the female members come from the content of the answers.

62 (82.7%) of the female council members included in the study think that the presence of women in politics brings a different approach. This approach, on the other

hand, is thought to be due to the fact that problems are approached from the point of view of women. Adding a women's perspective to the administrative and technical structure of municipalities will strengthen social ties. Many women members believe that social municipalism will be strengthened when a women's perspective is developed. 13 (17.3%) of the female council members argue that women cannot bring a different approach to local politics. According to these members, the number of women in local politics is increasing under male domination.

It may not mean that women become functional even as their numbers increase in local politics. For this, besides the representation of women at the desired level, the cooperation and solidarity with which all women members agree should be possible. When the female council members were asked 'what are their primary goals in local politics?', 29 members (38.7%) said public interest, 26 members (34.7%) women's rights, 16 (21.3%) public service and 4 members (5.3%) stated that they prioritize public interest and women's rights equally.

All of the council members included in the study were in the position of spectators, ignorant and only alert about the functioning and internal rules of the council when they were first elected to the council. They state that they learned about the functioning of the parliament over time with the support of the senior male members of their party. When these members were asked why they did not receive support from other female members, they stated that other female members were either inexperienced or did not like to help.

27 (36%) of the women council members think that the women's approach can be brought to the parliament's agenda. Although the women's approach is brought to the parliament by women, it is not possible without the support of male members and especially the mayor. According to these women members, the low number of women in the parliament prevents them from forming their own policies and agendas. Therefore, the agenda of the women's approach in the parliament is determined under the masculine domination and limit. On the other hand, 48 of the female council members (64%) stated that the women's approach could never be brought to the parliament and that they did not have such a problem in the elected women members. Women councilors included in the study think that effective women's policies are not institutionalized in local politics. In order to determine and organize women's policies

by local administrations, a structure should be established in which women council members and non-governmental organizations can work together. Only 6 (8%) of the female council members participating in the study work in women's non-governmental organizations. In addition, the relationship of 11 female members (14.7%) with women's non-governmental organizations did not go beyond mediation. 58 female members (77.3%) did not have any relationship with women's non-governmental organizations. In order for local administrations to determine an institutional women's policy or a joint project for women, they should act together with women's non-governmental organizations. Because local administrations may not achieve successful results in developing flexible policies regarding women's problems. As women's non-governmental organizations are the contractors and parties to women's problems in daily life, they will be able to bring new initiatives to local administrations. When the female council members participating in the study were asked whether they would like to work in a women's non-governmental organization, 29 members (38.7%) answered this question as no. They attributed this to ideological reasons rather than sexist ones.

E. Political Achievements and Future Thoughts of Women Members of Parliament

The time they have spent in politics has given women municipal council members experience. The values they have developed with these experiences will shape their achievement of the goals they had when they started politics and their political career goals for the future. The women councilors included in our study reported that they participated in politics in order to serve and be useful to people. Female city council members stated that their purpose is to serve, and this is to create social benefit rather than personal benefit. The expectation and purpose of the female council members interviewed in their participation in politics is to serve, and they stated that they have achieved this purpose. According to these council members, having expectations in politics can lead to disappointments. It is thought that there will be no disappointment if the expectations are kept low and the aim is to serve. Some of the women council members, who continue their existence in politics for more comprehensive reasons as well as urban problems, stated that they could not reach their goals. These members wanted to develop projects and policies for the disabled, elderly, children and women, but they could not be successful in the male-dominated political structure. Therefore, almost all of the women council members state that they

do not want to continue in politics, but they want to continue their political lives if their expectations and goals are realized. Although 62 women councilors (83%) state that they will continue their political lives, they are shy about setting goals. All members stated that their parties would determine their political assets and positions in line with the political decisions they would take. While the number of women councilors who stated that they definitely want to continue their political life in local politics is 15 (20%), the number of women councilors who state that they want to move into national politics is 6 (8%). On the other hand, 34 members (45%) stated that they can move into national politics or stay in local politics in line with the decisions and proposals of the parties. As can be seen, the future political careers of women councilors are shaped by the position their party will determine for them. 20 council members (27%) stated that their political expectations and goals were not realized and declared that they would not continue in politics.

Another issue emphasized by women councilors is whether women use local politics as a stepping stone to enter national politics. As members are aware, the transition from local politics to national politics is very problematic and difficult. However, if successful in politics, it is thought that the chance of transition to national politics is high. It would not be wrong to say that the transition from local politics to national politics has increased and gained convenience in recent years compared to the past.

