



A VAGUE ISSUE OF EXISTENCE: THE CASE OF TURKEY ON WOMEN'S RIGHT TO VOTE AND BE ELECTED (1930-1960)

MÜPHEM BİR VAROLUŞ MESELESİ: KADININ OY HAKKI, SEÇME VE SEÇİLMESİ ÜZERİNE TÜRKİYE ÖRNEĞİ (1930-1960)

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ABSTRACT

The issue of women's right to vote and be elected has historical developments which differ from society to society. These differences can be attributed to many reasons. This right, which was given at different periods in some societies and at the same time in others, was put into force within the framework of particular restrictions or costs. While the progress about this issue was rather indistinct in some societies it was visible enough in others. The struggle of women to exist in political life was sometimes carried out through their own voices and writings and sometimes covertly without a particular voice and identity. The fact that women have the right to vote and be elected expresses the existence and visibility of women in political life. Considering this issue within the framework of freedom of women and human rights means understanding the nature of the process. In the historical process it can be seen that this issue has been prioritized in societies that experienced the colonial process. Moreover, the fact that in such societies the right to vote and be elected was given at the same time instead of gradually, is also noteworthy. This study focuses on the relation between this situation and the experience of colonization and process of nation-stateization. Thereafter, it is seen that the activity of women regarding the right to vote and be elected increased during the colonial and post-colonial period. In fact, the fact the associability of the right to vote and be elected, which was granted to women in many countries at the same time, with decolonialism is another argument of the study in question.

Keywords: Colonialism, Human Rights, Post-Colonialism, Right to Vote, Women's rights, Women's Suffrage.

ÖZ

Dünya'da Kadının seçme ve seçilme hakkı meselesi toplumdan topluma farklı tarihsel gelişimler göstermektedir. Bu farklılıklar pek çok nedenle ilişkilendirilebilir. Kimi toplumlarda farklı periyotlarda kimilerinde aynı anda verilmiş olan bu hak belli kısıtlamalar veya bedeller çerçevesinde yürürlüğe konulmuştur. Söz konusu süreç kimilerinde belli belirsiz kimilerinde daha göze görünür bir şekilde ilerlemiştir. Kadının siyasal yaşamda var olma mücadelesi bazen kadının sesi ve kaleminden bazen de örtülü olarak kimliksiz ve sessiz yürütülmüştür. Esasında kadının seçme ve seçilme hakkına sahip olması kadının siyasal yaşamdaki varlığı ve görünürlüğü ifade etmektedir. Bu bağlamın konunun kadının özgürlüğü ve insan hakları çerçevesinde değerlendirilebilmesi gereği sürecin doğasını anlamayı ifade etmektedir. Tarihsel süreç içerisinde bu bağlamın kolonyal süreci tecrübe etmiş toplumlarda diğerlerine göre öncelenmiş olduğu görülmektedir. Üstelik bu gibi toplumlarda seçme ve seçilme hakkının kademeli değil bir arada sağlanmış olduğu gerçeği ayrıca dikkat çekicidir. Çalışma tam da bu durumun sömürgeleştirilme tecrübesi ve ulus devletleşme süreci ile ilişkilendirilmesine odaklanmaktadır. Buna göre kadının seçme ve seçilme hakkı bağlamındaki hareketliliğinin kolonyal ve Post-kolonyal dönemde görünür olduğu ve söz konusu çabaların giderek artış gösterdiği görülmektedir. Öyle ki bu dönemde kadınlara birçok ülkede aynı anda tanınan seçme ve seçilme hakkının dekolonyalizm ile ilişkilendirilebilmesi söz konusu çalışmanın bir diğer argümanıdır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İnsan Hakları, Kadın Hakları, Kolonyalizm, Oy Kullanma Hakkı, Post-kolonyalizm, Women's Suffrage.

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Introduction

Colonialism, which is one of the factors that shape the political history of the world, looked for answers to the questions such as which great power would the political balance favor. This political balance was sometimes in favor of Phoenicians, Rome and in new and modern eras France. Although there were differences in the colonial process in each of these examples the consequences were mostly similar. In all respects, the situation is the unchanging consequences seen in all of the civilizations that have experienced the historical effects of colonial tendency from ancient times to modern times. As a result of a pure constitutive politicization colonialism first started as a colonial system and shortly evolved into imperialism. But the consequences and practices were similar in societies which were under effect.

