

1st International Congress on
Urban and Environmental Issues and
Policies, 3-5 June, 2010
Trabzon, Turkey



KARADENIZ TECHNICAL
UNIVERSITY
FACULTY of ECONOMIC and
ADMINISTRATIVE SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT of PUBLIC
ADMINISTRATION

URBAN and ENVIRONMENTAL
ISSUES and POLICIES
(Papers and Proceedings)
VOLUME I

Editors:

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Yusuf SAHIN
Res. Asst. Abdullah UZUN
Res. Asst. Oguzhan ASLANTURK
Res. Asst. Emrah FIRIDIN

**1ST INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS on URBAN and
ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES and POLICIES**

**URBAN and ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES and POLICIES
(PAPERS and PROCEEDINGS)
VOLUME I**

ORGANIZING

KARADENIZ TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY,
FACULTY of ECONOMIC and ADMINISTRATIVE SCIENCES,
DEPARTMENT of PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

**June 3-5, 2010
Trabzon, TURKEY**

Honory President (Rector)

Prof. Dr. Ibrahim OZEN
(Karadeniz Technical University)

Organizing Committee

Kamil Yazici (Karadeniz Technical University)
Yusuf Sahin (Karadeniz Technical University)
Abdullah Uzun (Karadeniz Technical University)
Oguzhan Aslanturk (Karadeniz Technical University)
Emrah Firidin (Karadeniz Technical University)
Ayca Eminoglu (Karadeniz Technical University)
Vahit Guntay (Karadeniz Technical University)

Steering Committee

Rusen Keles (Ankara University)
Kemal Gormez (Gazi University)
Cagatay Keskinok (Middle East Technical University)
Aykut Coban (Ankara University)
Yusuf Sahin (Karadeniz Technical University)
Dilek Beyazli (Karadeniz Technical University)
Kivilcim Ertan (TODAIE)

Scientific Committee (listed by names)

Akif Cukurcayir (Selcuk University)	Mihriban Sengul (Inonu University)
Ali Ozbilen (Karadeniz Technical University)	Muhammet Kosecik (Pamukkale University)
Atilla Gokturk (Mugla University)	Muhittin Acar (Hacettepe University)
Ayse Guner (Marmara University)	Mustafa Okmen (Celal Bayar University)
Aysegül Mengi (Ankara University)	Naim Kapucu (University of Central Florida, USA)
Berkan Demiral (Trakya University)	Nesrin Algan (Ankara University)
Can Hamamci (Ankara University)	Sengul O. Gur (Karadeniz Technical University)
Eyup G. Ispir (TODAIE)	S. Evinc Torlak (Pamukkale University)
Gulser O. Kayir (Akdeniz University)	S. Kemal Kartal (Inonu University)
H. Ibrahim Aydinli (Sakarya University)	Saliha Aydemir (Karadeniz Technical University)
Hamit Palabiyik (Canakkale Onsekiz Mart Un.)	Sema Erder (Bahcesehir University)
Hasan Erturk (Uludag University)	Sevim Budak (İstanbul University)
Huseyin Ozgur (Pamukkale University)	Sinasi Aydemir (Karadeniz Technical University)
Ilhan Tekeli (Middle East Technical University)	Tahire Erman (Bilkent University)
Inan Ozer (Pamukkale University)	Tayfun Çınar (Ankara University)
Korel Goymen (Sabanci University)	Ugur Omurgonulsen (Hacettepe University)
Levin Ozgen (Abant İzzet Baysal University)	Ugur Yildirim (Kahramanmaraş Sutcu Imam Un.)
Melih Ersoy (Ankara University)	Yakup Bulut (Mustafa Kemal University)
Mete Yıldiz (Hacettepe University)	Zerrin Toprak (Dokuz Eylul University)

Communication

Ozlem Semercioglu
interconurben@gmail.com

THE RISE OF WOMEN IN LOCAL POLITICS IN TURKEY: WHEREABOUTS? UP TO WHERE?

Asst. Prof. Dr. Erbay ARIKBOGA

Asst. Prof. Dr. Nihal EKIN ERKAN

Prof. Dr. Ayse GUNER

earikboga@marmara.edu.tr

nekin@marmara.edu.tr

aguner@marmara.edu.tr

Marmara University

Introduction

In this paper, an evaluation of the women members in the municipal councils in Turkey is being made using quantitative data. In addition, the results of the 2004 and 2005 local elections are being compared from this perspective.

In the local elections of 2009, the election was held for 32.485 council memberships in 2.931 municipalities. In this paper, the members of municipal councils were investigated by “full counting” (census) method and analyses were made covering the woman member ratios. In order to be able to use the full counting method, the data published by the Turkish Statistics Institute (TURKSTAT) has been used. TURKSTAT has published the names of the people elected for municipal council membership, their parties and listing numbers for the first time. The names about 32.000 people have been examined one by one and a detailed picture concerned with the women members in municipal council has been provided through this data. Besides examining the ratio of the women members, the relation between the size of the municipalities and women member ratios, the differentiation of women members according to Statistical Region Units (Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics=NUTS), women member ratios of different political parties have also been analyzed in this study.

In a research made on the results of the 2004 local elections, it has been seen that there is a meaningful relation between the size of municipal population and women member ratios (Arikboga, 2009). In other words, there is a strong relation between the rural or urban characteristics of municipalities and women who can find a seat in the councils. It is necessary to state that this incident is not independent from the arguments of social

gender discussions. In this paper, it is being investigated whether this fact is also valid for the 2009 local elections and a determination is made concerning the population slice the basic refractor starts for the women members.

