

Representation of Women in



Turkish Politics

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Abstract

This thesis title is Representation of Women in Turkish Politics. The goal of the thesis is to research how and why women are under-represented in Turkey within the parliament. The research question is: Why is women's political representation so low in Turkey? A. Can gender quotas help women's political representation?

To research this, I have chosen to gather the data collection in many different sources, both secondary and tertiary sources.

To analyse the research question I have applied three different theory themes. The headings are: Patriarchy, Should Women Represent Women? and Gender Quotas. The theoreticians are Sylva Walby, Anne Philips, Suzanne Dovi, Drude Dahlerup, Lenita Freidenvall, and Mona Lee Krook. Under the Should Women Represent Women I have chosen Philips and Dovi's six argument on why women should represent women to help shed light on why. The arguments are: role models for women, equality is a sign of justice, women are needed to represent women's interests, women revitalises democracy, women need female representatives to trust the political system, democratic institutions need women to be legitimate. Gender quotas can be on of the following: Voluntary party quotas, reserved seats for women or legal gender quotas which is legislated by law-makers.

There are 14.3 per cent women in parliament and one female minister. In the historical context, I found that Turkey is a modern state in the region they are in. They have a history of being a secular state. The current governing party AK Party have been in and lead the government since 2002. They have Islamist roots and many believe they do conflict with the history of Turkey being a secular state.

The analysis is divided into two parts, the first deals with the six arguments for women representing women and the second part deals with gender quotas. Throughout the analysis I have found that the Turkish population consisting of the voters, both male and female, are ready for the entrance of more women in parliament and in higher positions than now. However, there has only been six women as leaders of political parties in Turkey.

In reference to the two part analysis, there is conclusions on each part. The six arguments are able to explain why women representation in Turkey is so low, because women have no support in the system and there are patriarchal structures from the male representatives, which keeps the women in their place.

In my final conclusion I believe that the Turkish population needs to be informed on women in parliament and how they can help Turkey. Therefore, gender quotas can be a short term solution until the process are better.

Foreword

This project is written as a part of my 10th and final semester in Development and International Relations Master course at Aalborg University 2014.

Front page picture credit: <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/womens-participation-in-politics-still-low-in-turkey.aspx?pageID=238&nID=63323&NewsCatID=339>

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Abbreviation Index – (Alphabetical Order)

Abbreviation	Turkish Name	English Name
AKP	Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi	Justice and Development Party
CEDAW		Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women
CHP		
EU		European Union
KA.DER	Kadın Adayları Destekleme Derneği	The Association for the Support and Training of Women Candidates

1. Introduction

I do not believe in equality of men and women. Instead, I would prefer to call it equality in opportunity. Men and women are different, and they complement each other.

(Prime Minister of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, 2010, translated by me)

This statement from 2010 by the Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey¹, a position he has held since 2003, said at Dolmabahçe Palace in Istanbul during a conference where women's civil society were present and in dialogue with the Prime Minister. After this statement were all present in the room very shocked (Pakkan, 2010). During the meeting the Prime Minister was very focused on women's role as mothers within the family (Ibid.). The premise, Erdoğan with these word was setting up, was that a woman's role is to become a mother and raising children, i.e., he was taking away the woman's individual rights and gave her only one value; as a mother and wife in a family.

Women have been able to vote since 1930 and be elected into public office since 1934. However, the representation of women in public office is very low in Turkey, 78 women were elected into office in the 2011 national election, currently 79 which is 14.3 per cent, and Turkey only has one female minister out of 26 (Aydemir, 2013:58). 27 women are mayors out of 2,948, which is 0.9 per cent in total; in addition women have 0.42 per cent of seats in local government (Müftüler-Baç, 2012:12). Moreover, out of 301,759 people who were elected into local representative bodies only 3,709 were women, that is as low as 1.22 per cent (Aydemir, 2013:58).

Johanna Kantola (2010) debates in her book "Gender and the European Union" about whether or not it is a crucial factor to have female representation in the European Union political institutions for gender equality. Herein she elaborates on the political representation theory on a wide scale base, i.e. not just based on a European theoretical angle. The question is whether or not structurally the political system needs women to represent women (Kantola, 2010:52). To answer that she applies Anne Philips' (1998) four arguments and Suzanne Dovi's (2007) two further arguments as a supplement to Philips' theory. These six arguments will be the core to understanding women's representation in Turkey.

¹ Will be referred to as Turkey from this point forward.

- (i) women politicians act as role models for aspiring women candidates; (ii) numerically equal representation of women and men in parliaments is a sign of justice; (iii) only women are positioned to represent women's interests; and (iv) women's political representation revitalises democracy. (Philips, 1998)
- (v) according to the trust argument, women's political representation is necessary for women to put their confidence in political institutions; and (vi) the legitimacy argument contends that the presence of women representatives increases the legitimacy of democratic institutions. (Dovi, 2007)

In 2013 Turkey placed low on the Global Gender Gap Index, which is an index conducted by the World Economic Forum with the purpose to estimate gender inequalities and track the progress of them, Turkey was 120 out of 136 countries. Turkey has been close to the bottom in the last decade (Bekhouche et al., 2013:360-361). Within the 'Political Empowerment' index the low trend continues, this is illustrated below:

Table 1: Political Empowerment in Turkey

Gender Gap Subindexes	Rank	Score	Sample Average	Female	Male	Female-to-male ratio
Political Empowerment	103	87	211			
Women in Parliament	91	0.17	0.24	14	86	0.17
Women in Ministerial Positions	121	0.04	0.19	4	96	0.04
Years with Female Head of State	31	0.06	0.20	3	47	0.06

(Source from Bekhouche et al., 2013:360)

The sub-index from Bekhouche et al., 2013:360 indicates the level of gender inequality on the political front in Turkey, exemplified in the female-to-male ratio figure on the right. These indexes can be a help to shape an image about political inequality in Turkey, and clearly it is a huge issue, which needs to be addressed in a professional fashion.



In 1997 The Association for the Support and Training of Women Candidates (KA.DER) was established and has since been working within Turkey to help women candidates

in politics and help lobbying for women. In 2007 the association started a media campaign as well; one of these is the “politics without a moustache” campaign. The premise of the campaign is to get voters to remember that they do not have to vote for a man (a moustache), but they also have the choice to vote for a woman. KA.DER also supports the idea of quotas in Turkish politics (KA.DER, 2014). This is one of the initiatives KA.DER has done in Turkey.



In 1999 Turkey became a candidate for European Union (EU) membership. Since then a number of different law changes has passed to qualify for membership, trade policies, foreign policy, education, however the most covered

KA.DER's politics without a moustache campaign poster at a bus stop in December 2013.

topic in the media is the human rights issues which Turkey has. On the gender inequality front it is mostly in the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) compliance, many of the earlier reservations to CEDAW were redefined². Turkey has also signed the Beijing Platform for Action from 1995 without any reservations in 1995 (Republic Of Turkey Prime Ministry, 2004:2).

Problem Formulation

This thesis will analyse and go in depth with political underrepresentation of women in Turkey in parliamentary and local governments. The process of equal representation of women in politics has been very slow in Turkey, even though it has improved in the last two elections, women are still very underrepresented. Moreover, when you compare Turkey to other countries on the matter of the representation of women in the political front, Turkey resembles Middle Eastern countries more than it resembles European countries³ (Aydemir, 2013).

² Turkey signed CEDAW in 1985 with reservations to article 15 and 16. It was argued they conflicted with Turkish Civil Code giving the man the authority to be the head of the family and decide on family matters (Marshall, 2013: 66).

³ Middle Eastern countries have the lowest representation of women in local governance and parliament (Aydemir, 2013).

The research question will have one sub question. The reason I have chosen to include a sub question is to help shape and narrow the thesis, so there is a clear path to follow in the succeeding research. When there is a sub question, it is also clearer what essential problem I am doing research on. I want to investigate whether gender quotas can be useful to further women's political representation in Turkey.

- **Why is women's political representation so low in Turkey?**

- A. Can gender quotas help women's political representation?

2. Methodological Framework

This chapter will define the methodology which shall be utilised in the following thesis, herein epistemological considerations, the chosen research methods and data collection. According to Ackerly & True (2010) a certain form for feminist research ethic exists, which obligates the researcher to follow a set of rules. These rules include that the researcher: “*reflect on the power of epistemology, boundaries, relationships, (..)*” (Ackerly & True, 2010:2)”, and the researcher shall be critical and reflective on the research while the conduction is on-going and after. I believe this research ethic is useful for this thesis, because it gives an incitement to be reflective over the chosen research methods and in the succeeding analysis and conclusion to also remember to be reflective within those aspects.

However, there is not one clear set of methodology, which belongs to a feminist research field, because feminist research questions can be understood and analysed with different methods (Ibid.:7). I.e., the feminist research field has not developed a set of definitions of how the methodological framework shall be utilised, as for example the positivist research field has had. Moreover, in my opinion it is not because the feminist field is underexposed in any way, but because there are a wide range of research questions you can apply to which belong to the field.

2.1. Epistemological Considerations

I have chosen to apply a critical feminist perspective in this thesis to help define the inequalities and power dynamics within the representation of women in the political system in Turkey. The research view and perspective will be elaborated in the following. Wildman (2007) states:

All feminist theories make gender a central focus of inquiry, asking “the woman question.” The “woman question” identifies and challenges the omission of women and their needs from the analysis of any societal issue. These theories examine power relationships, making the political visible (Wildman, 2007:349).