Societies that have experienced the colonial system followed a different path in search of fundamental rights and freedoms as well natural rights and freedoms. When this context is considered from all perspectives, the fact that the colonization process has been experienced seems to prioritize the search of rights and freedoms to a certain extent in societies that have experienced it, compared to other societies that haven't. In this context, it is noteworthy that women's rights have made a primary development in the post-1918 period, but developed more after 1945 in some countries that became independent after colonialism.

Basically, the term Colonialism comes from the word "colonia", which means a community that settles in a new place but retains connections to the homeland. A brief definition of the term can be the conquest and control of other people's lands and property. Two main types of colonialism can be mentioned: the old-style colonialism based on free competition in the developmental stage of capitalism, and the new-type colonialism based on Industrial Revolution and capitalism. In particular, the new type of colonialism is in a position between classical colonialism and imperialism. Thus, it can be said that it is a transition period from colonialism to imperialism.¹

Post-colonialism, on the other hand, was put forward by Said and emerged in 1980's as a result of a subjects researched in relation with postmodernism. In addition, both post-colonialism and postmodernism has often considered studies regarding "orientalism". Although the prefix "post" in postcolonialism means "continuities and disconnections", as Ella Shohat said in an important article on postcolonialism, rather than the meaning of going beyond, what she emphasizes does not mean a "beyond" but a continuity, that is, the new states and forms of old colonial practices. First studies regarding postcolonialism were conducted by scholars such as Anwar Abdel Makel, Samir Amin, C.L.R. James. Like Said, Loomba states that post-colonialism causes quite hot debates because of the prefix "post", implying that it does not indicate the death of colonialism, but that it is considered as the various legacies left behind by colonialism, opposing colonial domination.²

Considering the concept from a terminological point of view, considering post-colonialism as the post-colonial period in which colonialism came to an end will make it difficult to fully understand the subject. Instead, it would be appropriate to consider the theory of post-colonialism as a reaction to the process of neocolonialism. In fact, when we look at the historical developments of the period at the end of the twentieth century, it is seen that the powerful nations practised "modern colonialism" on the less powerful in order to become stronger in order to protect the status quo. This is called as the neocolonial era. This process has reached various dimensions compared to the one applied in previous periods and it is a complex process with different parameters.

1- Historical Context in the Process of Obtaining the Right to Vote and be Elected for Women

Initially, it was essential that the right to vote was given only to women who could demonstrate a certain level of income and/or education, or to women who had a certain marital and social status (spouse, widow or daughter of a member). Women were sometimes given the right to vote locally, but not at the national level. Sometimes these categories included women of white origin. In this regard, it is seen that prerequisites have been determined in some countries. These countries are Argentina, Australia, Bahamas, Belgium, Bolivia, Canada, Chile, Ecuador, Greece, Ireland, Japan, Kenya, Norway, Panama, Portugal, Romania, Samoa, South Africa, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, Turkey, United Kingdom and Zimbabwe. In fact, women's suffrage falls upon the

¹ Alper İplikçi, "Kolonyalizm ve Emperyalizm Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme", *Atatürk University Institute of Social Sciences Journal*, December (2017), 1529, For detailed information about colonialism see: Raimondo Luraghi, *Sömürgecilik Tarihi*, İstanbul: E Publishing, 2015, 20 and Marc Ferro, *Sömürgecilik Tarihi (Fetihlerden Bağımsızlık Hareketlerine 13.-20. Yüzyıl)*, Ankara: İmge Publishing, 2017, 18.