The results of the 2004 and 2009 local elections related with the municipal council members are being compared in this paper. When municipal council members of 2009 local elections are examined, it is seen that important changes have occurred compared with 2004 elections. These changes have been evaluated as “the rise of women” in municipal councils, and therefore in local politics. In spite of this fact, the idea of inadequate representation of women in local politics or non-representation is very common (e.g. Alkan, 2005: 85, Sayın, 2007: 14, Negiz, 2008: 226; KSGM, 2008: 48). The reason of this idea is that the data of about 3.000 municipalities have been compressed to one photographic view. Whereas, local authorities have too many political, social and economic *diversities* to show in just one picture.

In fact, when the data about the local elections results are examined the findings to correct these results exist. Besides, there are municipal councils where women are represented at an important level. On the other hand, women member ratios are continuously increasing in municipal councils since 1984. Again, when 2004 and 2009 elections are compared, it is seen that important increases have occurred in the ratio of women members. In this paper, this increase is emphasized and using the detailed election results, evidence is shown as to where these increases have occurred and where there is less activity.

The data about the 2009 local election results are have been examined together with the size of municipalities and regional data. For this purpose, both horizontal (among municipalities) and vertical (as per election periods) comparisons have been made. The “rise” of women put forth in this paper, will show how influential the feminist movement which seeks to place more women in politics in recent years, has been at the local level. On the other hand, by looking into the data about the rural municipalities where women activity is not relatively effective, this data is being interpreted together with quota arguments.

That women take place in the local politics with a rising trend brings new questions to our discussion agenda. The first is to find out the reasons behind this rising trend and to examine the factors that cause this rise. However, until now the question concerning why women don't take place in local politics have been tried to be answered. This paper does not try to ignore the problem, but claims that it is possible to ask different questions. In this context, the purpose of this paper is to put a realistic picture into sight.

Another new question is whether the continuity of this rise will be provided and up to what point. With the analyses covering the election results, this study aims to show that these *new* questions are quite meaningful.

Where are the Women in Local politics? Analysis of the Theoretical Framework¹

The last quarter of the 20th century has become a stage on which women have struggled to exist in societal, economic and political institutions more powerfully. It is necessary to state that women activities that have conducted this struggle have gained important achievements in different countries. These achievements sometimes became possible by increasing social awareness, sometimes by the implementation of positive discrimination and sometimes both became possible.

The place of women in politics is directly connected with the fact of representation. From this perspective, the number of seats women have in a council creates a basic struggling area for the women activity. The basic assumption which becomes a source for this struggle is that both women and men have different sensitivities, priorities and needs and these differences are reflected to the decision processes, politics and public services. Therefore, in an environment where women are not represented adequately, they can be affected negatively by the politics implemented.² Various researches have verified this assumption (Alkan, 2005: 73,-77, 186-188). Therefore, when local politics which directly affects the daily lives of women is discussed, it can be said that the fact that of representation gains more importance.

With these basic reasons, there have been efforts to increase the ratio of women members in national and local councils in different countries. The ratio of women members in municipal councils of some selected European countries are shown in Figure 1.

As seen in the table, while the ratio of women can be higher in some countries, some other countries have a ratio below 30 % and even under 20 %. It must be noted that these ratios of representation have been reached with quota measures. Various quota implementations are present in Germany, Belgium, Denmark, France, Holland, United Kingdom, Sweden,

¹ The theoretical information in Arıkboğa, 2009 has been utilized in this section of the paper.

² Basing the differentiation of men and women in the representation issue is being criticized by feminists who do not find acceptable gender inequality based on the idea of the “nature of woman”. The main issue is not differentiation but to be able to understand the importance of claiming equality.

Italy, Hungary and Romania (Sayin, 2007: 49). While some of these quotas are placed in the election laws and other legal texts, some are in the form of party quotas. One of the basic reasons for these kinds of quotas is the effort to provide the equality of women and men.

Putting aside the other dimensions of the issue, when the question of women's participation in political life is discussed, it seems that the main focus rests on two basic related problems or barriers. These problems are patriarchal culture and gender inequality.

Table 1: Percentage of Women Municipal Council Members in Selected European Countries

No	Country	Women Representation at Municipal Councils (%)
1	Sweden	45
2	France	35
3	Belgium	34
4	Spain	31
5	United Kingdom	29
6	Bulgaria	26
7	Denmark	26
8	Netherlands	26
9	Germany	24
10	Italy	17
11	Romania	11

Source: EU Sub-national Governments: 2008 Key Figurers, CEMR-Dexia, 2009/2010 (ccre.org).

Patriarchal culture and patriarchal family life is the first and main argument to explain the reason why women do not participate in political life as men. In the other words, it is because culture and politics have been established as male-dominant (Negiz, 2008: 227; Toksabay Esen and Memisoglu, 2007: 8; KSGM, 2008: 48; Berkday, 2004, Yaraman, 1999). The said fact can be summarized as follows: boys and girls are grown up in a different way and prepared to perform different roles in life starting from their birth. For this reason, boys and girls socializing in different forms, turn to men and women giving priority to their different roles when they grow up. Therefore, this can be an important barrier to women's participation in politics because politics can be referred to some characteristics such as manly power, authority, competition, ambition (Toksabay Esen and

Memisoglu, 2007: 9) and an understanding of “politics is the work of men”. The said patriarchal culture shows itself in the great majority of the society, institutions and political parties.

The second reason is the question of gender inequality (Negiz, 2008: 228; Berktaş 2004: 26; Toksabay Esen and Memisoglu, 2007: 8-9; KSGM, 2008: 25; Toprak, 2004: 55). Women and men are not in an equal position in the fields other than politics. Therefore, women can stay behind their men competitors in the political struggle.