Thus feminist theories’ point of departure is women and how gender relations affect women in their life and moreover how power relations have an impact on every matter. This is also why I can be utilising a feminist perspective and can conduct gender research on the field of political representation.

Feminist research ethic requires a commitment to ethical questions and not just for the researchers own bias, but also for how the academic relations will proceed, thus this is a reflective process , which should be undertaken (Ackerly & True, 2010:36-37).

Dealing with the concept of subjectivity/objectivity in research studies can be difficult. Some researchers are of the belief that objectivity can be archived or should be strived upon by a researcher in a field. Moreover, they believe that final conclusions can be achieved. However, I am not of this belief, and I am undertaking the social constructionism perspective on these subjects. I do not believe that a researcher can be totally objective or free of the world-view, context and the historically background she or he already is in. In social constructionism the same applies, within this perspective that a researcher is bound to understand the “world” in a certain way, at a certain time, and cannot understand it the same way-at another time or with a different background (Burr, 1995:3-4). Therefore, final conclusions cannot exist and complete objectivity cannot be obtained. Furthermore, as a researcher I must be very focussed and critical on my analytical tools and how I conclude in the analysis, by keeping my own bias in mind and be more aware of the time and background by the points of departure might come from. I can in this way work to archive greater and transparent research.

2.3. Research Methods

In the social science field most researchers believe there is no such factor as “feminist methods” (Ackerly & True, 2010:162). Therefore, when you have a feminist research approach to conduct research, there is no method you are committed to apply.

The theoretical framework in this thesis is not meant as theory-testing, but as a more of a theory-seeking approach. The reason I do not want a theory-testing approach is that the idea is to set out to test theory concepts and research whether or not they can be empirically applied (Ackerly & True, 2010:80). I am not interested in dealing with theory-testing, and my research question is not shaped up to theory test. If I wanted to test a theory, I would start with finding theory to be tested, and *then* conducting a research question and a plan.

A theory-seeking approach may use quantitative or qualitative data or both. Within this approach researchers may generate the theory, which leads to the conclusions and can be conducted with any research design (Ibid.:81). Therefore, I seek out to be more

of a theory-seeking researcher, because the concept of this thesis is not to test theories for the female representation within the political field nor how theories may or may not apply empirically in Turkey. However, the idea is to start from the research question, which I conducted by researching on the field of women's political representation in Turkey, and then lead to an answer, by researching theory, historical aspect and then utilise the data sources I have found through research on the subject of Turkey. All these factors make for a theory-seeking research, where I want to figure and research the field, not testing a theory.

2.2.1. Data collection

This subheading will elaborate on which sources there will be applied in the analysis and from what light to look at them. On account of the research field the data collection have been through secondary or tertiary sources. The reason I have chosen this approach, has a lot to do with I do not speak and read Turkish. Most of the research I will be applying have been written in Turkish, and then applied or reinterpreted in other literature in English. These are then the sources I will be applying.

Therefore, I am well aware of the validity of this study may be compromised. Even though the different data sources from several studies will help strengthen the validity of this study, it may also have a negative influence. This is because internal validity is whether I examine what I want to investigate, as this will allow a rejection of alternative explanation of my conclusion (Bryman, 2008:151-153). When I am applying that many sources from research that are rendered from another researcher's point of view the validity is effected. However, I will be applying many different sources, which will make the validity stronger. This is because when I look to other research studies and do not take one conclusion for guaranteed, I help strengthen the validity of my conclusions if they complement the different sources. Moreover, in order to ensure the internal validity, it is important that there is a logical and well-argued connection between data analysis and conclusion (de Vaus, 2002:63). Therefore, I will through the research argue and reflect on the choices I as a researcher construct throughout the research.

The next term I want to elaborate on is reliability. If a project has a large form of reliability, it means that with good probability either the same or other researchers can repeat the study with the same result (de Vaus 2002:62). Therefore, I must be very clear on what my choices as a researcher are, how I describe the sources which I have applied, and how I make them explicit to others. I will do so in form of citing sources and writing a bibliography, where the sources can be looked into. Bryman (2008)

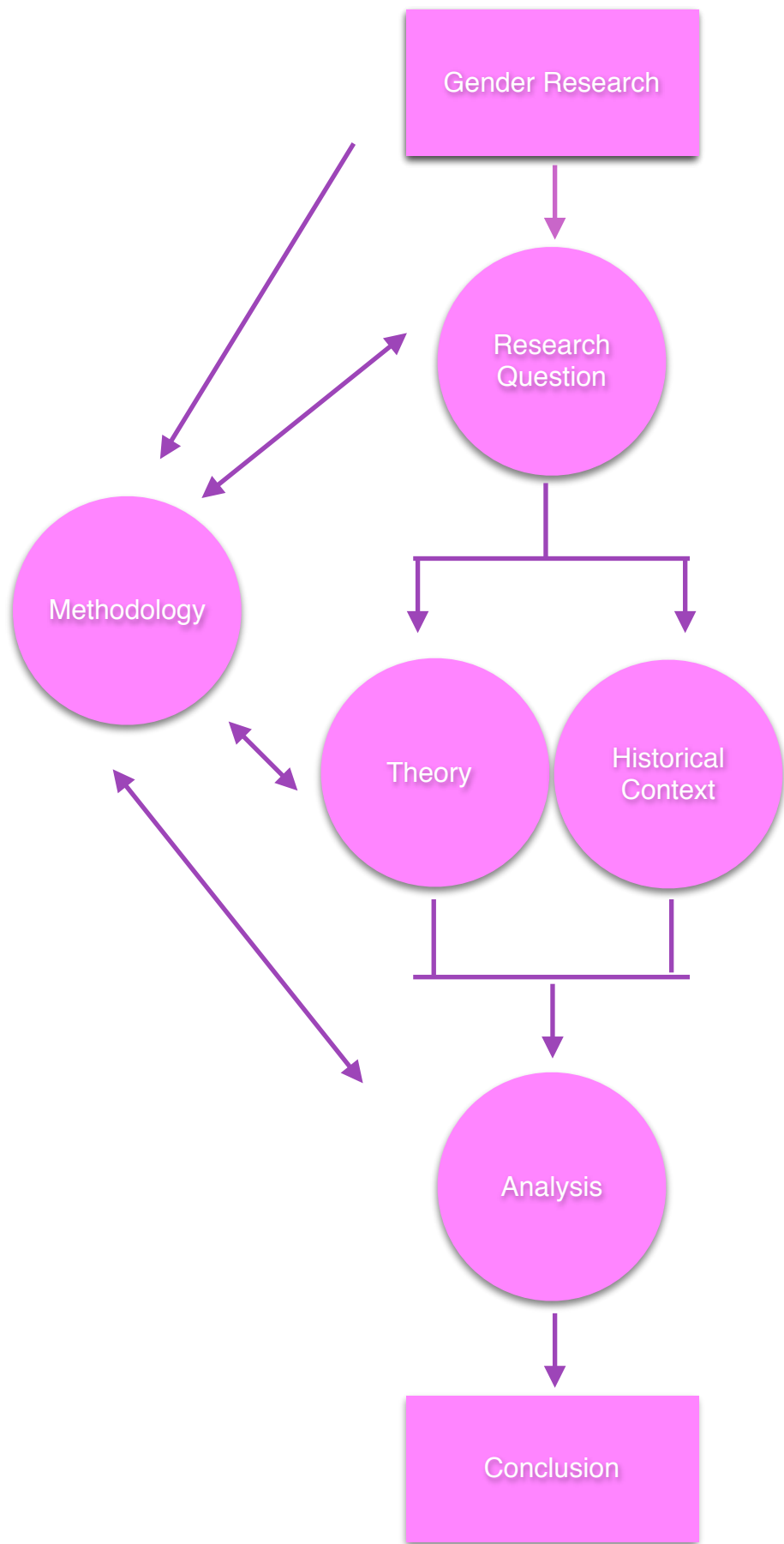
believes it is important that there is high reliability in a research because this will increase the reliability even more, when measurements of a given phenomenon are to be compared afterwards (Bryman 2008:149).

External validity, or generalisability, is used to describe whether it is possible for the research to generalise to a larger or another population (Bryman, 2008:151-153). This thesis will not try to aim for generalising out to other countries than Turkey. Turkey has a very unique history and is not that generalisable to other countries, not even regionally, with the Middle Eastern countries. Therefore, I have no great aim to do so with this thesis. The reason I still talk about external validity is that in my opinion it is also important to be transparent about the choices you deselected.

2.2.2. Strategy of the Thesis

The analysis of this thesis will be done after the theoretical framework is elaborated and argued for and the historical context is explained. After this the theory will be conceptualised and the analysis will be divided into two different parts with their own theme and sub-questions, there will be answered hereinafter. The thought behind this is to use both theory and research on the subject, to conceptualise a unique and well researched analysis. The theoretical framework can be a help to the data sources applied later. When I state this, I mean that theories can help find the factors to further analyse and applied from the data sources. Therefore, I utilise both the theories and the data to go in depth with the research question. The historical context is important to get an overview on, of Turkey as a country. My motive behind the historical context is to shed light on a situation many outside Turkey may not be aware of. Therefore, when I do my research and inform about the situation of women's representation in politics, I can help give a better and broader understanding of the research question.

