

The Research of Justice in Representation for Democratic Political Culture

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Abstract

It is indisputable that democratic development is parallel to the emergence and development of parliaments. These processes brought about the development of the election institution. Together with the aristocracy, the bourgeoisie's struggle against monarchism increased the importance of the parliaments and brought the norms related to election to the forefront. In fact, the issue of who should have the right to vote, has created the most basic discussion problem for quite a long time. While the right to vote was granted to a limited number of people in pre-practices, as a result of historical progress, in principle, the recognition of this right was reached for every citizen. Therefore, the regimes that do not accept the principle of general vote in the elections as a result of the development from the limited vote to the general vote, are not considered democratic. Even this right is guaranteed by the Universal Convention on Human Rights in terms of international law. There has also been a long period of disagreement at the point of voting procedures (methods) in terms of the development of the electoral system. Elections should be single-stage or two-stage; there have been a lot of debates on whether the plurality system or the proportional representation system should be applied. These different methods have been tried separately and it has been seen that the development in democracies is mostly in the direction of single-stage and proportional representation electoral system. However, to date, it is not possible to say that the political culture has evolved into a fully democratic phase in order to provide justice despite the technological developments in the electoral system. According to the annual reports of The World Constitution and Parliament Association, there is no fair distribution of parliaments in the representation of women and men. The aim of this study is to analyze the electoral systems in Turkey and obtain empirical data. In this regard, the General Parliamentary Elections held throughout Turkey on 24 June 2018 were subjected to descriptive statistical analysis. In conclusion, development stages of the Turkish political culture have been questioned through the data obtained.

Keywords: *Democratic Political Culture, Election Systems, Political Stability, Justice in Representation, Turkish Political Culture*

Demokratik Siyasal Kültür İçin Temsilde Adalet Araştırması

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Öz

Demokratik gelişmenin parlamentoların doğuşu ve gelişimiyle paralellik gösterdiği tartışılmazdır. Söz konusu süreçler seçim kurumunun gelişimini de beraberinde getirmiştir. Aristokrasi ile birlikte burjuvazinin monarşizme karşı mücadelesi parlamentoların önemini artırmış, bu durum beraberinde seçimle ilgili normları da ön plana taşımıştır. Hatta, 'Oy Hakkı'na kimlerin sahip olması gerektiği konusu, oldukça uzun bir süre en temel tartışma sorununu oluşturmuştur. Önsel uygulamalarda oy hakkı sınırlı bir kesime tanınmışken, tarihsel ilerlemede ilke olarak her yurttaşın tanınması kabulüne ulaşılmıştır. Dolayısıyla, 'Sınırlı Oy'dan 'Genel Oy'a yönelik gelişme sonucunda, günümüzde seçimlerde genel oy ilkesini kabul etmeyen rejimler demokratik sayılmazlar. Hatta bu hak, 'İnsan Hakları Evrensel Sözleşmesi' ile de uluslararası hukuk açısından güvence altına alınmıştır. Seçim kurumunun gelişimi açısından oy verme usulleri (yöntemleri) noktasında da uzunca süre anlaşmazlıklar yaşanmıştır. Seçimler tek dereceli mi, yoksa iki dereceli mi yapılmalı; çoğunluk mu yoksa nispi yöntem mi uygulanmalı tartışmaları çok fazla yaşanmıştır. Bu farklı usuller ayrı ayrı denenmiş ve demokrasilerde gelişmenin daha çok tek dereceli ve nispi seçim usulünün yönünde olduğu görülmüştür. Ancak, bugüne kadar seçim sistemlerinin teknik olarak gelişimine karşın siyasal kültürün temsilde adaleti sağlama yönünde tam demokratik bir aşamaya evrildiğini belirtmek çok mümkün değildir. Dünya Parlamentolar Birliği'nin yıllık raporlarına göre, parlamentolarda kadın ve erkek vekil temsiliyetinde adil bir dağılıma ulaşılamadığı görülmektedir. Türkiye'de de durumun nasıl geliştiğine yönelik empirik veriler elde etmek amacıyla, 24 Haziran 2018 Genel Milletvekili Seçimleri istatistiki betimsel incelemeye tabi tutulmuş, Türk siyasal kültürünün gelişim aşamaları elde edilen veriler aracılığıyla sorgulanmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Demokratik Siyasal Kültür, Seçim Sistemleri, Siyasal İstikrar, Temsilde Adalet, Türk Siyasal Kültürü

Introduction

The search for methods to ensure the participation of the ruled in political decisions is an ongoing search since the adoption of democratic governments as the only legitimate form of government. In this search, especially the election systems play a fundamental role in legitimizing the power. Of course, it was not always easy to legitimize the authority of the managers who were called as representatives (Habermas, 1997, pp.68-72).

In general, political debates on electoral systems have focused on the problem of equality in representation. Representation by election is based on the principle of protecting pluralism in ideas (Cömert, 2018, pp.241-46). For this reason, in order to guarantee the freedom of citizens, electoral systems have to be ensured to ensure pluralism in ideas. However, within such an understanding, it was stated that the elections would have the power to eliminate the monopoly of a single party.

As it is known, the representative regime is a kind of regime that allows citizens to participate in the management of public affairs, albeit to the extent that the elections allow. Besides this, by allowing the elected representatives to establish legitimate governments, it has taken its place as a kind of regime that allows the transition of power from the aristocracy to the bourgeoisie in the historical process. However, the legitimacy obtained through election does not seem to be enough to end the sacred nature of power (Oktay, 2005, pp.265-6).

Historically, it can be said that from the 18th century onwards, especially the ruler people in the West began to determine the electorate and the blessing took place in the elections (Tanilli, 1981, p.248). Although it was a great struggle, in the evening of the election it was declared a legitimacy for the election victory. Today, the situation is no different. Indeed, through elections, humanity has attained modern political regimes with democratic legitimacy, which is based on elections, rather than the type of government in which authority is based on divine law (Kapani, 1992, p.139).

The conception of representation by choice is inherent in the pluralistic state form. Therefore, according to some theorists, this kind of representation actually masks the capture of power by the bourgeois class.

In fact, the only function of elections is not the representation of citizens. There is another meaning in the modern political society that the elections have won. The elections have taken on the task of communicating with political decision-makers and the people with whom the political decision is implemented. Therefore, the election is related to the communication process between the managers and the governed.

The elections, which can be defined as the core of the political and legal actions that allow the administrators to be determined by the voters, has been included in the special interest of many sociological disciplines due to these qualities (Daver, 1989, p.137). In particular, there is the coordination of Law and Political Science in establishing the rules for determining the voter character of citizens and regulating the formation of elections (Sarıbay and Öğün, 2006, p.111). The rules governing elections may change depending on the time. However, it should be noted that this is due to the nature of the political regimes that implement these rules.

In representative democracies, numerous different electoral processes (models) are applied. In particular, when looking at the differences between the details, it should be noted that all electoral systems are distinct, at the same time, specific to the political culture of the country in which they are applied. Arend Lijphart states that there are more than seventy electoral systems in the *Contemporary Democracies* (1984). However, in general democracies, the most commonly discussed is 'the plurality system' and 'the proportional representation system'. In addition to these, although there are not many areas of application, 'preferential voting system' is considered as a third kind of electoral system.

The plurality system is a system based on the candidate who gets more votes than other candidates. This system is most likely to have healthy political consequences in narrow-field elections. In the proportional representation system, it is envisaged that the parties will be represented in the parliament evenly in the elections. Contrary to the plurality system, in this system, the election districts have to be kept wide. As for the third type, when it comes to the preferential voting system, the voters have the right to choose from the list of candidates. However, the preference system can be used in both plurality and proportional representation system (Yavaşgel, 2014; Teziç, 1991).