Writers offer several solutions to overcome these problems. Within the context of the first question solutions such as strengthening women’s socio-economic status, educating daughters, making the public conscious about this matter and creating political/social sensitivity on this issue are suggested (Toksabay Esen and Memisoglu, 2007: 17; Toprak, 2004: 56; KSGM, 2008: 51). What should be emphasized here is that gender roles are accepted by women as well as men. So, consciousness activities should cover all parts of the society.

To overcome the inequality problem which is the second part of the question, the most important solution is using methods like positive discrimination and quota (Sayın, 2007; Negiz, 2008; Toprak, 2004; Berktaş, 2004). But some writers suggest to focus on gender and solve the problem in this area instead of quotas which are temporary measures (for detailed information on quota implementations and arguments see Sayın, 2007).

The question of women’s participation in political life should be discussed in local politics in particular. Because local politics differs from national politics; besides it can provide more participation channels in variety and its interest fields can show differences. However, among the women studies in literature, there seems to be fewer studies which emphasize and give importance to the specific original differences between nation and local politics.

Due to the variety of participation channels in local politics with respect to national politics, the candidates of different parties can win in different regions. This is especially valid in the countries like Turkey where the number of the parties and political variety is relatively quite high. Independent candidacy may easily be possible. Concerning the interest fields, it is seen that women can establish a relation with the competencies of the local governments more easily. Therefore, it will be appropriate to refer to some issues which Alkan has mentioned. For example, in the first half of the 20th century, women in France wanted to be assigned in the municipalities and said “we can clean the city as we clean our house” (Alkan, 2005: 88). Similarly, Ms Latife who had gained membership to the

Istanbul Municipal Council in 1930 said “municipal work is the management of an enlarged house” (Yaraman, 1994: 44).

When considered from the point of both pluralism and interest fields, women are expected to find seat for themselves in local politics more easily. For this reason, the ratio of women members in municipal councils is expected to be higher than women parliament members. But when the election results are examined *shallowly*, it is seen that this expectation has not been realized. For example the ratio of women parliament members in the general 2007 elections was 9.1 %, in Turkey. However, the ratio of women members in municipal councils in the 2004 local elections was 2.3 %; this ratio increased to 4.5 % in the 2009 local elections. When the elections results do not verify the expectations stated above, some explanations should be made. For example Alkan pays attention to the characteristics of the local politics after 1980 and states that it has become a field of rent-seeking rather than an area of performing certain public services and thus has gained a manlier feature. She also emphasizes that women movements have neglected local authorities and focused more on national politics. In addition, women’s role of “symbolism” and “becoming a showcase” is mostly valid for national politics. In other words, women have not even achieved to become a showcase in local politics. For these reasons, Alkan states that women can take fewer place in local politics compared to national politics (2005: 88-89). Yaraman emphasizes the dilemma women face in politics. According to her, these women are either identified with the traditional woman image and limit their roles in the political decision-making process to their roles within their homes; or they identify themselves with men, and are imprisoned to the choice of “being mannish” (Yaraman, 1999: 32).

However, while national and local comparisons are made, other factors which can affect the process need to be considered. From this context Citci’s contribution needs to be mentioned. While examining the numbers of women representatives in municipal councils in the paper on 1984 local elections, Citci looks over different population groups separately. She separates the municipalities as rural, town and city and sees that women members have mostly been represented in municipalities of the cities over 50.000 inhabitants (Citci, 1989: 120). Alkan, who pays attention to what Citci has found, interprets these findings with patriarchy discussions and states that these pressures can be deeper in municipalities in small populations or rural areas and adds that it can cause national and local election results to differentiate (Alkan, 2005: 89-90).

Similar results have been found in a research made on the results of 2004 local elections. A considerable relation was seen between the size of

municipal population and the ratios of women members in municipal councils. For example while women members were almost none in municipal councils under 10.000 population, the ratio of women members increased as the size of municipality grew. When the results of 2004 local elections are examined it is seen that there are two main breaking points on behalf of women. While there is some shoving in municipalities with 20.000 population, it is seen that ratio of local municipal council members has risen to over 8 % in municipalities over 50.000 inhabitants (Arıkboga, 2009).

While analyzing the results of 2009 local elections, the similar points will be examined. Because there are important differentiations for women members in rural and urban municipalities. As will be seen in the further sections of this paper, the ratio of women members in urban municipalities over 20.000 habitants varies between 9 % and 14 % for different population slices.

Where are Women in Local Politics? Analyzing Data about Municipal Councils

It can be said that in Turkey the most dynamic local politics takes place in municipal councils. In this part of the paper, analyses about women members in municipal councils will be made. The state of municipal councils after the 2009 local elections will be examined. However, comparisons with the previous municipal councils will also be made.

Compilation and Presentation of Data

Some points must be stated on the compiling of data concerning women members. The 2009 elections were held for 32.485 council memberships in 2.931 municipalities³. However, there is no data through which we can find elected persons according to gender. Among the data which TURKSTAT published on the 2009 elections, there is no information about the sex of the members⁴.

³ In the March 28, 2009 local elections, elections have been made in 2931 settlements but 9 of these have been cancelled. The renewal of these elections has been made on June 7, 2009 (ysk.gov.tr). The data on the 2.931 municipalities has been published by TURKSTAT (tuik.gov.tr).

⁴ Actually, with the guidance of the Directorate General on the Status of Women (KSGM), a document named “Action Plan on Establishing Social Gender Indicators” (Deren, at all, 2005) has been prepared. In this report, it has been sated that there is a lack of official data on this subject (p.74). On the other hand, within the Project of local information led by MIGM, such data is being compiled. But this project which has been suspended has not yet restarted at the time this paper is presented.