2.2.3.Project design



2.3. Delimitations and Method Critique

One of the largest hindrances in researching Turkey's female representation in politics is the fact that I do not read and comprehend Turkish that well. Therefore are, the research studies I shall be utilising in the analysis are from secondary and tertiary sources, and with this, issues may arise. When data is rendered, the original essence perhaps be lost, however, when I apply several data sources, I can hinder this issue. If the data sources concludes the same or two different things, I will make sure to state either outcome. In doing this, I take responsibility for the outcomes and are reflective in line with my methodological standpoint.

The largest association KA.DER, which works within the field of training women candidates for politics has only one publication in English published⁴, the rest is in Turkish. They do have a small version of their Turkish webpage in English, and one statistic publication in English, which I am able to render in the analysis.

Furthermore, I have chosen in the analysis to lay focus on Turkish politics after 2002, where the new government by the AK Party, was established. The reason for doing this, is that I want to focus on the current situation in Turkey, and not be in that depth with former times. The shift of the government was also for me an apparent opportunity to do this. I shall explain some historical events, which have occurred before 2002, in the historical context, but only because it is historically meaningful events.

⁴ Unfortunately, I did not have the opportunity to acquire this publication after much effort on my part.

3. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework will set up a framework, which theorises whether or not women should represent women. I shall start with elaborating on Mansbridge's theory on the various forms of representation; this will be done for a better understanding of what kind of representation there already exists in Turkey. I shall use Anne Philips (1998) four group arguments for more female representation in politics, as well as Suzanne Dovi's (2007) two more arguments which she added to Philips' theory. Within this thesis the focus is on which factors are important arguments and indicators to why women should represent women. Therefore, I have chosen to work and research all six of these arguments in the following analysis, and the factors will be further elaborated in the following. Furthermore, the gender quota system will be elaborated, to help shed light on whenever or not quotas are a good idea for Turkey. Lastly, a theory critique will be presented.

3.1. Patriarchy

Before I fully elaborate on women's representation in politics and quotas, I will start with defining an important term, when dealing with Turkey; patriarchy, which still exists in modern Turkey. I have a hypothesis that the patriarchal structures are an important aspect in why women cannot enter politics on equal foot with men.

According to Sylvia Walby (1990) patriarchy is: *a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women.*" (Walby, 1990:20).

Walby elaborates that there is six different patriarchal structures, where patriarchy is the case: in mode of production, relations in paid work, relations in the state, violence, relations in sexuality and relations in cultural institutions. The relations in the state is an important aspect in this thesis, Walby defines the state as patriarchal because the state systematic favours men (Walby, 1990:20-24).

Patriarchy exists both on a private⁵ and public level. In the public level, women are targeted as a collective instead of individuals, they are targeted by the state's patriarchal structures, i.e., the state is an oppressor of women (Ibid.:178).

⁵ The private level is not of importance to this thesis, and will not be elaborated further.

3.2. Should Women Represent Women?

Anne Philips' chapter in her edited book "Feminism and Politics" (1998) is highly regarded within the field of whenever or not women are needed to represent women (Kantola, 2010:380). Philips (1998) begins her chapter with the argument that the under-representation of women in politics is an empirical fact. However, she also states that under-representation of women is not an argument for more representation in itself. The underlying of that statement is that merely because a demographic or minority is not represented, it is not "enough" reason it should be. Philips (1998) states there is not enough stupid or mad people represented in Parliament. However, stupid people and women are two very different cases, and can in my opinion not be equivalent of each other.

Under-representation of women can nonetheless be applied to see if a system is discriminatory (Griffiths, 1960:190 cited in Philips, 1998:225). Hanna Pitkin (1967): "*Representing means acting in the interests of represented, in a manner responsive to them*" (Pitkin, 1967:209 cited in Philips, 1998:226). Pitkin elaborates that representing interests is the most important: the elected representatives should act accordingly to who elected them, although it is not possible to promise, as they are indeed different than those who elected them in the first place (Ibid.).

Another branch within the representations field is accountability⁶. There are two sides to accountability within this case, the first is that politicians should be held responsible to their party programmes and promises before election. I.e., the politicians only carry out the policies within the values they promised before election, thus represent those who elected them in that way. Within this whether or not the representatives are women or not becomes somewhat irrelevant (Ibid.:227), because it is the promises of their party programmes which are important. The second side to accountability is that some believe that female politicians should be held responsible to *all* women. I.e., female politicians should be aware of women's interests and act in favour of them. This point raises some interesting questions, firstly whether or not all women have the same interests, since experience and livelihood are clearly not the same for every women. The discussion of if women have the same interests and if it is possible to map them out, will be dealt with under that subheading. In addition another interesting question is if anyone expects men to be accountable to all men? Not very often is anyone concerned about whether men being accountable to all men.

⁶ Accountability is "the process of holding actors responsible for actions." (Fox & Brown, 1998:12 cited in Ebrahim, 2003:193). The actors are in this case, the representatives.

3.2.2. Arguments for Women Representing Women

Anne Philips (1998) states in her chapter four main arguments for raising the proportion of women elected (Philips, 1998:228). Kantola has re-written these four arguments into four groups which need to be looked at in a context to why women should represent women.

(i) women politicians act as role models for aspiring women candidates; (ii) numerically equal representation of women and men in parliaments is a sign of justice; (iii) only women are positioned to represent women's interests; and (iv) women's political representation revitalises democracy (Kantola, 2010:380).

(i) Role Models

Philips herself finds the role model argument "the least interesting" and does not elaborate further on the argument, because she believes it does not give a further insight to political representation of women (Philips, 1998:228). However, in my opinion, role models for aspiring candidates can be effective. Suzanne Dovi (2007:307) adds to the positive side of role models that they can be seen as an improvement of female citizens self-esteem and also as an improvement of how the political system are efficient. When put into a Turkish context, the more successful female politicians can be viewed from female citizens at home, the more voters should feel inspired and represented. When I speak of successful, I mean politicians who are in parliament or in regional political governments, and has made a political impact. Furthermore, successful candidate can be in a sort of mentor role for the aspiring candidates, or newly registered candidates.

(ii) The Justice Argument

The justice argument is based upon the unfairness of unequal representation for women in political institutions, "*patently and grotesquely unfair for men to monopolize representation*" (Philips, 1998:229). Women are half the population and are still not represented, thus the parliament is not reflecting the demographic composition of the population. The argumentation from Phillips (1998) is that women are being denied basic "*rights and opportunities that are currently available to men*" (Ibid.). I.e., when half the population cannot be political candidates, it sets for an unjust state. The important factor for the justice argument is to eliminate discrimination and uphold justice. Justice should not just be a description of injustice, but an analysis of injustice (Ibid.:230). I.e., there is a need to look into what kind of injustice which is taking place within the state.

To question the argument of women have to be represented because they are half the population, Philips constructs an argument which deals with this. Women are generally out of the labour force more than men, i.e., they take maternity leave (often more than one child) and stay home to care for their or their husband's parents (Ibid.:230). Thus logically women have less time for a political career. The parallel side of the case, in Philips' chapter, there is no real representation of people under 25 years or over 70 years either in politics, and Philips states that none are very concerned about this fact⁷ (Ibid.:229-230). However, Philips does not believe in these two arguments herself, on account of being a politician is not some kind of job one has (Ibid.:231). I believe that the statement on being a politician is not just some job one has, has to do with representation and justice itself. A politician's life experiences and background characteristics are important for representing their voters, thus a politician has the possibility to represent people and bring justice to them.

Another way of looking at it, is that the voters should be represented, thus, both men and women vote candidates in political systems and participate within the system that way, therefore both should be equally represented (Ibid.:231). However, participation and representation does not go hand in hand for a democracy. 'Gender parity'⁸ in the elected group of candidates are not guaranteed thereafter.

There is no argument from justice that can defend the current state of affairs; and in this more negative sense, there *is* an argument from justice for parity between women and men (Philips, 1998:232).

Politics is however, greatly influenced by candidates which protect and represent certain policies and values, thus making the parity secondary.

(iii) Women's Interests

When dealing with women's interests James Mills resonate that women are best at representing women because of their experience as women give them great insight in women's needs, interests and concerns (Philips, 1998:233). It would not be possible to represent women in a male dominated political world (Ibid.). Even though men and women equally can vote the problem has not shrunk, and will not until there is equality

⁷ However, Philips does in her notes affirm that some parties have quotas from youth, but rarely for those under 25 (Philips, 1998:239).

⁸ Gender parity is defined as equal existence of men and women in governing bodies. (Jocelyne Praud)

among political candidates (Ibid.). However, Philips debates with these statements because they are made at the grounds of three conditions, firstly that women have a different set of interests from men, secondly that men cannot represent women's interests, lastly that elected women candidates work for women's interests (Ibid.:234). Men and women may have some different interests, but to think that *all* women share one set of interests is not accurate, and research studies do conclude the same (Ibid.). I.e., in my opinion, the argument that women need to represent women, because they share the same set of interests, is not true, because you do not share the same experiences and characteristics because of your gender, the same can be said for men.