The effect of electoral systems on party systems and thus political life is obvious. In addition to this, the election system, as well as the size of the party alliances, the size of the assembly and the forms of government - like the Parliamentary or Presidential System - are also important. An important discriminative case is the intra-party democratic development that provides the proportion of female proxies in parliaments to male proxies (Ünal, 2014, pp.79-114).

Providing justice in the representation of the development of political culture is important because it ensures harmony with sociological reality. Therefore, this study focused on discussing the importance of the number of female proxies for political culture. For this purpose, the recent elections in Turkey have been examined in the research. An analysis was carried out on the quantitative and qualitative values of the female proxies who had the right to be represented in the parliament in the new management system. Based on the results obtained, the anatomy of Turkish political culture has been revealed.

1. Democratization of elections

One of the basic principles of multi-party political life is the election of the rulers to choose the rulers according to their will. The main reason for the determination of those who represent the national will in a democratic regime is that elections should be carried out in a free environment in such a way that they do not allow any obstacles to guide that will (Norman Nie et al.,1989). The people who will choose managers, i.e. the electorate community, must have some characteristics. These specifications are defined by law. In the course of the democratic development, the electorate community, which had to have a number of characteristics, was kept much more limited, but over time this limit was extended. Following these steps, today, the most democratic practice, "the general vote" has been reached.

The general vote is "to give voters the right to vote without having any privilege in terms of wealth, education, gender and race"(Teziç, 1967, p.5). So much so that "the dialogue between thoughts must take place in an environment where all the people are. All the people decide which of these thoughts can come to political power. The forum, which

is attended by a group or a group of people in society, cannot be considered democratic. The right to participate must be general. This is primarily the acceptance of the principle of general suffrage" (Tanilli, 1996, p.41). But until this stage, as mentioned briefly, the history of mankind has passed certain stages.

In a limited vote, which is applied before the general vote, "if the right to vote is granted to the principle of wealth, in other words, to a certain income or to a certain amount of taxpayers, it is called 'the vote based on wealth'. However, if the right to vote is bound to the learning condition, it is called 'talent-based vote' "(Duverger, 1986, p.89). And until the general vote, the legal relationship between the electorate and the electoral institution in Western democracies was shaped by a debate: Is it a recognized assignment to citizens? Or is it a right? In the political system in which the general vote was accepted, each voter had an equal number of votes: (i) this is called the principle of equality of choice. The Rich, the poor, a worker, a boss, everyone has one vote (ii).

General vote means equality in elections. Equal choice, however, has the possibility of being realized by a proportional electoral system that, by its very nature, provides justice in representation. Therefore, the proportional representation system becomes a complement to the general vote. As all parties in the community can participate in the parliament through this electoral system, this is accepted as a compulsory consequence of democracy and general vote (Teziç, 1967, p.19).

Political parties were born at the same time as elections, voting and parliamentary institutions and their developments were parallel to these institutional formations. In a sense, they have become indispensable elements of mass democracies. Thus, "as the democratic order is based on the mass, the political organization called the party will remain an empirical and inevitable tool in this system. Briefly, the party has brought the direction, form and consciousness to the masses in the formless and dispersed form" (Karamustafaoğlu, 1970, p.91).

The democratization of political representation and, therefore, the right of choice, has provided the salvation of public administration from the monopoly of the privileged classes. It should be noted that all these developments have been subject to the struggle for power in the public administration between the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie, then the

bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the 19th and 20th centuries, especially in the land of Europe (Habermas, 1997).

2. Turkey's special conditions

During the single-party period of the Republic of Turkey, elections were made in 1946, 1923, 1927, 1931, 1935, 1939 and 1943. Managed by a single-party system until 1945, Turkey moved in to the system of multi-party election in 1946. However, because it was based on the principle of "secret vote and open counting", Turkey began to experience pluralism in the 1950s elections. Although the attempts of transition to the short-term multi-party life were made in the period when the Constitution of 1924 was implemented, until the year of 1945, the one-party (Republican People's Party) government continued its sovereignty. While the pluralist democracy cannot be mentioned, the abolition of the requirement of taxation in order to become a voter or a deputy in this period, it should be noted that women achieved positive developments, such as being a voter and also being given the right to be elected to the parliament.

The period of 1950-1960, when Turkey switched to multi-party life, was heavily debated by the election system; in the country, the political history has been named as a period in which the demands on the proportional representation system became increasingly intense.

Variants of the system of proportional representation in all elections in Turkey after 1960 were applied. The most characteristic feature of the proportional representation system is that, unlike the plurality system, it can strongly emphasize the dimension of justice in representation. Thanks to this system, political parties can be represented in the Assembly in proportion to their power. However, this practice has led to the disintegration of the vote in Turkey between multiple parties. This situation has made it difficult for the establishment of stable governments in the Assembly. With the adoption of proportional representation in Turkey up "D'Hondt system" is preferred. Both the barrages and the impoundments application has been done (Tuncer, 2003, pp.120-26). Article 32 of the Law on the Elections of Parliament No. 306, which entered into force in 1961, defines the manner in which the electoral system is implemented:

The number of deputies from political parties and independent candidates is calculated as follows: These figures are before one, then two, then three ... and is divided by the number of MPs to be issued until it reaches the environment. The obtained shares are sorted from the largest to the smallest without the separation of the party. The deputies are allocated to the parties and independent candidates who are the owners of these shares in order of magnitude of the figures (Deputy Election Law, M.32).

Article 34 of the Law No. 2839 on Parliamentary Elections, which was renewed in 1983, defines the practice in the same way.

In the light of discussions on the electoral system in Turkey, we have to generalize, of course, all expectations are for a fair electoral system. It is also expected to fulfill two conditions in the case of democracy. These are both the ability to ensure participation in the system and to comprehend pluralism. Democracy is a form of government that guarantees the protection of minority rights in majority management. As far as this can be achieved, political stability is ensured. However, in today's practice, the voter who does not know who will represent him / her or who the deputies will be votes to the list. The lists are prepared by the central polling in the party centers, and often according to the wishes of the party leaders (Araslı, 1972, passim). In fact, deputies are determined either by central polling or by preliminary selection. In our country, it is seen that political parties prefer more central polling.

The inevitability of considering the contemporary and universal principles of democratic elections is obvious. Such universal principles reinforce the democratic structure of the elections. The principle of general voting, the principle of equal voting, the principle of single voting, the principle of holding elections in predetermined periods, the principle of secret ballot open counting, the principle of free and equal competition, the principle of judicial management and control are the a priori principles of democratic elections. And today, their validity for each electoral system is indisputable (Yavaşgel, 2014). In addition, the importance of political elections and elections should not be neglected. At the same time, it should be taken into consideration that the general elections and

the inclusion of the local elections in the public interest should be taken into consideration.

In fact, discussions about the electoral system in Turkey was born in the style of implementation of the plurality system (Tuncer, 2003). As noted above, has given birth to great injustices in the representation of political parties in the plurality system in the country applied with a wide selection circles; this has led to very significant destruction in political life. As a result of these devastations, a military coup was faced for the first time in the country.

The Turkish political structure did not exhibit a structure that would allow a sovereign party to be mentioned in the multi-party period. However, it cannot be said that from time to time, the majority of the electorate had a 'vote boom' and the voters did not get the vote. At the same time, the current electoral system does not include a mechanism that allows voters to point out the preferred coalition, as it is a one-round and essentially proportional-character system.

Often, the internal functioning of political parties is not by laying down democratic rules, but from the ceiling to the bottom. In particular, the delegate selection mechanism is one of the main obstacles to democracy. The sheet list application, which is more democratic than the block list application in some parties, cannot fulfill its function with key list applications (Araslı, 1972). In order to increase the number of people who prefer the better for the benefit of public interest, each party should go to the open primary in determining the candidates for parliament.