The Supreme Election Board (YSK) announced that 4.54 % of the elected persons in the 2009 elections were women (1.471 women members) (ysk.gov.tr) But this is a mass information and does not include any details. The General Directorate of Local Authorities (MIGM) announced this ratio as 4.22 % (1.340 women members) by means of the data collected from district governorships. It is more reliable to accept the ratio and number of YSK. Upon a phone call made with YSK, we were informed that the necessary data about the election results had been sent to TURKSTAT and no other information could be given. On the other hand MIGM shared with us the data sent to themselves from provinces. These data include the numbers of women and men members collected from provinces (and in some cases from the districts of provinces).

In this paper the data TURKSTAT published has been used for the collection of women members. For this purpose the data of 32.485 council members have been examined carefully. The sex of the members have been tried to be determined from their names. However, it is impossible to determine whether a person is a man or woman from names. So web pages of municipalities have been referred to and the data about the women members of hundreds of municipalities have been overlooked and checked for this purpose. The data received from MIGM has become a guide to us while checking the above data. In the end 1.447 women members were found. But the number we found is less for 24 from YSK's number. When the data of YSK is considered to be true, 24 women members couldn't be identified (1.6 %).

The data about women members are presented at three groups: (i) rural and urban municipalities, (ii) municipalities as per regions and (iii) political parties to which women members are registered. A brief explanation can be made for these subjects as follows.

First of all, the definition of "urban fringe" was used while differentiating rural and urban settlements. As already known, until 2004 the necessary population threshold was 2.000 inhabitants in order to be able to establish a municipality in a settlement. Afterwards, this threshold was increased to 5.000 inhabitants. Somehow, there are a lot of municipalities under 2.000 from previous periods. On the other hand, the criteria to establish a municipality can not be seen as "an urban fringe". In other words, municipalities in Turkey are not only established in urban settlements. Therefore, it is needed to look over what urban fringe is apart from municipalities.

When the urban fringe is examined in Turkey, in the 1960's and 1970's, this threshold was 10.000. But, after the research which the State Planning Organization (DPT) made in 1982, *the threshold of 20.000* was considered to

be urban fringe (Cezik, 1982). This population size is still being used (Topal, 2004; DPT, 2008: 235). In this paper, rural and urban definitions are made according to this size of population. But, the data about municipal councils have been presented as multi-graded according to different population slices, not only for under or above 20.000. However, as will be seen in the further figures, the size of 20.000 creates an important breaking point for women members.

The NUTS division in Turkey has been used when grouping municipalities according to regions. Therefore, women member ratios are presented comparatively in municipalities within 12 regions. Party membership has also been searched, so the percentage of women members of each party has been examined. And these findings have been presented as rural and urban settlements.

The Size of Municipalities and Women Membership

Before presenting the findings on the women members in municipal councils, it is necessary to start with a table on the size of municipalities. Table 2 shows the size of municipalities and the number of council members in the 2009 local elections covering 2.931 municipalities.

Table 2: Municipal Population Size and Council Members (2009)

Municipal Population Size	Council Members Per Municipality	Number of Municipalities	Total members	Percentage of Members
10.000 <	9	2.383	21.447	66,0
10–20.000	11	182	2.002	6,2
20–50.000	15	143	2.145	6,6
50–100.000	25	91	2.275	7,0
100–250.000	31	66	2.046	6,3
250–500.000	37	50	1.850	5,7
500.000 >	45	16	720	2,2
Total		2.931	32.485	100,0

Source: TURKSTAT, Local Government Election Results (tuik.gov.tr).

When Table 2 is examined, it will be seen that a major part of the municipalities in Turkey are those with small population. Considering the threshold of 20.000 inhabitants, 87.5 % of the municipalities possess rural characteristics. From the point of view of council members, almost three fourths (72,2 %) of the municipal council members have been elected for rural municipalities. In reality, when compared to other local authorities (villages and special provincial administrations), municipalities in Turkey

are mainly of urban characteristics. However, the majority of the municipalities are rural ones. If there is a relation between women members in municipal councils and the characteristics of municipalities (urban/rural), then having a high percentage of rural municipalities will lower the general average quite meaningfully. As stated in another study, the presence of such a situation indicates that the effects of the initiatives towards increasing the women members will remain at a limited level, unless the scale question is not be considered (Arıkboga, 2009: 24). This situation will be shown better in the following tables.

Table 3 and Table 4 show the situation of the municipalities in accordance with women members and population groups. While Table 3 is presents information on municipalities which have women members, Table 4 gives the related ratios. According to the tables, there is at least one women member in about one fifths (21.9 %) of the municipalities and 4.5 % of the members are women.

Table 3 shows that there is a strong relation between the size of the municipality and women's membership in councils. In 90 % of the municipalities under 10.000 populations, which we can call pure rural municipalities, there are only men members. Again, more than half of the rural municipalities between 10.000 and 20.000 populations have only men members. In nearly almost all the municipalities with more than 50.000 populations, there is at least one woman member.

Table 3: The Percentage of Municipalities with Women Members According to Population Size (2009)

Municipal Population Size	Total Number of Municipalities	No. of Municipalities with Women Members	Percentage
10.000 <	2.383	242	10,2
10–20.000	182	82	45,1
20–50.000	143	101	70,6
50–100.000	91	86	94,5
100–250.000	66	65	98,5
250–500.000	50	50	100
500.000 >	16	16	100
Total	2.931	642	-
Average	-	-	21,9

Source: TURKSTAT, Local Government Election Results (tuik.gov.tr).

Table 4: The Percentage of Women Council Members According to Population Size (2009)

Municipal Population Size	Total No. of Municipalities	No. of Municipalities with Women Members	Percentage
10.000 <	21.447	288	1,34
10–20.000	2.002	113	5,64
20–50.000	2.145	194	9,04
50–100.000	2.275	249	10,95
100–250.000	2.046	261	12,76
250–500.000	1.850	260	14,05
500.000 >	720	82	11,39
Total	32.485	1447	-
Average	-	-	4,45

Source: TURKSTAT, Local Government Election Results (tuik.gov.tr).