On the basis of this, that women do not share an easily defined set of interests, the case of representation of women by women provides a reason. Because of the varied interests women need various women to represent them (Ibid.:235). I believe this premise to be very interesting, because instead of saying all women share the same interests, the premise is that all women are different and therefore, are in need of a varied set of different women to represent them.

In addition to this, women can have a shared bond, or collective identity⁹, over the similar experiences and challenges they face on a day to day basis in their role as a woman. When there is gender inequality in the political representation field it can help to give a more collective feeling, than if not. Women can feel a bond with the other women, both as candidates (because they are a small group also), but in addition as citizens who are feeling a bond with other female citizens and female candidates.

Philips raises the question whenever women elected in geographical local constituencies can be held accountable to represent all women and in what way they would learn these concerns of the women (Ibid.). However, policies that will be implemented after representatives are elected are not agreed upon beforehand, thus when new initiatives and so on are brought forward it does matter how many women there are. E.g. priorities and concerns women have can inflict policies after an election. Moreover, male politicians can rarely maintain women's interests, even if already agreed upon programmes and policies are at stake (Ibid.:236).

⁹ Defined as: an individual's cognitive, moral and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice, or institution (Polletta & Jasper, 2001:285).

(iv) Revitalise Democracy

Philips states: "*We can only believe that the sex of the representatives matters if we think it will change what the representatives do*" (Ibid.:237). The former statement conflicts with that, politicians are accountable to their party programmes and not their gender. Moreover, research within the field concludes that representatives are more likely to vote accordingly to their party programme than their gender (Ibid.:238). I.e., party policy surpass gender, making the candidate loyal to a party programme more than their shared collective identity, as just described in the former subheading.

Typical female politicians are active listeners and reporting back to women in their local community (Ibid.). "*The political party is frequently viewed as an inadequate vehicle for representation.*" (Ibid.). However, because women share experiences and qualities, which there are a lack of in established political system, there is a need to revitalise democracy, so the feminine qualities, become a part of the political system.

Philips last argument is that the gender parity argument strengthens when viewed in a larger context. I.e., the justice argument and the women's interests' argument is enough in itself, there is no need to look further into additional arguments for gender parity in politics. However, I still want to go further and find additional theory that can help answer my research question.

Additional arguments

Suzanne Dovi's article from 2007 "Theorizing Women's Representation in the United States" substantiates Philips four arguments with two more, given a total of six indicators to why women should represent women. I shall in the following describe her additional two arguments, but first I would like to elaborate on her standpoint in the representation of women debate, because this will put her two further arguments into a broader perspective.

Dovi affirms that the political system can be used as a tool of oppression of women (Dovi, 2007:297), i.e., because of the severe underrepresentation of women, the system is clearly male dominated and thus can be used as a tool. Moreover, women's interests political interests groups are less heard and have less power than the male ones (Ibid.). On the grounds of these revelations Dovi argues we need to look closely at the system and analyse it. Her article focuses on underrepresentation of women in the United States of America political system.

Dovi's to additional arguments are described in the following quote from her book:

(v) according to the trust argument, women's political representation is necessary for women to put their confidence in political institutions; and (vi) the legitimacy argument contends that the presence of women representatives increases the legitimacy of democratic institutions. (Dovi, 2007)

(v) The Trust Argument

The trust argument is that female citizens have had breach of trust for the male representatives, therefore, female citizens now need female candidates to regain trust in the political institutions (Dovi, 2007:308). Female citizens need female representatives to be and to feel represented in the political system. Beforehand the dominating male representatives have abused their power, because women have not been represented by the men which said they did represent them. Therefore, instead of talking about how women should be candidates, there is a need to show and re-trust with women being equally picked as candidates. This will make the trust argument agreeable.

Moreover, Dovi states that if this is reached, more women will participate in politics and voting will as well increase (Ibid.). This is because if more women are in parliament, then more women will start participate in form of voting, lobbying and simply involve themselves in politics, the political interests will increase. I.e., women will gather up behind a political candidate and support her candidacy.

(vi) The Legitimacy Argument

The more female representatives there are in the political institutions, the more legitimacy the institutions have (Dovi, 2007:308). The same can be said for male representatives, the institutions require both men and women equally represented (Ibid.). I.e., according to the legitimacy argument both men and women need to be equally represented before the institution can be legitimate. If an institution has 100 per cent men or women it would not be a legitimate, because it would not be representing both genders, which is needed to be legitimate.

3.3. Gender Quotas

The gender quota debate has been very active in the last couple of decades (Dahlerup, 2012:vi). The idea behind gender quotas is that women's underrepresentation can be eliminated by imposing quotas. Electoral quotas can help bring equal opportunity to the underrepresented (Dahlerup, 2006:6). More than fifty-two countries had electoral gender quotas in 2011 and the number is believed to be rising (Dahlerup, 2012:vi). Apart from electoral gender quotas, some political parties have implemented gender quotas in their respective parties. Dahlerup & Freidenvall (2003:2) cite that most electoral quotas are on 30 per cent women have to run as candidates. Furthermore, quotas can be used as a so-called "fast-track" to gender parity in politics. However, underrepresentation of women is a complex problem (Dahlerup, 2012:vi), which leaves the question whether or not it can be solved with gender quotas.

During the 1970s in Scandinavia, Denmark, Norway and Sweden, women's representation reached 20-30 per cent, the highest in the world at that time. This change was without the use of quotas (Dahlerup & Freidenvall, 2003:2). Dahlerup & Freidenvall (2003) argue that quotas are made as a tool to fast track representation and it is the opposite of the Scandinavian model, which took 70 years before women's representation had gone over 30 per cent. This has made the case that women in other countries do not want to wait that long, and therefore push to the gender quotas implementation.

Gender quotas can also be a starting point and temporary, thus existing until women's representation has a hold in society (Ibid.:13).

Critics of the gender quotas say that favouring any is getting side-tracked (Dahlerup & Freidenvall, 2003:4). I.e., that women have the right to vote is enough in this argument, women do not need extra support, because that is not equality and it actually will disfavour men. Dovi's (2007), a theorist previously used in the representation context, standpoint on gender quotas, is that it is wrongly to assume that opening the chances of more women in the political system automatically give better representation for women (Dovi, 2007:298).

3.3.1. Forms of Gender Quotas

In the following I shall elaborate on the different forms of gender quotas there exists. The reason behind this section is to shed light on the various gender quotas systems, and in addition which will be relevant in a Turkish context can be clearer seen for the forthcoming analysis.

When the gender quota system is not respected, sanctions are needed to help uphold (Ibid.:13). Problems with upholding gender quotas can be that parties' candidate lists do not have enough women as that have been agreed upon with quotas. According to Dahlerup & Freidenvall (2003:13) women's groups in parties or voters are the ones who criticises and help create sanctions if the system does not meet the criteria.

Party Quotas

One way to conduct gender quotas is that the parties themselves impose quotas on candidates participating for election. It is the parties, which choose candidates in the democratic system (Dahlerup & Freidenvall, 2003:5), thus the task is in their hands to recruit and enlist candidates. The idea is that when party quotas is made, the mostly male dominated system will then be open to women as well, and there will be competent women who can participate as candidates (Ibid.). Parties themselves can therefore hold the power to how the system will look. Parties themselves can accept the notion of quotas, without all the political parties in the country do so (Dahlerup, 2006:20), and the possibility of some parties with quotas and some not are thus very real.

Dahlerup & Freidenvall (2003:5) points out that the quota system can also hurt and stigmatise women, because of they are in need of assistance to participate in the political system, giving them (for some) the stigma of being the weaker sex and affirming the stereotypes of gender roles. In my opinion, when party quotas are voluntary, the stigma is not as strong as it would have been, if it was legislated legal gender quotas. The term will be elaborated in the following sub heading.

However, when political parties take the step of gender quotas, they do send a signal that they will try to eliminate unfair favouritism (Ibid.). Dahlerup & Freidenvall (2003:5) calls this that the political parties are gatekeepers to equality.

Legal Quotas

Another way to conduct quotas is the formal way, when the law-makers set up a gender quota system, which the political parties must abide to, this is called legal quotas (Ibid.:8). Legal quotas are less used in the world than party quotas (Ibid.). The legal gender quotas do have, in my opinion, more of a stigma attached to them. This is because of, they are legislated by law, thus when something is not voluntary from the parties side, it brings more up the question, if women are the weaker sex. However,

legal gender quotas also have a starting point in the parliament, thus the politicians have passed the law, making the law a somewhat more voluntary.

Reserved Seats Quotas

An additional way to regulate quotas is the reserved seats form. Within this approach there is a number of seats reserved to women¹⁰. The form makes the system responsible for that women are elected instead of the pressure is on the individual woman (Dahlerup & Freidenvall, 2003:11). Reserved seat quotas are mostly seen in the African continent, Asia and Middle East (Krook, 2009:6).

Moreover, when it is conducted like this, women will with certainty have other women to stand with in the already male-dominated political system. The central difference between reserved seats and party and legal quotas is that instead of having a percentage women for the candidate list, there are already reserved seats in the parliament or local government. In this system women are guaranteed seats (Krook, 2009:7).

Furthermore, there are many different ways after the election of selecting which women should have the seats reserved for women. It matters how the electoral system is, Krook (2009:7) explains it, like this:

In some instances, reserved seats apply to single-member districts reserved for women, in which only women may run for election (Nanivadekar 2006). In others, they are allocated in multimember districts to the designated number of women who win the most votes (Norris 2006). In yet others, women are selected to these seats by members of the national parliament several weeks after the general elections (Goetz and Hassim 2003). (Krook, 2009:7)¹¹.