First of all, open primary should be carried out in judicial supervision with the participation of all members in each region. The existence of such a political culture for the consolidation of democracy is indispensable. Therefore, it is clear that the electoral systems have to democratize the in-party functions of political parties in order to fully reflect the political spectrum in the axis of its primary functions.

There is no doubt that the fact that countries have stable governments is crucial for the future of democracy. However, stability in a democracy cannot provide only the arithmetic vote majority. It is a matter of political culture (Tuncer, 2006, p.65).

Although the accumulations about the multi-party life exceeding half a century have formed values that shape our political culture, it is diffi-

cult to say that they are sufficient in terms of the culture of democracy. Changes to election laws prior to each election - the number of these changes has so far reached 34 - is aimed at directing the political consequences of the elections. During the multiparty period, a predominantly proportional electoral system was implemented and a significant portion of the elections resulted in superiority of the right-wing parties. In fact, parties that have achieved a majority ruling power have been predominantly right-wing parties. The table below shows the distribution of election systems in the multiparty period.

Table 1. Distribution of electoral systems in Turkey According to the principles of 'Stability in Management' and 'Justice in Representation'

Selection Systems	Election Dates
List Style Majority	1946, 1950, 1954 and 1957 Deputy Elections
Double Barrage d'Hondt + Quota	1987 and 1991 Deputy Elections
Double Barrage d'Hondt	1983 Election
Country Barrage d'Hondt	1995, 1999, 2002, 2007, 2015 and 2018 Deputy Elections
Environmental Barrage d'Hondt	1961 Deputy Election
D'Hondt Impoundments	1969, 1973 and 1977 Parliamentary Elections
National Residual (National Balance)	1965 Parliamentary Elections

Source: Erol Tuncer, Election Systems from Ottoman to Present (1877-2002), Ankara, TESAV Publications, 2003, p. 126 and YSK

As it can be seen in the table, it has been the 'National Residual System' which has put forward the most element of justice in representation in the applications to date. With this practice of proportional representation in the 1965 elections, the proportions of parties in the parliament were so close that they can be considered equal. In the second place in the 1961 elections, the results of the 'Barrage d'Hondt System' were presented. The most important application that emphasizes stability in management was the 'List Style Majority System'. The 'Double Barrages d'Hont + Quota' application also ranked second in this respect.

In particular, the rate of overrepresentation, which expresses the difference between the proportion of seats in the Assembly and the party's vote, was found to be 35.6% in the first (1957 elections) and 28.6% in the second (1987 elections). And so it is seen that some of the parties were represented above the real forces in the Parliament, some parties were

represented under the real voting power and some of the parties were never represented (Turkish, 2002, p.41).

The d'Hondt system with double barrages with the plurality system made it easier for the single party to obtain the majority of the political power by decreasing the number of parties entering the Parliament. The system that makes one-party power the most difficult among the systems is the d'Hondt system without barrages. This system highlights the element of fair representation and ignores the element of benefit. For this reason, it is difficult for a party to obtain the majority that can be ruled by a single party in such a system.

Since 2002, the country at the next election threshold in Turkey d'Hont system was implemented. In 2007, 2015 and 2018 general parliamentary elections, elections were held with the same system. Only in March 2018, the '*Electoral Alliance Act*' adopted in the Turkish Grand National Assembly brought new applications in the electoral system. In Turkey, the first general election in which implementation of the 10 percent national threshold was made in 1983. In the 2018 elections, an arrangement was made for the parties engaged in electoral alliances to implement the election threshold according to the total votes of the alliance, not on the basis of the party.

3. Research methods and findings

3.1. Method of research

In this analysis, which aimed to question the existence of Turkish women in political life, the focus was on the 2018 election period and its results. For this purpose, according to the results of the 2018 General Parliamentary Election, the number of female MPs of political parties who were eligible to enter parliament was handled separately and socio-demographic conditions of female proxies were analyzed separately.

In this election period, the determination of female candidate policies of the parties was questioned. Meanwhile, the city distributions of female deputies were analyzed according to the parties. In this way, starting from the findings, analyzes were made for Turkey's political culture. Statistical descriptive analysis method was used in the study to find a

correlation between intra - party democracy and general political cultural texture of the country.

3.2. Findings of the research

3.2.1. 24 June 2018 General parliamentary election results

June 24, 2018 The General Elections of the Parliament formed the 27th Period of the Parliament. The number of registered voters in this election is 56.322.632. The number of voters who voted was 49.664.165. The number of valid votes in the election was determined as 48.631.366. According to these data, the participation rate in the elections of June 24, 2018 was determined as 88.18%. In terms of electoral culture, this rate is quite meaningful. It shows the reflex of the Turkish electorate in reflecting the will of the Parliament.

According to the election results, five parties were entitled to enter the Turkish Parliament. These five parties have reached the number of proxies who can form groups in the Parliament. Table 2 shows the distribution of the Parliament in question.

Table 2. 27th Period 2018 Grand National Assembly of Turkey deputies distribution

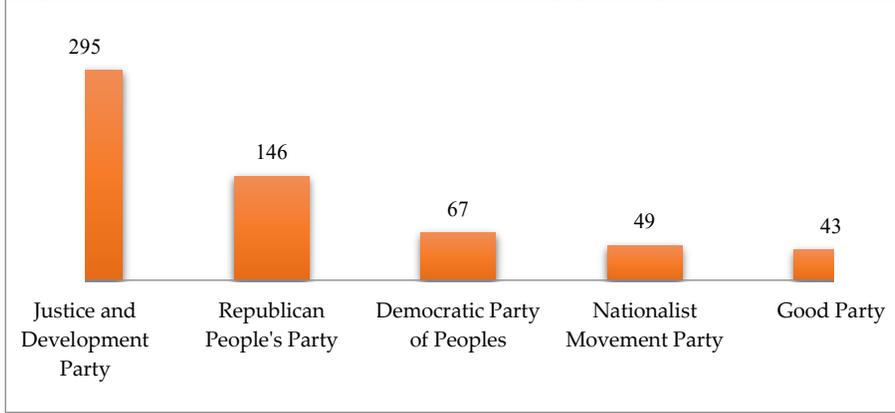
Party Name	Number of Members	Rate (%)
Justice and Development Party	295	49.16
Republican People's Party	146	24.33
Democratic Party of Peoples	67	11.17
Nationalist Movement Party	49	8.17
Good Party	43	7.17
Total	600	100

Source. High Election Board, www.ysk.gov.tr, 14 October 2018

The 27th term was the Justice and Development Party, which was ruled by the Turkish Parliament with the number of 295 deputies. The Republican People's Party is again the main opposition. The number of proxies has been two big parties of the parliament. The third party is the People's Democratic Party with 67 deputies. While the Nationalist Movement Party won the fourth party position with 49 deputies, the Good Party was placed in the fifth rank with 43 deputies. These five par-

ties have reached the number of groups in the Parliament. According to Table 2, the 27th Term Turkish Parliament has a total of 600 deputies. The ruling party has 295 votes, while the votes of opposition parties are 305. However, since the Justice and Development Party entered the elections in alliance with the Nationalist Movement Party in accordance with the 'Electoral Alliance Act' adopted before the election, it is seen that this alliance continued to work after the assembly was established.

Graph 1. 27th Period 2018 Grand National Assembly of Turkey deputies distribution



As it can be seen in Graph 1, the highest number of proxies is owned by the Justice and Development Party. Almost half of the parliament has issued proxy. The distribution in the graph gives the distribution of power, main opposition and opposition parties according to number of proxy. This distribution also provides an indication of the proportions of the state budget.