Table 4 presents the same picture from a different angle. The average column states that 4.5 % of the council members are women. The ratio is the referred ratio while saying that women are represented in municipal councils in very small ratios. Also, this ratio is half of that in the Turkish Grand National assembly (TBMM). However, it will not be true and fair to comment on these ratios without differentiating rural and urban municipalities.

When Table 4 is examined more carefully, a similar view is seen as the previous figure. The ratio of women members is slightly over 1 % in the municipal councils under 10.000 populations. In other words, it is almost none. This result supports the argument which claims that women aren't presented in municipal councils in Turkey at all. But in only the said population slice. As the population of the municipality increases, the ratio of women members increases. In municipal councils between 10.000 and 20.000 population the ratio is still low, but compared to the previous slice, there is an important increase. After passing urban fringe, the ratio seems to be about 10 % and above. Between the 250.000 and 500.000 population slice, this ratio rises up to 14 % but in the last slice, it falls down a little bit (11.39 %). As seen above, the ratio of women council members have caught the ratio of women members in the parliament (9.1 %) and even passed it.

Within this context, when 2004 and 2009 data are compared, considerable rises are seen and this situation is shown in Table 5 and Table 6.

Table 5: Increase in Municipalities with Women Council Members

Municipal Population Size	2004 (%)	2009 (%)	Increase (%)
10.000 <	5,6	10,2	82,1
10–20.000	23,4	45,1	92,7
20–50.000	37,4	70,6	88,8
50–100.000	78,3	94,5	20,7
100–250.000	93,3	98,5	5,6
250–500.000	94,4	100	5,9
500.000 >	100	100	0
Average	13,7	21,9	59,9

Source: 2004 data Arıkboğa, 2009; 2009 data TURKSTAT Local Government Election Results (tuik.gov.tr)

When Table 5 is examined, it is seen that within municipalities of 3 groups which have a population less than 50.000, the number of municipalities with women council members have doubled. In other words, women members have possibly been elected for the first time in some councils which included no women member before. Table 6 shows the increase in the ratio of women members. The increase between two election periods is nearly 90 %. The highest increase has occurred in the municipalities within the 20.000-50.000 population slice (154.6 %). With this high increase, these municipalities have come closer to the ratios of other urban municipalities. Whereas in the 2004 elections, there were important differences between these group of municipalities and the other urban municipalities.

Table 6: Increase in Women Members in Municipalities

Municipal Population Size	2004 (%)	2009 (%)	Increase (%)
10.000 <	0,71	1,34	88,7
10–20.000	2,95	5,64	91,2
20–50.000	3,55	9,04	154,6
50–100.000	6,84	10,95	60,1
100–250.000	9,52	12,76	34,0
250–500.000	8,03	14,05	75,0
500.000 >	9,11	11,39	25,0

Average	2,37	4,45	87,8
---------	------	------	------

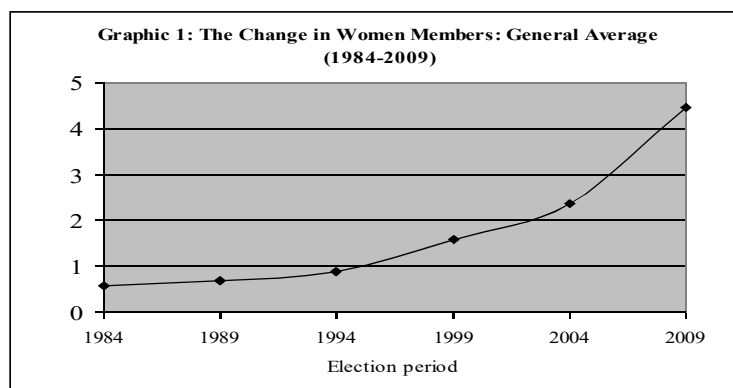
Source: 2004 data Arikboga, 2009; 2009 data TURKSTAT Local Government Election Results (tuik.gov.tr).

Graphic 1 shows the rising trend in the last 25 years period. It is seen in the graph that the rising trend starting with the 1999 elections has continued increasingly in the last election.

Looking through the above graphic showing the rise of women council members and examining the more detailed tables given above, it is possible to make a few comments. First of all, the efforts to have more women in the political scene, thus in local councils, has been successful to a certain degree. The success is more visible in urban municipalities. However, it may be said that these efforts have been less effective in the rural the municipalities of the lowest population size.

The year 1999 shown in the graphic is meaningful, because it is the year when the European Union membership process of Turkey began. In the elections held after that year, the ratio of women has continued to rise.

Women members' ratio of 4.5 % as of 2009 is, of course, a very low ratio. One reason for this is, as explained above, the situation in the rural municipalities. If a rapid increase in rural municipalities, thus an increase in the general average, is demanded, the practical way would be to use quota implementations in these types of municipalities. There are different quota forms that may be implemented. As expressed in another study, placing women on the second and fifth row of party lists is a method to produce effective results. With this practical method based on *2-5 formula*, it has been calculated that the ratio of women members in rural municipalities can rise up to 30 % (see Arikboga, 2009: 32-35).