There has been a pattern of the reserved seats for women were of a low number (ibid.). Therefore, in my opinion, it is difficult to say whether reserved seats are an optimal way of applying gender quotas.

3.4. Critique of Theories

The critique of the theories are mainly in the context I am applying them in. Walby's definition of the term patriarchy is published in 1990 in a British context. Walby defines the term in the a 20th century context. Even though it is now the 21st century, her definition is established on the British society. I do believe, because of the Turkish society has not been in the same state as the British in the last part of the 20th century,

¹⁰ This approach is also used in other ways, i.e., some parliaments have a number of reserved seats for e.g. minorities (Dahlerup & Freidenvall, 2003:11).

¹¹ To be clear, because it might look confusing, all this is a direct citation from (Krook, 2009:7).

I can still apply the theory to this context. Turkey is still struggling with modernity and has only in recent years, established a strong democracy and state.

Anne Philips and Suzanne Dovi established their theories from a United States of America's perspective. Therefore, in their theories they often mention USA and I have chosen not to reciprocate those views. Although the theories are meant to another country, I have done my best to adapt them to a Turkish context. In addition, I have been critical on which points to elaborate on in the theories, in relation to if they are applicable. I.e., it is with difficulty to find theories, which can be directly applied into a Turkish context, therefore, I have had to structure the theories of Walby, Philips and Dovi a certain way, and deselect the aspects, which do not fit into the Turkish context.

4. Historical Context

This chapter will shed light on Turkish women in politics, e.g. how many women are politicians. Turkey ranks very low on the women's participation in politics scale (Ilkkaracan, 2014:164), which will be a major factor in the analysis. In this chapter I shall try to enlighten on which factors there are lacking.

4.1. Women In Politics

To understand the position of women in politics in Turkey, it is important to understand how the relationship with female politicians has been since the birth of the republic, thus I have chosen to include some of the facts in the not so recent Turkish history. However, I have only done this because of the unique and the unlike in the gender policy today. Furthermore, I shall mostly focus on what it is like to be a woman in politics today. Lastly, some facts about the Turkish relationship with quotas will come to light.

4.1.1. Birth of the Republic

The Turkish Republic was founded in 1923 by Kemal Mustafa Atatürk (Arat, 1998:118). Atatürk was extremely focused on bringing modernisation to Turkey, and instead of looking to the East, he took the road to look to the West and somewhat to a limited extent westernise Turkey (Ibid.). That Turkey is a secular state is one of the most important factors in the Turkish constitution. This brought many chances to Turkey in a short period of time. One of Atatürk's key issues was the emancipation of women (Rustow, 1968:816). In 1926 the first female doctor was at the labour market, 1927 a lawyer, 1930 a judge. The entrance of the labour market for these women, was all seen as part of the new secular Turkey (ESI, 2007:4). Women have had the right to vote since 1930 and could be elected since 1934 (Çağlar, 2011:59). The right to own property, and equal rights to men, for who to marry and divorce also came at that time (Ibid.). Atatürk efforts to emancipate women was very much carried out in his speeches in the 1920s and 30s. One of the most famous quote is as follows:

To keep women secluded is to waste one half of Turkey's most precious resource. Even to do properly their jobs as wives and mothers of future citizens, women must be educated. Only as a nation of modern men and women can Turkey takes its rightful place in the modern world (Rustow, 1968:816).

Atatürk is very loved as a founder in Turkey, and his picture and spirit is everywhere in Turkey. Both his date of birth and his date of death is a marked day in Turkey. Therefore, I found it very important to include some history on what he did for women and how it effected the lives of women in the days of the birth of the Turkish Republic. Also I strongly believe that the discourse he set for women in the beginning of Turkey is very important, because it does shows how Turkey was.

4.1.2. Recent History

Turkey is in fact the country in their region with the most modern and advanced state, and the political system is strong and stabile (Aydemir, 2013:49).

In today's Turkey the AK party (Justice and Development party) is the governing party, and have been since 2002. The AK party has Islamist roots, and their choices and policies conflict with a secular state (Kardam, 2005:2, Tepe, 2006:125), for example on the head scarf issue, Turkey has from the beginning of the state banned head scarfs in civil service jobs, public offices and universities, this was done to separate the state and religion. However, since October 2013 the ban has been lifted in public office, and Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan called this :"*A dark time eventually comes to an end,*" (AFP, 2013), and he was saying head scarf covered women could become a undiscriminated member of the Republic (Ibid.). In 1999 Turkish-American Merve Kavakçı had her Turkish citizenship revoked, because she chose to wear her head scarf during her own swear-in ceremony, and she was booed in her way out of the parliament (Ibid.). This episode brings contrasts to the new policies of the government, where the incident in 1999 shows that the Turkish mentality is to be secular and the new policy shows the new Islamic wave in the government.

The AK Party is one to promise liberation of women. They do in fact state this in a former party programme, but it offers no solution or plan for how this can be achieved (Tepe, 2006:126). However, they do believe the head scarf issue to be of importance, even though it does beg to question why such a controversial and religious issue is chosen over others.

4.1.3. Female Politicians in Turkey

The following section will deal with former and current female political figures, this is done to shed light on how the situation in Turkey has been and how it is now.

There has been six female political party leaders in Turkey and one female Prime Minister, one is currently still a political party's leader:

1. Behice Boran, chairman of Workers Party of Turkey in 1970 to 1980¹².
2. Mübeccel Göktuna. leader of the National Women's Party of Turkey from 1972-1981.
3. Tansu Çiller, leader of the True Path Party from 1993 to 2002. Also first , and only as of today, female Prime Minister of Turkey, in office from 1993 to 1996.
4. Rahşan Ecevit, leader of the Democratic Left Party from 1985-1987.
5. Nesrin Nas, leader of the Motherland Party (2003-2004).
6. Filiz Koçali, the only current female party leader, leader of Socialist Democracy Party from 2004.

There has been 17 female governing ministers in Turkey, one female politician, Fatma Şahin, is currently minister after the 2011 election. Şahin is the minister of Family and Social Policies. During the AK Party governments there has been four female ministers from the party. There has never been a female President in Turkey out of the 11 President posts. In 2009 there was elected 27 women as mayors in the municipalities out of 2,948 possible posts (Ilkkaracan, 2014:164).

There has been offered many explanations on why women are not equally represented in politics. One major reason is women are being judged for not being at home to care for children and parents and housework (Çağlar, 2011:59). Ilkkaracan (2014) defines this as a structural problem for women to join as candidates, because they are seen as main caregivers (Ilkkaracan, 2014:164). Moreover, women in politics then are given a similar role to what their role is in family life (Ibid.). This demonstrates how gender stereotypes apply in Turkish politics even today.

Furthermore, a problem is that low representation of women is not seen as a problem for democracy (Ilkkaracan, 2014:165), thus it becomes harder to increase the representation. When women are selected to candidate lists, it is often one list which they cannot be elected, thus men are elected only (Ibid.). Women are down at the bottom of the election lists (Çağlar, 2011:71).

¹² In 1980 in Turkey there was a military coup, which banned all parties, thus Boran could not lead the party after that.

Table 2: Number of Women Candidates in the Municipal Presidency

Party	Women listed	Total number listed
AKP	18	2946
CHP	46	1964
MHP	37	2946
DTP	41	344
DSP	62	1335
SP	39	2946

(KA.DER cited in Çağlar, 2011:72)

This table is from the municipalities and not the parliament, however, it does show the lack of women listed. Therefore, some forces say, that quotas could be the answer for Turkey.

4.2. KA.DER Helping Women in Politics

KA.DER (The Association for the Support and Training of Women Candidates) aims to help, support and educate women candidates for politics. Furthermore, they believe women and men should be equally represented in decision making bodies, which they are not today. KA.DER was founded in 1997 (KA.DER, 2014). KA.DER believes quotas are needed in Turkey for increasing women's political representation (Ibid.). The organisation is represented all over Turkey, to reach out to everyone. For example KA.DER in Istanbul had a project named "School of Politics for Women", where all the female citizens was welcome to learn about politics and being a political candidate. The project was in bigger cities in Turkey (Sancar & Bulut, 2006:42). Another project is "from Today for Tomorrow" which has been ongoing since 2003. It aims to empower women in local politics and supply contact between the local groups, to share information (Ibid.).

4.3. The Turkish Relationship with Quotas

Turkey has never implemented gender quotas in politics. The governing AK Party has at numerous times denied gender quotas could be implemented, both the Prime Minister himself and female ministers (Ilkcaracan, 2014:165).

Two political parties have themselves implemented party gender quotas, in two different ways. CHP has a 33 per cent gender quota for women in candidate lists. BDP has a 40 per cent gender quota for women and it is valid in both national and local elections (Quota Project, 2013).

5. Analysis

This chapter is the analysis, and it will be divided into two different parts. The first part will go into what the six arguments for representing women are and how to compare it in a Turkish context. The reason, I shall work like this to answer the research question: ***Why is women's political representation so low in Turkey?*** Because to get an answer for that question, I need to look into what the situation is at this moment, and to be able to answer why it is like that at this time.