Looking at the amount of state aid that political parties will receive in 2019 budget presented to the Parliament in 2019, it is seen how the difference in votes between the ruling parties and the opposition parties is reflected in the state support. For the year 2019, 346 million 918 thousand 561 Turkish lira will be transferred to the political parties and the same amount of second support will be given due to the local elections. Thus, the total amount of state aid will reach 693 billion 836 million liras. From the budget, 335 million 526 thousand liras will be transferred to Justice and Development Party, 178 million 564 thousand liras

to Republican People's Party, 92 million 238 thousand liras to Democratic Party of Peoples, 87 million 508 thousand liras to Nationalist Movement Party and Good Party will be given 78 million 520 thousand pounds.

Table 3. 27th Period breakdown by gender Turkey Grand National Assembly of deputies

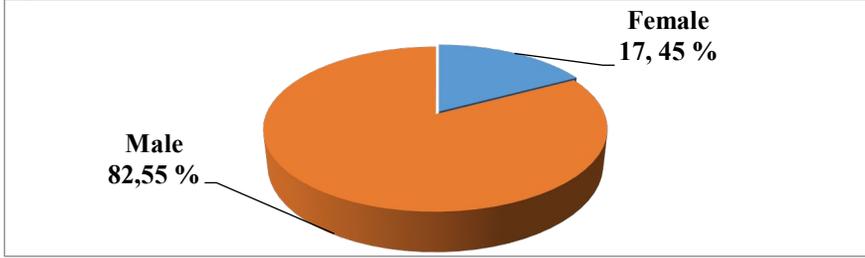
Party Name	Female Deputies		Male Deputies		Party Total
	Number	Rate (%)	Number	Rate (%)	
Justice and Development Party	53	17,97	242	82,03	295
Republican People's Party	18	12,33	128	87,67	144
Democratic Party of Peoples	26	38,81	41	61,19	67
Nationalist Movement Party	4	8,16	45	91,84	49
Good Party	3	6,98	40	93,02	43
Total	104	17,45	496	82,55	600

Source. High Election Board, www.ysk.gov.tr, 15 October 2018

As can be seen in Table 3, the proportion of female MPs in the 27th Period Parliamentary Assembly was 17.45%, while the male deputies were 82.55%. Since the introduction of multi-party political life, the proportion of female deputies in the Parliament has not reached 18%. From this point of view, the 27th period is still unable to witness a development that can provide justice in representation.

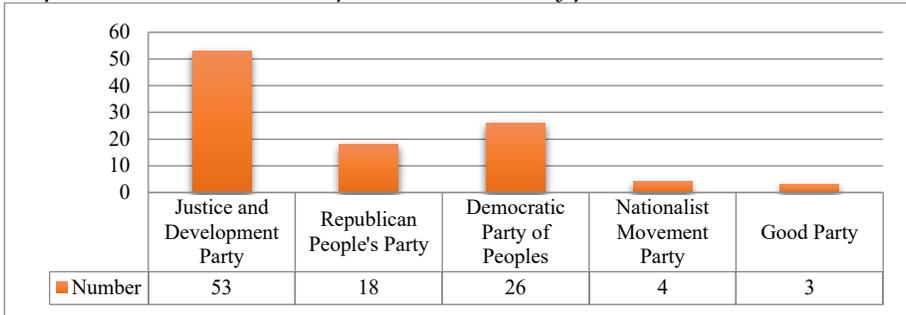
It is seen that only 53 of the 295 MPs of the ruling Party, the Justice and Development Party, are women's deputies. While the ratio of male proxies in the Justice and Development Party was 82.03%, the female representative representation was 17.97%. In the main opposition party - the Republican People's Party - while the rate of female proxies reached 12.33%, it was 38.81% in the People's Democratic Party, 8.16% in Nationalist Movement Party and 6.98% in Good Party. These rates indicate that women's representation is problematic in the political system in the 27th period.

Graph 2. 27th Period rates by gender of the Turkey Grand National Assembly of deputies



Graph 2 shows the missing representation. There are significant differences between the number of female candidates and the number of male candidates in all parties. While half of the population is women, (iii) 17.45% representation in the Parliament refers to the socio-political issue. In this sense, it is necessary to take radical measures such as positive discrimination of political parties in Turkey.

Graph 3. 27th Period women deputies distribution by parties



As can be seen in Graph 3, the number of female deputies in the Parliament remained relatively low in the 27th period. The Justice and Development Party, as the ruling party, has issued 53 women. The main opposition was able to reach 18 female representatives. People's Democratic Party has the highest number of female representatives according to the number of deputies. 26 women have the right to be represented in the Parliament by proxy. Nationalist Movement Party 4 female proxy, while the Good Party has been able to represent representatives with 3 female deputies.

Table 4. 27th Period Justice and Development Party women's deputies / Socio-demographic characteristics

No	Name of the Province	Deputies Name / Surname	Party Name	Civil status	Education	Professional Distributions	Age Distributions	Nmbr. of children
1	Adana	Jülide Sarıeroğlu	Justice and Development Party		Graduate / Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences	Economist	1979	
2	Aksaray	İlknur İnceöz	Justice and Development Party	Married	License / Law	Advocate	1973	1
3	Ankara	Lütfiye Selva Çam	Justice and Development Party	Married	Bachelor / Chemical Eng.	Engineer	1970	3
4	Ankara	Arife Polat Düzgün	Justice and Development Party	Married	Graduate / Medicine	Doctor	1969	2
5	Ankara	Zeynep Yıldız	Justice and Development Party	Single	License / Law	Advocate	1992	
6	Ankara	Asuman Erdoğan	Justice and Development Party	Married	Undergraduate / English Teacher	Teacher	1980	5
7	Antalya	Sena Nur Çelik	Justice and Development Party	Single	Graduate / Law	Advocate	1986	
8	Balıkesir	Belgin Uygur	Justice and Development Party	Married	License / Law	Advocate		
9	Balıkesir	Pakize Mutlu Aydemir	Justice and Development Party	Single	License / Law	Advocate	1967	
10	Bolu	Arzu Aydın	Justice and Development Party	Married	License / Law	Advocate	1969	1
11	Bursa	Emine Yavuz Gözgeç	Justice and Development Party	Married	License / Law	Advocate	1969	1
12	Bursa	Vildan Yılmaz Gürel	Justice and Development Party	Married	License / Law	Advocate	1976	3
13	Çanakkale	Jülide İskenderoğlu	Justice and Development Party	Married	License / Construction	Consultancy	1974	1
14	Denizli	Nilgün Ök	Justice and Development Party	Married	Graduate / Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences	Economist	1976	2
15	Diyarbakır	Oya Eronat	Justice and Development Party	Single	Bachelor / Civil Eng.	Engineer	1962	
16	Düzce	Ayşe Keşir	Justice and Development Party	Married	Graduate / Communication	consultancy	1967	3
17	Edirne	Fatma Aksal	Justice and Development Party	Married	Graduate / Political Studies	Economist	1965	
18	Elazığ	Sermin Balık	Justice and Development Party	Married	License / Textiles	Manager	1972	2
19	Erzurum	Zehra Taşkesenlioğlu	Justice and Development Party	Married	Graduate / Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences	Economist	1972	
20	Eskişehir	Emine Nur Günay	Justice and Development Party	Married	Graduate / Economics	Academician	1962	2
21	Gaziantep	Derya Bakbak	Justice and Development Party	Married	Graduate / Architec-	Academician	1972	2