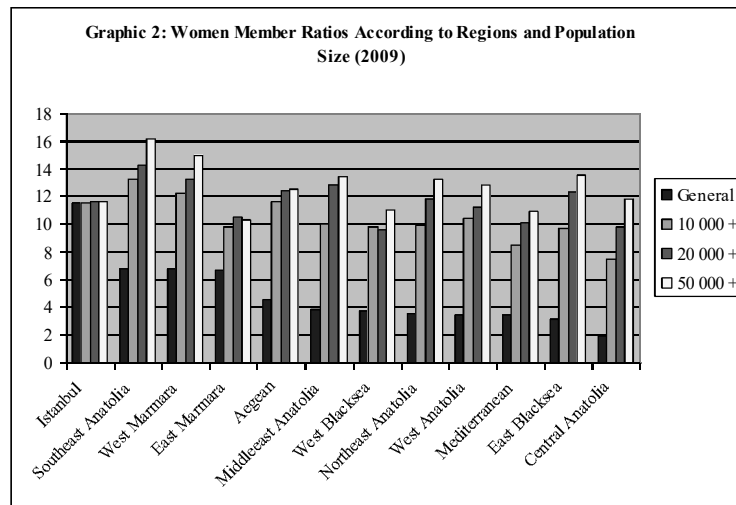
Source: For the 1984-1994 period Citci, 1996: 9; for year 1999 KSGM, for year 2004 Arikboga, for year 2009, TURKSTAT.

Women Members According To Regions

In Turkey a regional division based on “Statistical Region Units” (NUTS) was made in 2002 (The Official Gazette: 22.9.2002/24884). In this context, Turkey was divided into 12 statistical regions. The ratio of women members are shown according to these regions in Graphic 2. There are four bars for each region in the graph. First bar shows the ratio of women members in all the councils in the region. The others show women members for populations of 10.000 and above, above 20.000 and above 50.000.

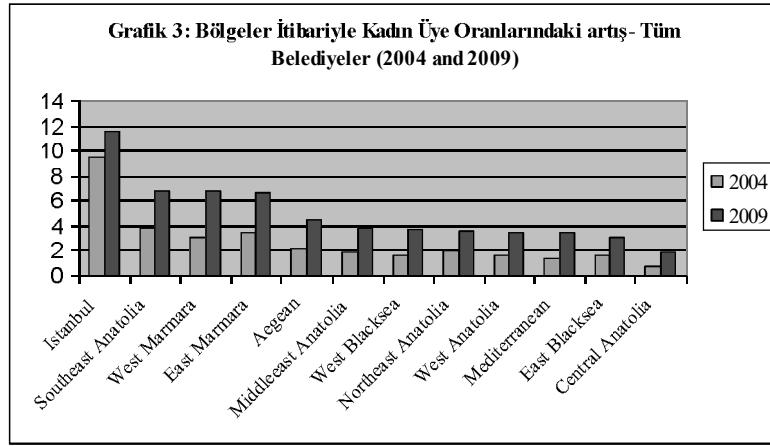
When the graphic is examined from left to right, one can see how *the general averages* about women members fall down. While the ratio is about 12 % in Istanbul, this ratio has fallen down to 2 % in Central Anatolia. However, it is seen that, apart from Istanbul, the ratio of women members in municipalities over 10.000 populations are significantly high when compared with the general average.

There are three regions where women members have reached to higher percentages compared to the other regions. These are Istanbul, Southeast Anatolia and West Marmara Regions. Over the threshold of 10.000 populations, it is seen that Aegean and Western Anatolia have reached relatively higher ratios. But on the other hand, Eastern Marmara, Western Black Sea, Mediterranean, Eastern Black Sea and Central Anatolia regions have relatively lower ratios. Especially, women members in Central Anatolia have lower ratios. This region covers 8 provinces including Kırkkale, Aksaray, Nevsehir and Yozgat. In the context of gender discussions, it can be said that this region shows a more conservative characteristic.

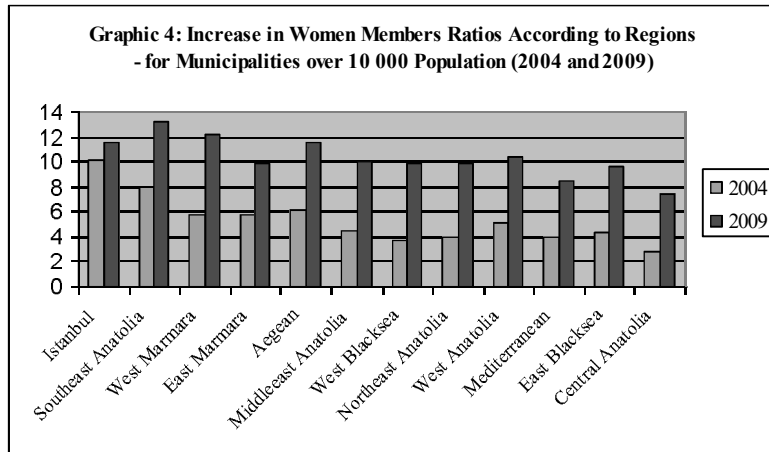


Source: TURKSTAT, Local Government Election Results (tuik.gov.tr).

Graphic 3 and Graphic 4 compares the data of 2004 and 2009. Graphic 3 compares the ratio of women members in all municipalities and Graphic 4 compares the ratio of women members only in 10.000 and above population municipalities.



Source: TURKSTAT, Local Government Election Results (tuik.gov.tr).



Source: TURKSTAT, Local Government Election Results (tuik.gov.tr).

When the graphics are examined, it is seen that women members' ratio have increased in all regions. The increase is especially significant in the municipalities over 10.000 populations. About 2-2.5 fold increases have been realized in these municipalities, and the average increase has been 106.7 %.

When women members' ratio is compared as per regions, a different point is observed beyond the rural-urban differentiation. A similar increase

as in the other regions has not been realized in Istanbul. Istanbul has kept its ratio of the 2004 elections and could achieve only a small increase. When urban municipalities are examined, it may be observed that the other regions show an increase which is close to the values of Istanbul's average (some a little over and some a little below). With this limited data, could it be said that the level of 10 or 15 percentages are the level of saturation? In other words, will this rising trend starting with 1999 remain at the same level of ratio or will it continue? In our opinion, the answer to this question will be seen by time as well as the transformations in this process.