The last part of the analysis will look into what kind of quotas, which can be applied in Turkey, what the data shows on countries which have implemented the said quotas and lastly, if it is a good idea for Turkey to have gender quotas.

5.1. Women Representing Women

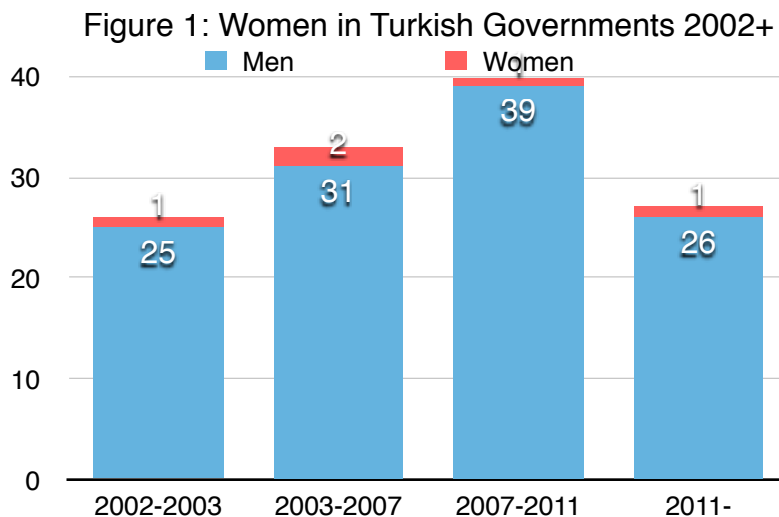
The biggest question, when dealing with women's political representation is whether women is needed to represent women, or a male representative can do it as well. In the following part of the analysis I shall deal with this question both in a theoretical framework sense and assign it to a Turkish perspective.

5.1.1. Arguments for Women Representing Women

This section of the analysis will be divided in a certain way. I.e., many of the forthcoming data can be applied in not just one argument, but more. Therefore, data will be interlinked under this section and will be referred to in some cases a couple of times. This part will be done in the way that I go through all the six arguments one by one and supply data to them.

Role Model Argument

The role model argument deals with that for women, having a female politician to look up to furthers women's participating in politics. In Turkish governments since AK Party's entry there has been 1 or 2 women at one period in government (KA.DER, 2013). The following figure 1, on the next page, illustrates this visually:



(Source: KADER; 2013)

When seen in a diagram the severity of the situation is illustrated. In my opinion, no matter how many candidates there is elected into parliament, how many there is actually a member of the government is equally important, or may in fact be more important, because this factor sends a very clear signal to female citizens how far they can come up on the political ladder. When female citizens have a strong successful female politician to look up to, they might be inspired to themselves go further into politics.

Furthermore, I believe in a situation like Turkey, if there are more than one woman in government, the women will be able to rely on each other and share their experiences with their political life. This process will help the women to be more successful and support each other through their political career. I.e., in my opinion when women have the possibility not to be the only or maybe one of very few to be in parliament for their party, it helps with fitting in and not being dominated by the male structure of the workings. I.e. they are using each other as a form of support and role models in their own political career and it may continue longer than if not having each other.

In my opinion in Turkey there is a need of strong female role models, because as it is now, only one female minister is in place and the parliament only has a 14.3 per cent of women in it. These numbers are significantly low and may have an influence on women and girls looking into what career aspirations they themselves have. Often when you look at someone you resemble and see what they have achieved, you can dream bigger yourself. This is one of the factors I believe are needed in Turkey.

Justice Argument

The justice argument is that to have justice in a country women and men need to be equally represented. That is certainly not the case in Turkey, the table below will illustrate the number of seats for women in parliament since 2002, where the AK Party came to power.

Table 3: Women in Turkish Parliament

Election Year	Number of Seats	Held by Women	Per cent Women
2002	550	24	4.4
2007	550	50	9.1
2011	550	79	14.3

(Source: Aydemir, 2013:56-57)

It can be seen in the table that there has been a slight increase of women in parliament since 2002, which is of course good in response to the justice argument. However, 14.3 per cent women is still very low, and also under the worldwide average, which is 19.5 (IPU, 2014). If you compare it to the worldwide average it is not that much lower, however, merely because there is a low world average, it does not justify a low score in Turkey. It more so, speaks to that, there is a worldwide problem of women's representation in politics. There can be many possible answers to why the number of women's representation is so low in Turkish Parliament. Electoral candidate lists can have had few women on them, the parties may not have spent as much money to tell about the women candidates with signs and so on, and or the media may not have equally brought women into political debates prior to the election.

The following table 4 will demonstrate the situation for women's political representation within the internal affairs in Turkey. I have chosen to make use of these data as well, because the women and men in these institutions are higher up in the political system, thus I find it important to also show this side of Turkish politics, as I have written about female ministers. The political representation in the justice argument is not "just" women in parliament, but also how women are represented in other institutions within the political field.

Table 4: Ministry of Internal Affairs

Title	Men	Women	Total
Ministry	11	0	11
Deputy Minister	3	0	3
Undersecretary of the Minister	11	0	11
Deputy Undersecretary	45	5	49
Governor	80	1	81
Vice Governor	479	6	485
Proconsul	840	21	861

(Source: KA.DER, 2013).

The table clearly shows that women are very under-represented in the internal affairs ministry. There is only *one* female governor out of 81 available governor posts and six vice governor out of 485 available posts. According to the justice argument, there is no justice at this jurisdiction either. In the data I applied for the role models argument, which I described there are only one female minister in the government, also points to no justice there. The justice argument comes down to whether men and women are being represented equal in parliament and in the political field, and to being represented equal both women and men are needed in parliament, equally. On the grounds of this argument I can find no justice in Turkish politics as it is, at this moment in time.

Women's Interests Argument

KA.DER had a campaign in 2007 about the low representation of women in Parliament. A billboard from this campaign has a woman with a painted on moustache with the text: *"Does one have to be a man to make it into parliament?"* (Aydemir, 2013:59). Recently, KA.DER in collaboration with a research institute named KONDA, conducted a survey research with 5,434 people of both genders (Aydemir, 2013:61). Intriguingly 56 per cent in this study answered that if there were more female politicians *"Turkey would become a better society"* (Aydemir, 2013:61). This answer does in my opinion connect to the women's interest argument. The reason I state this is that there is of course many underlying factors behind the former statement, however, in my opinion, the argument is also about women working for women and their interests. Women can share

background characteristics and experiences as women, and these factors make them better to take care of other women's interests.

I do not believe that all women have the same characteristics and experiences, therefore it takes a lot of different women to represent all female citizens, as well as it takes a lot of men to represent all men. No one is the quite the same, and the practically accusation they are, is in my opinion wrong, and while it does not lead to a further insight on the subject, it o a greater extent hinders the process.

Furthermore, women can within this argument share a sense of community, my assertion has two different ways to deal with it. Firstly, female candidates can share a sense of community in the parliament with each other. This sense of community can for them be a way to help each other further their careers, share experiences and so on. The next way I believe there can be a sense of community, is between the female citizens and the female politicians who are active advisors of their political work. This can for a female candidate be done in the way of expressing views in the media, being active on the social networks, and in local communities. Thus, the community sense can be a way for both female politicians to bond and for politicians and their voters as well.

Revitalise Democracy Argument

The revitalise democracy argument is that democracy needs to be regenerated. I.e., women are needed in the political system, and when they enter more forcefully the political system are revitalised. The argument for more women in politics on the grounds of this, is that women have other qualifications than men, thus the two will supplement each other and open up for a better democratic political system.

Ömer Çaha (2010) has done a case study about how women and men's, in Istanbul, attitudes toward women in all society are, both in reference to their status in a family, at the labour market and in politics (Çaha, 2010:146). Çaha also conducted research about women and men's stance on women in the Turkish parliament The following table is illustrating the conducted research.

Table 5: Women Members of Parliament

	Women	Men	Total
There should be no woman MP	3.2	5.7	4.5
Women MPs should be 1-20 per cent	10	27.8	19
Women MPs should be 21-50 per cent	69.7	60.7	65.3
Women MPs should be more than 51	14.3	3.6	8.9
No answer	2.9	2.1	2.5
Total	100	100	100

(Source: Çaha, 2010:160)

The data is linked with the revitalise democracy argument in the way of how many there will see the possibility and the “wishful” thinking about how many women MPs there should be. There is a big difference in men and women’s viewpoint on this issue. There is only a few of both genders, who say there should be no women members of parliament. However, men are leaning towards that women should have 21-50 per cent or 1-20 per cent women in parliament. Women however, would like to see 21-50 per cent or more than 51 per cent in parliament. These numbers are even more interesting when you compare them to how the situation is after the 2011 election. With a per cent-age of 14.3 per cent of women in parliament, this number fit into 27.8 per cent of men’s attitude towards women in parliament, however, only 10 per cent of women want the number that low. This illustrates the ambivalence there exists in the Turkish society, which still is a patriarchal society in full place as discussed in 3.1. The structure affects both how men relate to women and how the discourse is about women. Moreover, it can also influence how women think about themselves. Therefore, having a patriarchal society may have an effect on how women themselves think about their own representation and whether women or men should represent them. However, in the case of Çaha’s data from Istanbul, women are believing in female candidates in parliament and most believe in the 21-50 per cent in parliament. In my opinion there is a difference between having 21 or 50 per cent. The numbers between 40-50 per cent is a lot more gender equal than the 21-30 per cent. Therefore, I would argue that it also affects the data, and it can may be so, that there is a difference within the field, which the data does not show, because of the large scale per-cent-age.