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22	Hatay	Sabahat Özgürsoy Çelik	Justice and Development Party	Married	License / Law	Advocate	1982	3
23	İstanbul	Ravza Kavakcı Kan	Justice and Development Party	Married	Graduate / Engineering	Academician	1972	1
24	İstanbul	Mihrimah Belma Satır	Justice and Development Party	Married	License / Law	Advocate	1961	1
25	İstanbul	Müşerref Pervin Tuba Durgut	Justice and Development Party	Married	Graduate / Pharmacist	Consultancy	1973	2
26	İstanbul	Fatma Betül Sayan Kaya	Justice and Development Party	Married	Graduate / Engineering / Medical	Engineer / Doctor		
27	İstanbul	Serap Yaşar	Justice and Development Party	Married	License / Law	Advocate	1965	2
28	İstanbul	Canan Kalsın	Justice and Development Party	Single	Graduate / Turkish language / Business Administration	Manager / Consultant	1967	
29	İstanbul	İffet Polat	Justice and Development Party	Married	License / Literature	Manager	1968	2
30	İstanbul	Tülay Kaynarca	Justice and Development Party	Married	Graduate / Communication	Journalist	1969	3
31	İstanbul	Emine Sare Aydın Yılmaz	Justice and Development Party	Married	Graduate / Literature	Academician		1
32	İstanbul	Rümeysa Kadak	Justice and Development Party	Single	License	Student	1996	
33	İstanbul	Alev Dedegil	Justice and Development Party	Single	Bachelor / Political Science	Politician	1958	
34	İzmir	Ceyda Bölünmez Çankır	Justice and Development Party	Married	Bachelor / Office Management	Business woman	1978	2
35	Kahramanmaraş	Habibe Öçal	Justice and Development Party	Married	License / Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences	Manager	1968	3
36	Kayseri	Hülya Nergis	Justice and Development Party	Married	License / Law	Advocate	1967	3
37	Kocaeli	Radiye Sezer Katırcıoğlu	Justice and Development Party	Married	Graduate / Public Administration	Manager	1965	2
38	Kocaeli	Emine Zeybek	Justice and Development Party	Married	License / Law	Advocate	1967	2
39	Konya	Leyla Şahin Usta	Justice and Development Party	Married	License / Medicine	Doctor	1973	2
40	Konya	Gülşay Samancı	Justice and Development Party	Married	License / Law	Advocate	1977	1
41	Kütahya	Ceyda Çetin Erenler	Justice and Development Party	Married	License / Engineering	Mechanical Engineer	1975	1
42	Malatya	Öznur Çalık	Justice and Development Party	Married	Graduate / Pharmacist	Manager	1965	2
43	Manisa	Semra Kaplan Kıvırcık	Justice and Development Party	Married	License / Faculty of Economics and Ad-	Manager	1976	2

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44	Mersin	Zeynep Gül Yılmaz	Justice and Development Party	Married	ministrative Sciences License / Law	Advocate	1976	2
45	Muğla	Yelda Erol Gökcan	Justice and Development Party	Married	Graduate / Public Administration	Journalist / Politics	1976	1
46	Sakarya	Çiğdem Erdoğan Atabek	Justice and Development Party	Married	Bachelor of Science / Literature	Teacher	1981	2
47	Samsun	Çiğdem Karaaslan	Justice and Development Party	Married	Graduate / Fine Arts	Designer	1979	2
48	Sivas	Semiha Ekinci	Justice and Development Party	Married	Graduate / Faculty of Economics and Ad- ministrative Sciences	Manager	1972	
49	Şanlıurfa	Zemzem Gülender Açınal	Justice and Development Party	Married	License / Pharmacy	Pharmacist		
50	Tekirdağ	Çiğdem Koncagül	Justice and Development Party	Married	License / Accounting		1969	2
51	Tokat	Özlem Zengin	Justice and Development Party	Married	Graduate / Law	Advocate	1969	3
52	Trabzon	Bahar Ayvazoğlu	Justice and Development Party	Married	License / Faculty of Economics and Ad- ministrative Sciences	Economist	1976	2
53	Yalova	Meliha Akyol	Justice and Development Party	Married	License / Engineering	Engineer	1960	2

According to Table 4, which includes the socio-demographics of the female deputies that the Justice and Development Party carried to the Parliament in the 27th Period, the Justice and Development Party succeeded in removing the women deputies from the province of Istanbul. 11 woman deputies from Istanbul were removed. From a total of 82 provinces across Turkey it shows interest provinces where only 35 women deputies. Apart from the 6 woman deputies, other woman deputies were also found to be married and have children.

These distributions serve to express the concept of family for the Justice and Development Party which has traditional policies. When these numbers are correlated with the dates of birth of female proxies, it is understood that most of them belong to middle age group. Therefore, it should be noted that the middle age group is playing a more active role because the political system has a certain professional competence in the actor's preferences and that the people in this age range are generally married as marital status.

As it can be seen from the table, it was determined that the woman deputies who had a distribution in the 1960-1986 age scale were women, and most of them were women with professional background who were graduate. When the distribution of profession is examined, it is understood that they are mainly academicians, lawyers, doctors, engineers, journalists, managers, economists, managers and teachers. In this context, it can be stated that Justice and Development Party women deputies belong to professional groups who lead opinion in community life.

Looking at the period of the Republican People's Party's 27 woman deputies of socio-demography, it is understood that the selected 18 women deputies are from Turkey's 13 provinces. No female representative has been removed from 68 provinces. Due to the population density, it is seen that a maximum of 4 women can be reached from Istanbul. It is understood that the majority, except the three deputies, are married and have children. It is seen that the education levels are also quite high, all the deputies are university graduates, even the majority of them have graduate education, and they have worked mainly as academician, lawyer, medical doctor, dentist, pharmacist, engineer and manager. It has been determined that the female proxies' age range is 1961-1989 and therefore they take place in the middle age scale.

Table 5. 27th Period Republican People's Party women's deputies / Socio-demographic characteristics

No	Name of the Province	Deputies Name / Surname	Party Name	Civil status	Education	Professional Distributions	Age Distributions	Nmbr. of children
1	Adana	Müzeyyen Şevkin	Republican People's Party	Married	Graduate / Engineering	Geologist	1961	2
2	Afyon	Burcu Köksal	Republican People's Party	Married	License / Law	Advocate	1980	1
3	Ankara	Gamze Taşçier	Republican People's Party	Married	License / Pharmacy	Pharmacist	1982	1
4	Bartın	Aysu Bankoğlu	Republican People's Party	Single	Graduate / Law	Advocate	1989	
5	Bursa	Lale Karabıyık	Republican People's Party	Married	Graduate / Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences	Academician	1965	1
6	Bursa	Nurhayat Altaca Kayışoğlu	Republican People's Party	Married	License / Law	Advocate	1978	1
7	Denizli	Gülizar Biçer Karaca	Republican People's Party	Married	License / Law	Academician	1967	1
8	Eskişehir	Jale Nur Süllü	Republican People's Party	Married	Graduate / Communication	Advocate	1962	2
9	Hatay	Suzan Şahin	Republican People's Party	Married	License / Law	Dentist	1968	
10	İstanbul	Gamze Akkuş İlgezdi	Republican People's Party	Married	License / Medicine	Advocate	1969	1
11	İstanbul	Saliha Sera Kadıgil Sütü	Republican People's Party	Single	Graduate / Law	Academician	1984	
12	İstanbul	Sibel Özdemir	Republican People's Party	Single	Graduate / Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences	Engineer	1979	
13	İstanbul	Emine Gülizar Emecan	Republican People's Party	Married	License / Engineering	Academician	1968	1
14	İzmir	Selin Sayek Böke	Republican People's Party	Married	Graduate / Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences	Advocate	1972	2
15	İzmir	Sevda Erdan Kılıç	Republican People's Party	Married	License / Law	Manager	1980	1
16	Kocaeli	Fatma Kaplan Hürriyet	Republican People's Party	Married	License / Law	Doctor	1982	1
17	Samsun	Neslihan Hancıoğlu	Republican People's Party	Married	License / Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences	Geologist	1963	2
18	Tekirdağ	Candan Yüceer	Republican People's Party	Married	License / Medicine	Advocate	1973	2