Political Parties and Women Members

One of most important actors concerning local politics and women members is the political parties. A lot of institutions which request women to take place more in political life focus their efforts on political parties. The ratio of women members in municipal councils according to the parties are shown in Tables 7, 8 and 9. The first table shows the general situation, the second table shows the state in rural municipalities and last one shows the picture of urban municipalities.

Table 7: Women Council Members According to Political Parties – All Municipalities (2009)

Political Parties	Total Member Numbers	Women Member Numbers	Percentage
AKP	14729	678	4,60
CHP	6141	381	6,20
MHP	5974	140	2,34
DTP	1174	173	14,74
DP	1819	22	1,21
SP	1089	8	0,73
Others	1559	45	2,89
Total	32485	1447	4,45

Source: TURKSTAT, Local Government Election Results (tuik.gov.tr).

Table 8: Women Council Members According to Political Parties – Rural Municipalities below 20.000 Populations (2009)

Political Parties	Total Member Numbers	Women Member Numbers	Percentage
AKP	10548	156	1,48
CHP	3959	125	3,16
MHP	4714	57	1,21

DTP	527	30	5,69
DP	1579	11	0,70
SP	896	3	0,33
Others	1226	26	2,12
Total	23449	408	1,74

Source: TURKSTAT, Local Government Election Results (tuik.gov.tr).

Figure 7 shows the members in all municipalities based on sex, according to the political parties. The average of women members is 4.45 %, as indicated before. Three parties have a percentage over this average: AKP (Justice and Development Party), CHP (Republican People's Party) and DTP (Democratic Society Party)⁵. However, the ratio of DTP is significantly higher compared to others (14.74%).

Table 9: Women Council Members According to Political Parties – Urban Municipalities Over 20.000 Populations (2009)

Political Parties	Total Member Numbers	Women Member Numbers	Percentage
AKP	4181	522	12,49
CHP	2182	256	11,73
MHP	1260	83	6,59
DTP	647	143	22,10
DP	240	11	4,58
SP	193	5	2,59
Others	333	19	5,71
Total	9036	1039	11,50

Source: TURKSTAT, Local Government Election Results (tuik.gov.tr).

Figure 8 shows the same picture, but only for rural municipalities. The ratio is quite low here (1.74 %). The value of CHP and DTP is higher than the average in rural municipalities. On the other hand, the gap between AKP and CHP is widened in rural areas. This situation may seem meaningful when assessed on the axis of rural areas and conservative trends. CHP probably exists in rural areas where women can contribute in different fields of life in a more profound manner. On the other hand, in more conservative

⁵ DTP has been closed by the Constitutional Court on December 11, 2009. After this closure, those DTP members who were not politically banned have joined BDP (Peace and Democracy Party) which had been founded before (on May 2, 2008).

places parties like AKP, MHP (Nationalist Movement Party), DP (Democratic Party), SP (Felicity Party) become more prominent. In this context it may be said that the specific conditions of localities reflect themselves in the identification of council members, regardless of the political parties' will. This situation has even structured DTP dramatically, which seems to be a party more sensitive to women membership. The difference between the value of urban and rural municipalities of DTP is nearly four times. This difference is 8.5 times for AKP, 3.5 times CHP and 5.5 times for MHP.⁶

Table 9 shows the situation of urban municipalities. The ratio of women members reaches 11.50 % on average in urban municipalities. Again, it is seen that DTP reaches to 22 % and AKP is in front of CHP this time. In other words, CHP does not seem to have made additional effort in urban municipalities. On the other hand, the ratio of women members in MHP, DP, SP and other parties is relatively at a lower level. It is useful to state once again that when urban and rural municipalities are compared, the ratios of women members are significantly higher in both the general average and in the political parties.

Looking over the ratios of women members of the parties, it is possible to underline that an increase of up to 90 % in the number of women members has occurred between the two election periods. The increase has occurred by means of political parties. In a more correct wording, the rising demands from the different parts of the society concerning women have been met by political parties at a certain degree and thus the ratio of women members have increased. DTP, CHP and AKP have played a more pioneering role in this matter compared to other parties. On the other hand, women members' ratio of MHP is around 6.5 % at urban municipalities. But, although this ratio is lower than the other three parties, it can be said that this party has not stayed out of the rising trend.

Conclusion

4.5 % of the municipal council members elected in the 2009 local elections are women. Although an important increase was realized compared to previous years, it is a low level. However, this paper claims that this average ratio is misleading and there is a necessity to make an assessment by differentiating rural and urban municipalities.

⁶ At this point it may be useful to point that DTP, showing a characteristic of being a regional party, has fewer council members. Therefore, determining 527 members, 3-4.000 members or 10.000 members is not the same thing. Having a low number of members, may have a facilitating effect on providing certain principles and following certain priorities when determining the lists of members.

87.5% of the municipalities in Turkey are rural, according to the threshold of 20.000 population size. From this point of view, almost three fourths (72.2%) of the council members have been elected from rural municipalities and one fourth of the members have been elected from urban municipalities. If the municipalities are divided into groups as above, the picture from the point of view of women members seems to be different. While the average of women members in rural municipalities is 1.7%, it is 11.6 % in urban municipalities.

The evaluation of the results of the local election in this way makes possible the efforts and limits towards women's participation in local politics to be seen more precisely. Because, with the average of 4.5 %, it is easy to question all the efforts to increase the role of women in local politics. On the other hand, when it is seen that the ratio of women members have passed over 10% in urban areas, it can be said that these efforts have created meaningful and productive results.