I am making the observation that there is a willingness to have more women in parliament from both men and women's stances. This observation is conjointly with the revitalise democracy argument, there needs to be more women in Turkish politics for the women's representation to be fair.

Legitimacy Argument

The legitimacy argument is basically that a political system needs both men and woman representatives to be legitimate. In Turkey that is not yet the case, men are still clearly dominating the political system. Fatma Sahin from the governing party, AK Party, expressed to the ESI survey from 2007 that in the local party structures men dominate the scene so much, that women loose the power to continue on with their political career (ESI, 2007:30).

When it comes to primary elections, the men gang up against the women. After the primary elections, women no longer have the confidence to continue. Women can't rise within the existing structure. (ESI, 2007:30)

This statement is very interesting (also) in perspective to the legitimacy argument. If men are hindering women to reach further heights in their career, they are not solely doing unjust to the candidates, but to all female and male citizens. I state this, because when men and woman cannot have legitimate representation of both sexes, the system is faulty, when the system is faulty, representation is unequal. Women are required to be able to further their career in the political system. In addition I believe that women should be able to use each other as support, as described in the role model argument. If women feel ganged up upon they will need support, this may also be in form of KA.DER, the organisation which supports and trains female candidates for politics.

Trust Argument

The trust argument deals with the breach of trust women have had from men, while the men have been dominating the political system. Therefore now, the female citizens need female politicians to represent them and herein regain trust in the political system. The beforehand used survey conducted by KA.DER and KONDA also found that 72 per cent in their research agreeing to the statement:

It does not matter whether one is a man or a woman when it comes to working in politics or taking political responsibilities such as being an interior minister, parliamentary speaker or national security minister (Aydemir, 2013:61).

This statement proves that both men and women are ready to be represented by women. In addition that most of the population is ready to see women in a major political role, is a positive statement in relevance to the trust argument. Women need to be represented by women to regain trust in the political system.

Furthermore, the trust argument also deals with the fact that, when more women are in parliament the female citizens are more likely to participate in elections and other political aspects. As I wrote about under the role model argument, the female citizens can see the women who have come a long way in their political career as a role model for themselves. Both the trust and role model argument complied can make that women's participation increase.

In Turkey there is a need for female citizens to feel included and a part of the political system, Atatürk, the founder of Turkey, as discussed in the historical context, did a lot of public speaking to try to involve women in Turkish politics. However, it is still a very male dominated scene, as described under the legitimacy argument. Therefore, it is harder for women to trust the system and the people working within it. Consequently, women need to see women in parliament and as ministers, without this, the trust cannot be gained, only with these factors in mind.

5.1.2. Summary and Additional Aspects

According to the role model there is not enough women in the Turkish parliament. If there was more women they would be able to support each other, and the female citizens could feel inspired to go into politics themselves.

There is 14.3 per cent women in parliament and according to the justice argument that is not enough. The justice argument builds on that women and men need to be equally represented for there to be justice in the state. This is not the case in Turkey.

Within the women's interests argument, there is an understanding of women are needed to represent women, because of women share experiences and bonds, which make female representatives a caretaker of women's interests.

Furthermore, my own question is, does it matter whether female candidates represent "women's interests?". Is that, they might not have a strong argument in itself that demolishes that women should be able to enter parliament? Does a woman candidate, have to have all women's interests in mind and carry them on her shoulder? The

argument that women will not always have other women's interests in mind, seem to be an argument made to slow down women's representation. Whether or not they do, they should be able to be in parliament in the first place. When you have a so male dominated system in Turkey, where women cannot enter on their own, questions about women's interests slows them down and does not further the process.

During the revitalise democracy argument I found that both men and women believe there should be more women in politics. The argument states that the structure needs to be regenerated, so there is more women in the political system. The Turkish attitude towards this is in line with the argument.

Furthermore, there is Dovi's argument on trust. Women have had a breach of trust from men, and now women need to re-trust the system again. In addition to this argument I found that in the Turkish population, they are ready for a woman in a high position.

Lastly, there is the legitimacy argument, which consist of the political system needs both women and men to be legitimate. I found under this argument, that women are being hindered in participating as candidates by the male politicians. Moreover it puts forward the question about whether gender quotas is needed, how they are needed and in what way it may help Turkey.

5.2. Gender Quotas in Politics

One of the reasons I have chosen to write about gender quotas is that in literature about Turkey and women's representation, quotas is often suggested. KA.DER the organisation supporting women candidates in Turkey proposes quotas as well. Thus, I find it interesting and relevant to go in depth with the question whether gender quotas are needed in Turkey before women's representation increases. Nonetheless gender quota is a very general term and can be applied in many different ways. Hence I shall be explaining the different forms in the following sub-heading, before I shall look into whether Turkey should have quotas.

5.2.1. Forms of Gender Quotas

There are four different ways to impose quotas in a political system, I shall go through them in the following and look to other countries experiences with gender quotas. Party quotas, which are mostly voluntary from the party's side, reserved seats, where certain seats are reserved for women, and legal quotas where gender quotas are legislated.

In KA.DER and KONDA's project 23.7 per cent both male and female from Turkey, answered they wanted gender quotas in politics (Aydemir, 2007:61). Another interesting survey from Istanbul illustrates attitudes toward gender quotas in Turkey.

Table 6: Attitude Toward Application of Gender Quotas-1

	Women	Men	Total
Approve	34.3	32.5	33.4
Disapprove	59.3	62.5	60.9
Other Answers	2.9	2.9	2.9
No Answer	3.6	2.1	2.9
Total	100	100	100

(Source: Çaha, 2010:159)

The per-cent-age in this survey is approximately ten per cent higher than the KONDA survey from Istanbul. The Istanbul survey is from all around Turkey, thus, it gives a better picture of how the entire population's attitude toward gender quotas. The reason I have chosen to reciprocate both surveys is that it emphasises that not all parts of Turkey have the same attitude towards gender quotas.

Party Quotas

I want to start out with the party quota system. The system is, as already described, a voluntary system, where parties themselves decide a gender quota per-cent-age. In Turkey two political parties have voluntary gender quotas, as previously described, the CHP with 33 per cent quota for women and BDP with a 40 per cent for women (Quota Project, 2013). In the following I shall elaborate on experiences with gender quotas.

Today Sweden ranks number one on the women's representation in parliament scale (IPU, 2014). Turkey is number 101 on this scale out of 151 available posts (Ibid.). Hence some countries tie on woman's political representation, e.g. some countries have the same per-cent-age of representation, there are more than data on 151 countries. I have chosen to go in depth with Sweden, because they are often referred to a part of the Nordic Model, where woman's political representation is high (Freidenvall et al., 2006:56). The reality, as mentioned before, is that in the Nordic countries, there has never been implemented party quotas from the state's side (Ibid.). Sweden has had party quotas since the Liberal Party imposed a 40 per cent of each sex in 1972 in internal boards and committees (Quota Project, 2014). Later three other parties also introduced gender quotas. In 1982 the gender quota system was expanded, so in general elections the candidate list in ballots alternated between sexes (Ibid.). The second party to introduce party quotas was the Christian Democratic Party, which established a 40 per cent gender recommendation in electoral ballots. I.e., the party ballots should strive to both have at least 40 per cent men and 40 per cent women on them. In Sweden three major political parties in the parliament still have gender party quotas, they are as hereinafter:

Social Democratic Party has had a 50 per cent zipper system implemented in 1993 (Quota Project, 2014). This also entails that the party lists alternate between sexes.

Left Party has a gender party quota of 50 per cent minimum of women on their party lists since 1987 (Quota Project, 2014). :e

Green Party has had a gender quota of 50 per cent on party lists since 1997. The list can differ for one person (Quota Project, 2014).

There are no legal gender quotas in Sweden and there never have been (Freidenvall et al., 2006:73). However, the voluntary quotas did not start out as quotas, but as recommendations, and after more women came into the system, they pushed for gender quotas to infiltrate the seriously male dominated parliament (Ibid.). In my opinion, this affirms that Sweden may not have been able to without quotas, to have

such a high women's representation in parliament, if the parties had not chosen to implement quotas. In addition, when major parties have quotas and women are elected into parliament, this influences the rest of the parliament and the way the citizens look upon women in the parliament. I.e., because of women have entered the parliament, and have support from the population, the rest of the political parties may be under the influence also to have more women on candidate lists, and more women may feel they can try to run as a candidate. This is also called the role model argument from Philips, the previously discussed part of representation theory.

Compared to Turkey, this is a very interesting journey Sweden has had. Two political parties in Turkey have gender quotas, however Sweden has a 45 per cent (IPU, 2014) compared to Turkey's 14.3 per cent women's political representation in parliament. Therefore, it is easy to affirm that two political parties in parliament with quotas is not enough to expand women's political representation.

The political parties can be seen as a gatekeeper to attain equality in the parties. However, there are also reasons not to implement party quotas. Dahlerup & Freidenvall (2003) points to the stigma women can face after imposing quotas. Women can afterwards be seen as the weaker sex, which needs help to succeed in politics. My assertion is that the benefit of equality is better.