Table 6. 27th Period Nationalist Movement Party women's deputies / Socio-demographic characteristics

No	Name of the Province	Deputies Name / Surname	Party Name	Civil status	Education	Professional Distributions	Age Distributions	Nmbr. of children
1	Adana	Ayşe Sibel Ersoy	Nationalist Movement Party	Married	License / Pharmacist	Pharmacist	1964	2
2	Ankara	Nevin Taşlıçay	Nationalist Movement Party	Married	Bachelor / Faculty of Pharmacy	Pharmacist	1974	3
3	İstanbul	Arzu Erdem	Nationalist Movement Party	Married	Graduate / Ph.D.	Linguist	1970	2
4	Konya	Esin Kara	Nationalist Movement Party	Married	License / Accounting	Financial advisor	1977	

When we look at Table 6 for the socio-demographics of female deputies of Nationalist Movement Party, it is understood that there are 4 women representations in the Parliament. These 4 woman deputies are selected from different provinces of Turkey. It was seen that all are married and have children. It has been found that the woman deputies who have undergraduate and graduate education worked as pharmacists, linguists and financial advisors before the elections. It was also determined that the woman deputies between the ages of 1964-1977 were included in the mid-generation scale.

Table 7. 27th Period Peoples' Democratic Party women's deputies / Socio-demographic characteristics

No	Name of the Province	Deputies Name / Surname	Party Name	Civil status	Education	Professional Distributions	Age Distri- bu- tions	Nmbr. of children
1	Adana	Tülay Hatimoğulları Oruç	Democratic Party of Peoples	Married	License / Faculty of Economics and Admin- istrative Sciences	Economist	1977	
2	Ağrı	Dirayet Dilan Taşdemir	Democratic Party of Peoples	Single	Bachelor's Degree / Literature	Sociologist	1982	
3	Ankara	Filiz Keresteci oğlu Demir	Democratic Party of Peoples	Married	License / Law	Advocate	1961	1
4	Batman	Feleknaş Uca	Democratic Party of Peoples	Single	Graduate / Political Science	Politician	1976	
5	Batman	Ayşe Acar Başaran	Democratic Party of Peoples	Married	License / Law	Advocate	1985	
6	Diyarbakır	Salihe Aydeniz	Democratic Party of Peoples	Married	High school	Sanitarian		2
7	Diyarbakır	Remziye Tosun	Democratic Party of Peoples	Married	License / Medicine		1981	4
8	Diyarbakır	Semra Güzel	Democratic Party of Peoples		License / Kurdology	Doctor		
9	Diyarbakır	Dersim Dağ	Democratic Party of Peoples	Single	Middle School		1996	
10	Hakkari	Leyla Güven	Democratic Party of Peoples	Married	High school graduate	Self-employment	1964	2-
11	İstanbul	Pervin Buldan	Democratic Party of Peoples	Married	License / Law	Self-employment	1967	2
12	İstanbul	Oya Ersoy	Democratic Party of Peoples	Married	License / Law	Advocate	1970	
13	İstanbul	Hüda Kaya	Democratic Party of Peoples	Married	License / Faculty of Economics and Admin- istrative Sciences	Author	1960	4
14	İstanbul	Dilşat Canbaz Kaya	Democratic Party of Peoples	Married	Bachelor's Degree / Literature	Employee	1973	3
15	İstanbul	Züleyha Gülüm	Democratic Party of Peoples	Married	License / Law	Advocate	1971	

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16	İzmir	Serpil Kemalbay Pekgözegü	Democratic Party of Peoples		License / Engineering	Chemical Engi- neer	1964	
17	Mardin	Pero Dundar	Democratic Party of Peoples		High school		1971	
18	Mardin	Ebrü Günay	Democratic Party of Peoples	Single	License / Law	Advocate	1982	
19	Mersin	Fatma Kurtulan	Democratic Party of Peoples	Married	High school	Activist	1964	
20	Muş	Gülüstan Kılıç Koçyiğit	Democratic Party of Peoples	Married	License / Health	Nurse	1979	2
21	Muş	Şevin Coşkun	Democratic Party of Peoples	Married	License / Communica- tion	Journalism		
22	Siirt	Meral Daniş Beştaş	Democratic Party of Peoples	Married	License / Law	Advocate	1967	2
23	Şanlıurfa	Ayşe Sürücü	Democratic Party of Peoples	Married	License / Accounting		1976	3
24	Şırnak	Nuran İmir	Democratic Party of Peoples	Married	License / Law	Advocate	1977	
25	Van	Bedia Özgökçe Ertan	Democratic Party of Peoples	Married	License / Faculty of Economics and Admin- istrative Sciences	Engineer	1975	3
26	Van	Muazzez Orhan	Democratic Party of Peoples	Married	License / Faculty of Management	Business Manager	1972	

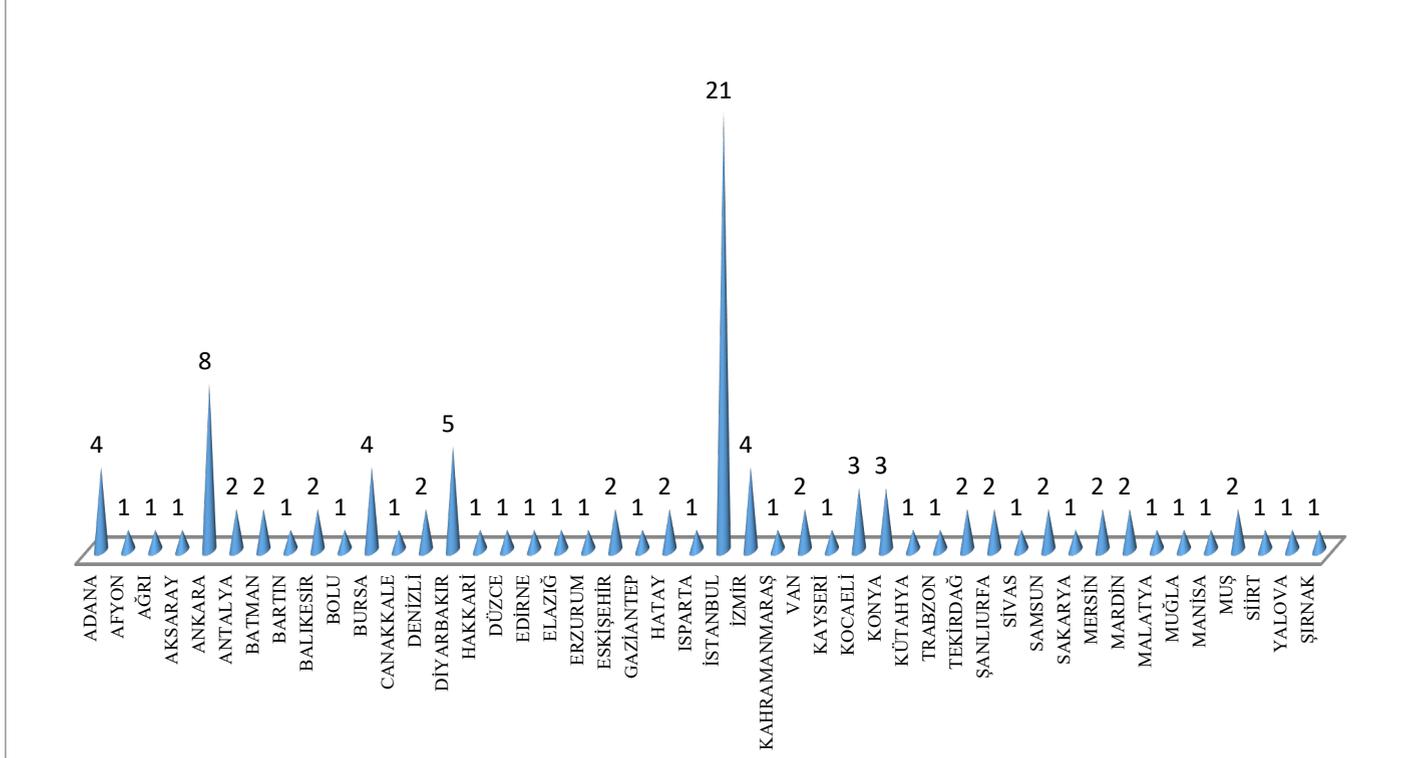
In the 27th period, the Democratic Party of Peoples won the right of representation in the Parliament with 67 deputies. 26 of the 67 deputies are women. In this way, 38.81% of woman deputies have reached the ratio. With this ratio, the number of woman deputies in the Parliament increased to the highest number of parties. Democratic Party of Peoples has woman deputies from 15 provinces of 85 provinces. According to Table 7, it is understood that other woman deputies, except 4 of them, are married and have children and are in the 1961-1996 age group. Deputies except 5 deputies are highly educated, most of them are graduates. Prior to the elections, they took part in the business life as an academican, writer, politician, economist, doctor, lawyer, engineer, and journalist and self-employed.