There is a second contribution to assess from the results of the elections within rural and urban municipality differentiation. As shown in the paper, the ratio of women members have increased in all groups of municipalities, compared to the previous period. However, women members in the municipal councils under 10.000 population size are nearly at a zero level and the ratio in this group is at a very low level. This shows that more than the routine efforts to increase the number of women council members in these municipalities are needed. For this reason, it has been suggested that it may be useful to apply quotas in rural municipalities.

Women member ratios according NUTS regional division have also been examined. It has been seen that in the Istanbul, Southeast Anatolia, Marmara and Aegean regions the ratios are relatively high, whereas in other regions – and especially in Central Anatolia – the ratios are lower. There are also significant differences in women member ratios between rural and urban municipalities. The regional view of women member averages could be an important instrument in picturing the conservative characteristic of Turkey.

The differentiation seen in urban and rural municipalities is similarly seen in the member composition of political parties. In all parties, the percentage of women membership is higher in urban municipalities. Parties have differences of 3 to 8 fold between rural and urban municipalities. On the other hand, when a comparison is made among parties, it is seen that AKP, CHP, and DTP play a pioneering role in women membership. The women member ratio of DTP is significantly higher, reaching 22 % in urban municipalities.

This paper has attempted to analyze in detail the current situation of women in municipal councils. Looking through different angles, it may be said that there is a noteworthy uptrend. Although the current situation is not enough, it is promising. On the other hand, the state of rural municipalities needs to be considered. In its current situation these municipalities pull down the average ratio of women council members. Thus, taking special measures for rural municipalities will contribute to the increase of the average *country ratio*.

With the analysis of available data, this paper has posed the question of whether the 10-15 percent threshold is an area of saturation, and whether in the following elections there will be a fixation in this range. What we see today is that women are not placed for *symbolic* reasons. Data about urban municipalities shows that Turkey has overcome this stage. But the *new question* is whether political parties think that 10-15 % of women members are sufficient. If political parties accept and install this understanding, one may predict that these ratios will have a trend of fixation. From this point of view, this paper draws attention to the issue that efforts to increase the role of women in local politics, have to consider this *new* situation while generating new policies.

Bibliography

Alkan, Ayten (2005). *Yerel Yönetimler ve Cinsiyet*, Dipnot Yayınları, Ankara.

Arıkboga, Erbay (2009). “Yerel Yönetimlerde Temsil ve Kadın Üyeler: Kadın Adayların Onundeki Görünmez Engeller”, *Türk İdare Dergisi*, S. 463–464, Haziran-Eylül, ss. 15–43.

Berktaş, Fatmagül (2004). Kadınların *İnsan Haklarını Gelişimi ve Türkiye*, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi, Sivil Toplum ve Demokrasi Konferans Yazıları No. 7, İstanbul.

CEMR-Dexia, (2009/2010). *EU Sub-national Governments: 2008 Key Figures*, (www.ccre.org/docs/nuancier_2009_en.pdf).

Cezik, Asuman (1982). *Kent Esigi Araştırması: Türkiye İçin Kent Tanımı*, DPT Yayınları, Ankara.

Citci, Oya (1989). *Yerel Yönetimlerde Temsil: Belediye Örneği*, TODAİE Yayınları, Ankara.

----- (1996); “Temsil, Katılma ve Yerel Demokrasi”, *Çağdaş Yerel Yönetimler*, Cilt 5, Sayı 6, Kasım, ss. 5–14.

Deren, Mesut, Şebnem Canpolat ve Güler Kocberber (2005). *Toplumsal Cinsiyet Gostergeleri Oluşturma Eylem Planı*, Basbakanlık Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü İçin Nufusbilimleri Derneği'nce hazırlanmış rapor.

DPT (2008). *Dokuzuncu Kalkınma Planı (2007-2013), 2009 Yılı Programı*, (<http://ekutup.dpt.gov.tr/program/2009.pdf>, 22.12.2009).

Helena Hırata, Francoise Laborie, Helen le Doare, Daniele Senotier (2009). *Elestirel Feminizm Sozlugu*, Cev. Gulnur Acar-Savran, Kanat Kitap, Istanbul.

Sayın, Aysun (2007). *Kota El Kitabı*, KA-DER, Yalçın Matbaacılık, Ankara.

KSGM (2008). *Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliği Ulusal Eylem Planı (2008–2013)*, T.C. Başbakanlık Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara.

----- (2009). *Türkiye’de Kadının Durumu*, T.C. Başbakanlık Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara.

Negiz, Nilufer (2008). “Türkiye’de Yerel Siyasette Kadının Konumu: Siyasetçi Kadınlar Gözüyle Eleştirel Bir Değerlendirme”, *Yerel Siyaset*, Okutan Yayıncılık, İstanbul.

Sancar, Serpil ve Ayça Bulut (2006). *Turkey: Country Gender Profil*, Rapor, www.jica.go.jp/global/genwid/report/pdf/e06tur.pdf, (17.12.2007).

Toksabay Esen, Aslı and Oya Memişoğlu (2007). “Siyasetin Cinsiyeti”, <http://www.tepav.org.tr/tur/admin/dosyabul/upload/Siyaset%20ve%20kadin%20son%20hali.pdf> (07.04.2009).

Topla, Kadir (2004). “Kavramsal Olarak Kent Nedir ve Türkiye’de Kent Neresidir?” *Dokuz Eylul Universitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, Cilt 6, Sayı 1, ss. 276–294.

Toprak, Binnaz (2004). “Siyaset, Üst Yönetim ve İş Yaşamına Katılamayan Kadınlar”, *Görüş*, Sayı: 59, Haziran, ss. 52–56.

Yaraman, Ayşegül (1999). *Türkiye’de Kadınların Yerel Temsili*, Bağlam Yayınları, İstanbul.

<http://www.ka-der.org.tr>

<http://www.ksgm.gov.tr>

<http://www.tuik.gov.tr>