CONCLUSION

Today, when the problem of political representation is frequently on the agenda, the basic element of political representation is the individual. From the perspective of individuals, the inequality of political representation between the sexes is quite striking. Faced with inequalities in the political arena as well as in all areas of life, women have always received support for voting since they gained their political rights, but they were deprived of this support for their participation in politics. The problem of underrepresentation of women in politics is tried to be solved by techniques such as zipper practice, gender quota and parity practice. However, these tools do not transform the masculine structure in politics. The patriarchy has begun to dissolve in political systems where the means of zipper, parity and gender quota have been successful. These tools are used to achieve successful results. However, it is seen that the problem of political representation of women still continues in many countries today.

Although women's representation of local politics and representations of national politics are similar in form, they differ proportionally. The representation rate of women in local politics in Turkey is lower than the representation rate of women in national politics. However, more women are expected to participate in local politics, which is integrated with its environment. In addition, women's participation in local politics is easier than their participation in national politics.

Women in Turkey obtained their political rights in the 1930s. Despite this, the adequate level of representation has not been achieved even today. Since the proclamation of the Republic, the political representation of women has shown a symbolic feature. The long-term determination of local politics by national politics is one of the reasons for the lack of representation of women in local politics. Women could not find a place for themselves in male-dominated political networks due to sociological and economic reasons. The representation of women in local politics started to rise in the 2000s, and this increase in current conditions led women to

research on local politics. For this reason, the main problem of the study is planned on "How does the representation of women take place at the local level".

Since the current political competitive environment in the settled municipalities is male dominated, the female representation rate remains low. There are two important factors in determining the ratio of women's representation in Istanbul district municipalities, one of which is patriarchal structure and the other is sectarian and ethnic difference. Despite the recent increase in the representation of women in local governments, women have not been able to take senior positions. Women, who are generally assigned in social areas, are not assigned to duties such as Reconstruction and Budget.

Women's entry into politics usually takes place upon the party's proposal, and in general, most of the women councilors become members of the political party upon receiving this offer. Some of the right party female council members (56%) who participated in the study stated that the main reason for their entry into politics was the party leader. In addition, it is seen that most of the women council members (46%) who are members of the left party have been involved in politics for many years. Women who entered the political life with the youth council were able to be elected as a member of the municipal council after a long time.

As can be seen in the direction of the findings obtained from the study, citizenship relations, which is a male-dominated structure, do not have an effect on the participation of women in local politics. Non-governmental organizations have an accelerating role in the participation of women in local politics. However, due to the weak ties of non-governmental organizations with local governments, the tendency of women to transition from non-governmental organizations to local governments is weak. The female council members included in the sample stated that they faced economic, social and political obstacles during their participation in politics. The most important social barriers are family barriers, and it is very difficult for women to participate in local politics before this obstacle is overcome. In addition, women are used as a showcase in politics. The external appearance of women almost precedes party ideologies. Especially in local politics, an image of self-confident, well-groomed, stylish woman is tried to be drawn. The most important economic obstacle is the thought that women who do not have economic power cannot do politics. The political structure under male hegemony also limited the participation of female council members in politics. In addition to these, there are invisible obstacles in the candidacy process of women, and these obstacles cause women's participation and representation to remain low.

In local politics, women council members generally approach the gender quota practice positively, but they think that such tools are temporary. Being aware of the fact that local politics is different from national politics, women do not see themselves as representatives of women in their cities, but as representatives of certain women with ideological factors. Women who participate in local politics stated that they do not work only for women, they want to serve the whole public and they look out for the public interest.

An increase has been observed in the representation of women in the last three local elections. However, since this increase has not reached the 30-40% rate determined by Dahlerup as the critical threshold, it does not meet the essential representation conditions. Unless this condition is met, women's participation in local politics will only lead to an increased tendency to be used as a showcase. While most of the women councilors elected to local governments (83%) stated that they wanted to continue their political life, some (17%) stated that they did not want to continue in politics, their expectations were not met or they were tired. There are uncertainties about the political career goals of female council members who want to continue their political life. While most of the women council members who want to continue their political life want to continue in local politics, some of them stated that they want to move into national politics. However, all of the female council members state that they will act within the framework of the career goals determined by the political masculine structure. The fact that the political system is leader- and party-centered and this cannot be prevented prevents women from knowing whether they will be able to do politics for another term and from setting goals for themselves.

With a systematic effort, the presence of women in local politics can be made more visible. Public institutions, local women's organizations and parties can jointly work on women's representation in local politics. For this reason, female politicians should get rid of their party identities and be in solidarity as women. In order to break the masculine structure in politics, gender quotas can be made legal by making arrangements in the political party and election law. Of course, gender quotas alone will not be enough to ensure women's participation in politics, but the state and political parties can also provide socioeconomic support in this regard. Election conditions should be created that will enable women candidates to come to the fore in the electoral system, and it should be taken into account that their role in political life will not change without changing their economic and social roles.

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