Table 8. 27th Period Good Party women's deputies/Socio-demographic characteristics

No	Name of the Province	Deputies Name / Surname	Party Name	Civil status	Education	Professional Distributions	Age Distributions	Nmbr. of children
1	Ankara	Şenol Bal	Good Party	Married	Graduate / Education Sciences	Academican	1956	2
2	Antalya	Tuba Vural Çokal	Good Party	Married	Graduate / Medicine	Doctor	1973	2
3	Isparta	Aylin Cesur	Good Party	Married	Graduate / Medicine	Doctor	1970	

When we look at Table 8 in the woman deputies of the Good Party of socio-demography, it is seen that Turkey's three selected provinces are well located. Moreover, it is understood that these woman deputies were married and were in the 1956-1970 age group. 3 woman deputies are also highly educated at postgraduate level, 2 doctors and 1 is an Educational Scientist. The Good Party, which won the right to be represented by 43 deputies in the parliament, was able to issue only 3 women deputies. With this number, woman deputies' ratio reached 6.98%.

Graph 5. 27th Period 2018 Grand National Assembly of Turkey Distribution of women parliamentarians by provincia



According to the research data, it is seen that, in the June 24, 2018 elections, a total of 104 woman deputies, who were entitled to enter the Parliament, were selected from 46 different provinces. This figure indicates that there is a female surrogate in just over half of the 81 cities. It is an insufficient number in terms of political and social modernization. Turkey should reach the number of woman deputies from each province to take off so Turkey can accelerate progress in terms of socio-political.

21 deputies are from the province of Istanbul with the highest number of woman deputies while the second place with 8 deputies is Ankara; the third place with 5 deputies is Diyarbakir; Izmir, Adana and Bursa with 4 deputies share the fourth place; Kocaeli and Konya are in the fifth place with 3 deputies. 1 or 2 woman deputies were removed from the remaining 38 provinces. This distribution serves to point out the settlement areas of the country's socio-political development.

Table 9. Socio-demographic characteristics of 27th period women deputies

Party Name	Number of Woman Deputies	Marital Status		Average Number of Children	The average age
		Marries	Single		
Justice and Development Party	53	48	5	2	33
Republican People's Party	18	15	3	1	34.5
Nationalist Movement Party	4	4	-	2	36.5
Democratic Party of Peoples	26	23	3	1	33.9
Good Party	3	3	-	1	45
General Situation	104	93	11	1	36.5

Table 9 compares the socio-demographic characteristics of the woman deputies of the political parties entering the Parliament after the elections of June 24, 2018. The ruling party, the Justice and Development Party, has a little more than half of the 104 deputies. In terms of the number of woman deputies, the second place in the Parliament was the Democratic Party of Peoples. In this respect, the Republican People's Party rose to the third row of the parliament. The fact that the majority of woman deputies of the political parties who are eligible to enter the parliament and

establish a group are married and have children can be read as a reflection of the traditional structure of the society. The fact that the age range of women in the parties is 33-45 may be related to the functional finding of the middle age group in terms of sociological culture.

Table 10. 27th Period women deputies / Distribution by education areas

Party Name	Science	Liberal Arts	Health Sciences	Engineering Science
Justice and Development Party	2	39	6	6
Republican People's Party	-	13	3	2
Nationalist Movement Party	-	2	2	-
Democratic Party of Peoples	-	14	1	1
Good Party	-	1	2	-
Total	2	69	14	9

It is important to question how effective educational backgrounds can be when creating a political identity. It seems possible to find the answer to this question in Table 10. In the 27th period, the majority of woman deputies; a total of 104 woman deputies have been educated in the field of Social Sciences. According to the distribution in Table 10. 66.3 % of the 27th period women deputies were from Social Sciences, 13.5 % from Health Sciences, 8.6 % from Engineering Sciences and 1.9 % from Science. Therefore, in this period the Parliament mainly consists of woman deputies from the Social Sciences major.

Table 11. 27th Period women deputies / Distributions by professions

No	Occupation	Party Name					Total
		Justice and Development Party	Republican People's Party	Democratic Party of Peoples	Democratic Party of Peoples	Good Party	
1	Advocates	16	8	-	7	-	31
2	Doctor	2	2	-	1	2	7
3	Engineer	5	2	-	1	-	8
4	Academician	4	4	-	-	1	9
5	Teacher	2	-	1	-	-	3
6	Economist	5	-	1	1	-	7
7	Journalist	2	-	-	1	-	3
8	Manager	5	1	-	-	-	6
9	Architect	1	-	-	-	-	1
10	Pharmacist	1	1	2	-	-	4
11	Sociologist	-	-	-	1	-	1
12	Philologist	-	-	1	-	-	1
13	Manager	3	-	-	-	2	5
14	Consultancy	3	1	-	-	-	4
15	Nurse	-	-	-	-	1	1
16	Author	-	-	-	-	1	1

The professional distributions of the woman deputies of the 27th period are summarized in Table 11. This distribution has been taken into consideration over the impact of professional identity on social identity. According to the distribution in Table 11, 104 female deputies in the parliament have 31 advocates, 11 academicians, 8 engineers, 7 physicians, 7 economists, 6 managers, teachers, writers and nurses. In the professional sense, it is seen that the majority of the woman deputies in the field of law constitute the majority. This distribution in the professional sense corresponds to the idea of building politics for justice.

It is seen that the distribution of this table is quite natural since it constitutes the third element of law, besides the tradition and religion that determine the structure of society.

Conclusion

The elections are undoubtedly the indispensable condition of democracy, but it should not be considered as an adequate condition. Their contributions to democracy are of course indisputable. However, it is not possible to accept that in a country only elections and the presence of a parliament provide sufficient conditions for the existence of democracy in that country.

To determine which party will be administered to the country for a certain period of time from an electoral system. This function of the selection system is called the '*benefit principle*'. Since this function provides a government with the ability to manage the country in a stable manner, this function is also called the '*principle of stability*' or the '*principle of governance*'. However, the electoral system determines not only the ruling party, but also the parties that will go to parliament and be opposed to power. This structure reveals the second function of the system. This function provides '*justice in representation*'. Therefore this function is called the '*principle of justice*'.

Today, democratic elections should not be the choice of a person or a leader, but a program - idea - choice. It is necessary not to perceive democracy in the sense of the creation of governments only by the votes of the majority. The basis of democracy is to respect human dignity, to value human personality. On the basis of these, we see the equality of opportunity and freedom.