Reserved Seats Quotas

Reserved seats gender quotas is when certain seats in parliament are reserved exclusively for women (Dahlerup & Freidenvall, 2003). How the exact selecting of which women should enter the parliament differs from country to country, this has been elaborated in 3.3.1. and will not be gone further into here, because it is different from country to country, thus making it difficult to compare countries. Krook (2009) describes reserved seats are mostly in Middle East, some parts of Asia and Africa. Therefore, I believe it is a valid regard to analyse further into a Turkish context.

Afghanistan is a country with reserved seats for women candidate in parliament. Thus, I want to elaborate on how the country has achieved this and if the gender quota is working. Afghanistan has a two women or more per province gender quota or what at least equals 27 per cent in the Afghan lower house (Ballington & Dahlerup, 2006:250). Afghanistan is number 41 at the women's representation in politics scale with a 27.7 per cent female representation in 2014 (IPU, 2014). The situation in Afghanistan is that

after United States of America and their alliances invaded the country, their old structure was completely abolished. In 2004, a new constitution was written, women were included in this process as well, and the gender quota system was introduced (Ballington & Dahlerup, 2006:253). In the upper house the per-cent-age for women is 50, and all the representatives here are elected by the president and not voters (Ibid.). Afghanistan has had a very complicated story, and I believe outside influences by the international community had a lot to do with women getting a 27 per cent quota. The reason I write this is that it was also because of outside influences that Afghanistan was invaded to put an end to the Taliban rule and law, which prevailed the country. The international community was absolutely interested in Afghanistan changing their old structure, thus, the process of a new constitution was heavily guarded and followed.

The quota of 27 per cent is upheld, because the seats are guaranteed. However, when dealing with Afghanistan it is difficult to say what the women's representation in the parliament would be without the gender quotas. The quota is upheld, but there are not more women than what the exact quota is. With a quota of two women per province, it may go two ways, either there are some women candidates which compete or there are very few. I state this, because they know of the quota, they perhaps hesitate to try to enlist. These are all factors I would consider in a Turkish setting.

The cultural differences does make it more difficult to compare party quotas and reserved seats. However, the data does show that both quota systems upholds the quota required, making both systems do as prescribed.

Reserved seats in addition brings up the question of whether it is necessary for women to be represented by women? This has been dealt with in part one of the analysis. I have come with six different arguments why that is the case, and I stand by, that women do need women to represent them as well.

Legal Quotas

Legal quotas, is quotas introduced in law by lawmakers. Gender quotas are written in the law and the political parties have to abide to them. Rwanda acquired the top of woman's representation in parliament in 2003, with the application of legal quotas (Tripp, Konaté & Lowe-Morna, 2006:112). In 1994 Rwanda experienced a genocide, and this genocide also changed the gender relations in Rwanda (Ibid.:121). The cause of this is many husbands and men died, leaving the women in charge of households and decision making. The women became an active part in re-building the country and

writing the content of the new constitution in 2003. The legal quotas was introduced and women had to make up 30 per cent of the parliament or 24 reserved seats (Ibid.: 122). The women who occupy the seats are elected by the Women's Councils at a grass root level. Rwanda has faced criticism for that no one challenges the power of the governing party and the president (Ibid.). The party has a long standing support from women, because they were the ones who encouraged women to run for office. The problem seen from outside, is that the female candidates does not challenge the party, and thus in that way they have the power of the parliament (Ibid.). The democracy is not at its fullest here (Tripp, Konaté & Lowe-Morna, 2006).

The last point is interesting to perspective into a Turkish perspective. If the governing AK Party suddenly was for gender quotas and helped women into the parliament, would the women then be able to challenge the patriarchal structure, if they will be in charge of, to exercise their representation?

5.2.2. Summary

In KA.DER and KONDA's research 23.7 per cent of the asked people said that gender quotas would be a good idea. 49.1 per cent felt that there should be more favourable conditions for women in politics. A low per-cent-age of 19.3 meant there was no need for special treatment (Aydemir, 2013:62). Therefore, the population of Turkey may be ready to see some changes on the women's representation front. Although not all believe that gender quotas are the solution.

I have looked into three very different countries and their relationship with gender quotas. Sweden has done voluntary party quotas, which has made the country one of the leading on the women's representation in parliament forefront. However, because all the Scandinavian countries at the time of the quota implementation had an increase in representation, it is difficult to without a doubt state how the situation would have been without the quota.

Afghanistan and Rwanda have had a similar entry to implement gender quotas. Both the countries had come out of a post conflict state, and women were invited to and a part of the new written constitutions. Therefore, in both countries women became a symbol of a new strategy and a new starting point for the countries. Afghanistan with the reserved seats have not had any more women than the quotas has been set to, which is a per-cent-age of 27. As the situation appears now, there has not been more

women in parliament in the past years of the gender quotas (IPU, 2014), and I have a hard time seeing an increase in the near future for Afghanistan. Rwanda is the opposite of the Afghan circumstance, instead of the female candidates only fulfilling the quota, the women exceeded and there are now more women than men in parliament. However, democracy is not in a great state there, and the party in charge is thought to be using the women for their own gain. Tripp, Konaté & Lowe-Morna (2006) makes the accusation that a state like Rwanda will find the gender quota attractive, because they can then make the state seem legitimate, when women are represented. This is in spite of the clear institutional problems Rwanda does have. In democracies legal quotas are also looked down upon, because many liberals do not believe in restricting candidate lists and implementing quotas (Matland, 2006:277). Moreover, gender quotas can be seen as a way to inequality for both sexes, when seats are gender reserved, some believe that it is not because of qualifications, but gender they are were they are now.

I mentioned in the historical context that Turkey does have a strong democracy. Moreover, Turkey has a history of being a very secular state, thus, the problem lies with the male dominated political system, where women are not being represented. The governing party, AKP, does not have a voluntary party gender quota and they occupy the most seats in the parliament.

I believe that Turkey could benefit of gender quotas as a fast-track solution. Gender quotas do not necessary have to be implemented forever. It is possible to use the quotas for a period of time, and in this period make use of information to the citizens of the country. The population needs to be informed about the change in structure and why the decision was made.

I shall end this part of the analysis with a quote from parliamentarian Gaye Erbatur from the CH Party, she does in this quote elaborate on why she believes in gender quotas.

I often feel very lonely as a woman in politics. When I go to the general assembly, I see hundreds of men with moustaches. We have to have a quota system to introduce more women in politics. Nobody can convince me that we can put more women in parliament without it (ESI, 2007:31).

6. Conclusion

My research question is: *Why is women's political representation so low in Turkey?* and I have come to the conclusion: There is not *one* reason that women's political representation is so low in Turkey, there are many. With the help of the six arguments for why women should represent women, I have shed light on many different possible answers. I will go through the process of this in the succeeding.

In my analysis I have undertaken researching six different arguments to why women should represent women in Turkey, during this process I found that the population is ready for women to enter parliament, as well as in higher positions up the political ladder. However, I also found the reason for why there is not so many women in politics. The male politicians are hindering the process, by sabotaging women who want to run for office. The male politicians behave like small patriarchs in each their own circles, and it may contribute to the perception of women in general in politics. Moreover, women feel alone in politics and have no support.

In Turkey, women need support to be able to represent women, as of now, there is not a good enough support system. Therefore I have chosen to research whether gender quota implementation is a good idea for Turkey. I have chosen to do so, because many in Turkey believe a way to more equal representation is through gender quotas. In a country with a 14.3 per cent women in parliament, there it is an issue for getting more women into parliament. Female politicians are expressing, they are being held back from local elections and feel lonely if they do succeed. If the male dominated parliament cannot make entry for women, gender quota is a force to do so. Dahlerup & Freidenvall (2003) state, that gender quotas can be a starting point in getting women into parliament and to get a more equal representation of the sexes. I am also aware that the current Turkish Prime Minister has denied gender quotas as a good idea. Therefore, a shift in government may be needed before the gender quotas can be implemented.

In Turkey there is KA.DER, which supports the women candidates and educate women to become participating in politics. In my opinion it is very important to educate women, but equally important to educate the men. If male politicians or male voters have the notion that women should not be in politics, they will try to keep women out of the field. A female politician said that was a problem, men tried to bully the women out of local politics, making it so, they never candidate. Therefore, it is important not to just have

KA.DER to educate women, but also another or more organisations, which can help educate the rest of the society. The men forsake their patriarch status will likely take one or more generations to get implemented unless there is a radical noticeable among the men of view of women.

Therefore, is my answer to my sub question A of the problem formulation, *Can gender quotas help women's political representation?*, that it can be a fast-track to more women in parliament, but the quota is not enough in a patriarchal society as Turkey. The population needs instances to provide them with information on equality in the parliament and gender parity in parties. Moreover, I believe the parties themselves should make a plan for action in their dealing with gender parity.

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Appendix

Kadın Erkek Eşitliğine İnanmıyorum. Onun İçin Fırsat Eşitliği Demeyi Tercih Ediyorum. Kadın Ve Erkek Farklıdır, Birbirinin Mükemmidir (Tamamlayıcıdır).

I Do Not Believe In Equality Of Men And Women. Instead, I Would Prefer To Call It Equality In Opportunity. Men And Women Are Different, And They Complement Each Other.

Prime Minister Of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, 2010