In fact, the only element that makes electoral systems permanent is the belief that the people carry their will to the Assembly. If this will not be felt, the likelihood of management will be reduced. At the same time, the electorate, who does not own the administration, will continue to search for a system that will fully reflect its will to parliament. In this case, the country will inevitably have political instability. The importance of voter preferences is undeniable. In accordance with the principle of general voting, it is vital to eliminate the proportional deficiencies of female candidates among the candidates for the candidates elected by the electorate. This can be achieved initially by the introduction of quota for women candidates until the improvement of democratic public life based on the principle of equality.

Election is one of the most prominent concepts defining the political regime, not a purely technical concept or phenomenon. Until the democratic political regime, mankind has tried political regimes that have different management approaches such as monarchical, aristocratic, oligarchic and tyranny. Moreover, it operated the mere election mechanism which was sufficient to separate the democratic regime from the others. Due to the nature of democracy, this mechanism is based on the principle of 'equality'. Its functioning is also aimed at making the people have a say in management. Alexis de Tocqueville said that the direction of equality in democracy in America was the principle that dominated the history of humanity. Since there is a universal and permanent human development that cannot be prevented from going towards equality, all events and people serve this development either willingly or unintentionally.

The search for methods to ensure the participation of the ruled in political decisions is an ongoing search since the adoption of democratic governments as the only legitimate form of government. In this search, especially the electoral systems play a fundamental role in legitimizing the power. In general, political debates on electoral systems have focused on equality in representation. Representation through elections is based on the principle of protecting pluralism in ideas. The elections are indeed the necessary condition of democracy, but unfortunately they cannot form the necessary condition.

By the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, through the general vote, widely adopted at the beginning of the century, women began to enjoy equal access to human rights and citizenship rights. However, the fact that women could benefit from all the opportunities of public life increased in the 20th century. Nowadays, the majority of the world's governments in the constitution, including Turkey, guaranteed the rights of women political situation.

According to the figures of women in Turkey to be represented in Parliament rate is 2.5% on average up to 23 periods. The proportion of women in the total number of deputies until this period did not exceed 4.5% in the 5th period when women were first elected. The representation rate exceeding the 5th period was reached by 9.1% in the 2007 gen-

eral elections. This rate increased to 14.38% in the 2011 elections and to 17.82% in the 7 June 2015 elections.

However, it was decided to renew the elections because the government could not be established. Thereafter, on 1 November 2018, early elections were held and after the elections, female representation in parliament fell to 14.73%. After the elections for the 27th period of June 24, 2018, the ratio increased to 17.43%. It is seen that the highest rate can be reached with 17.82% in 7 June 2015 elections. These rates clearly show that women are not adequately represented in the Turkish parliament.

Despite many legal arrangements in terms of providing political representation in the world, women's relationship with politics is apolitical. Even though there has been a relative increase in the historical process, the proportion of women taking part in parliaments is not at the levels that it should be. In terms of world averages, the representation rate of women in the parliaments is around 15%. At the same time, it is very rare for women who do not have a place in national parliament to take part in governments. Although today's data show an increase in women's representation in parliaments, the rate of representation is generally low. Progress in representation rates shows an uneven distribution. As seen from the survey, Turkey is unfortunately not different from that in this case.

Of course, many legal developments in the Turkish women's rights can be mentioned in our country. As it is known, the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women* (CEDAW), the basic document of the equality of men and women on the international level, was approved on 1 March 1985. The CEDAW is a universal declaration of women's rights, often defined as a draft law on women's rights. Turkey has also ratified this convention in 1985 and entered into force on the date of the contract January 19, 1986.

First of all, it should be emphasized that political parties have very important responsibilities for women's organizations. For this, however, the party arms in the existing structure should be removed from the auxiliary organization. In particular, it is necessary to focus on the provision of women's assets in the general decision-making bodies of the parties. Special attention should be paid to the implementation of the quota system for women by adding them to the special provisions of the Constitu-

tion and related laws in order to ensure the equality of women and men in political representation. Obligation to apply women's quota in elections is not very common in the world. It was first implemented by the regulations of political parties in Northern European countries.

The unequal representation in the political sphere in the perspective of the privileged position of men in societies necessitates quota applications which will be positive discrimination in favor of women. Positive discrimination here is an improved approach to provide a critical threshold for women to be effective in parliaments. This critical threshold means going to a quota implementation in parliaments in order to realize a 30% or 40% rate of female representation.

Undoubtedly, it is not possible to wait for the solution of all the problems of the women in the political sphere by applying a purely gender quota. The aim is not to negate the male dominance directly. It is an application that approaches women to solve unequal representation in equal distance. In addition, it is necessary to consider the gender quotas to solve the problem, not with each other, but with other variables. However, to implement a gender quota in order to eliminate social stereotypes from the underlying history of women's under-represented representation should be read as a historical step for the egalitarian democratic representation system.

For this reason, besides the quotas, political parties need to develop rules for the ranking of lists. It is not possible for women candidates who are placed in places that cannot be selected in the lists. In order to change the symbolic position in the representation created for these women, it is of great importance to increase the number of female candidates in the candidate lists and to put them in places to be elected.

The empowerment of women in the political sphere is based on the transformation of political representation and decision-making mechanisms, which are based solely on the representation of men, thus creating under-representation. In order to achieve equality between women and men in political life, the efforts must be intensified in other areas. For this purpose, there is a great need for intensive efforts of all parties, especially political parties. For an equitable development in political participation processes, organizations that support the equality of women and men should be strengthened.

Footnotes

i. In a number of European countries, a different application, called multiple votes, has been tried in two ways, including many votes and a number of votes. In Belgium between 1893 and 1921, a very high number of votes were recorded. Accordingly, every Belgian man has the authority to vote in principle. However, the voter may vote more than one. These qualities are; to be the head of the family, to give a certain amount of taxes, to have a higher education or to have certain duties demonstrated by the law, such as being a teacher. While a Belgian has one vote for each of these attributes, the use of these rights in total is limited by three votes. This practice was terminated in Belgium after World War I. Another application of the double ballot application, the number of games in the UK until 1951 was seen. According to the number of the census, the voter could be a voter from more than one electoral district in the presence of certain conditions. In fact, an Englishman has the right to vote at the place where the workplace is located, if he has a vote, a real estate at the place of residence, and where he is located (Karamustafaoğlu 1970: 57-76). However, when a 1918 law passed the elections on the same day throughout the country, this practice was deemed null and void in the UK.

ii. The first product of the struggles for democratization in England was given by the Reform Law adopted in 1832. The transition from the ruling classes to the masses of people had a heavy formation. Indeed, the transition from oligarchy to democracy was carried out in 1867, 1884, 1885, and 1918, with more than a hundred years of reform laws. In the UK, an important democratic step was taken with the Representation of the People Act of 1918 on the issues of election and parliamentary representation, and the wealth requirement was abolished in order to vote in electoral circles, and women who are over 30 years old were also given the right to vote for the first time. However, the law did not allow for full voting by accepting the plural voting system, as it allowed university graduates and business owners to vote more than once. The law that terminated gender discrimination in the UK allowed women to vote at the same age as men (21 years old), but the law came into force in 1928 and the law that abolished the system of plurality of voting was issued in 1946. In this way, the only person to be elected in the political life of the British political life can be based on democratic principles.

iii. Address Based Population Registration System 2017 based on the results of Turkey's population, as of December 31, 2017 was 80 million 810 thousand 525 people. population residing in Turkey in 2017, increased by 995 thousand persons compared to 654 the previous year. The male population was 40 million 535 thousand 135 people, while the female population was 40 million 275 thousand 390 people. According to this, 50.2% of the total population was male and 49.8% was female. Turkey's annual population growth rate stood at 12.4 per thousand. Annual population growth rate was 13.5% in 2016 and 12.4% in 2017. (www.tuik.gov.tr, 21.10.2018)

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