² Yunus Kaya, "Oryantalizm - Postkolonyalizm Ve Sanat", *İdil Journal*, Vol. 6, Issue 30, 2017, 658.

twentieth century. Also, for colonized countries, access to suffrage for indigenous people often evolves simultaneously with decolonisation.³

While some early constitutions made male suffrage almost universal, throughout the nineteenth century suffrage was restricted to male adults who owned property, earned some income, or paid a certain amount of tax. Two countries – Liberia in West Africa in 1839 and Greece in 1844 – provided all adult males with the right to vote when they set the terms of the suffrage. Starting with France in 1792, the suffrage qualifications also expanded relatively in the nineteenth century.

Among countries that only permitted male suffrage qualifications such as income, property, literacy were still commonly seen in 1900's and till the end of World War II. The first country where women could vote in the same way as men was New Zealand in 1893. It was followed by Australia in 1901, Finland in 1907 and Norway in 1913. In 1907 in Norway, in 1915 in Iceland, in 1917 in Canada and in 1918 in the United Kingdom, women were granted the right to vote on a narrower basis than men. By 1950, only half of any suffrage countries gave women the right to vote on the same basis as men. The assumption that women could not use any political rights was so obvious to the founders of representative institutions that Kant called it 'natural'. The early advocates of women's suffrage observed that intelligence was not based on gender. The main argument against giving women the right to vote was that they were like children, that is, they were not independent and had no will of their own. It was believed that giving women the right to vote would only mean doubling their husbands' votes. In addition, women were already represented in their households by men, and their interests would be represented through guardianship rather than an electoral connection.⁴ In this context, as it can be understood from the aforementioned approach, arguments against women's suffrage was desired to be legitimized by basing them on the practices of daily life.

After the Second World War, the process that can also be considered as the second period of the colonial period, women's suffrage became almost inevitable. So much so that there were many evidences in favor of the importance of international norms. As mentioned above, the introduction of universal suffrage in New Zealand for the first time in 1893 broke the threshold for other countries. The movement for women's suffrage was international from the start: suffragettes⁵ in the United Kingdom, United States, Australia and New Zealand had maintained close contact since the 1860s.

In this context, International women's congresses were held regularly after the 1904 Berlin meeting, and six of the fourteen countries that emerged between the two world wars immediately accepted the universal, male and female suffrage. All but three Muslim countries - Bahrain, Kuwait and the Maldives - gained their independence in 1948 after the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which prohibits all forms of discrimination between men and women and advocates for equality of rights, by the United Nations. In addition, it is understood that on this all men and women were given the right to vote.⁶

After the countries that first gave women the right to vote, the right to vote in national elections in America was given to women in 1920. Thus, women all over the world gradually gained the right to vote and to be elected. In South Africa, on the other hand, white women were granted the right to vote in 1930, while mixed raced and

³ <http://archive.ipu.org/wmn-e/dstrseat.htm>, (Retrieved on 22.05.2021).

⁴ Adam Przeworski, "Conquered or Granted? A History of Suffrage Extensions", *British Journal of Political Science*, 39, April, Vol. 39, Issue 02, 2009, p. 295.

⁵ The women's movement, known as the suffragettes consist of women's rights defenders, especially in the USA and later in the UK, who defend the right of women to vote and be elected, by means of passive resistance, interruption of public meetings, hunger strike. Due to their actions and aims, they were known in history as suffragettes, as the Daily Mail gave them. Although there is a big time difference between them, the development of suffragism in various countries is similar, not only in terms of the point reached, but also in terms of the beginning of the movements. In every country, this movement demanded women's suffrage only when they saw that they had a chance to obtain it, that is, when a democratization for men was on the agenda. The differences in the historical timing of the nations can be explained not by the differences in the women's movement, but by the differences in the history of the men's movement and the constitution, and the political culture and conjuncture of the countries. Deborah Brown, Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Carrie Chapman Catt and Alice Paul, who later joined the movement, are the founders of the American Suffrage movement. Elizabeth Cady Stanton organized the Seneca Falls Conference in New York State in 1848. The Declaration of Sentiments, written by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and published in Seneca Falls (New York) on July 19-20, 1848, which goes down in history as the earliest attempt to adapt the basic natural rights doctrine to women, was signed by 100 men and women, Banu Hatice Gürcüm ve Arzu Arslan, "19. Yüzyıl Süfraj Hareketinde Sessiz Direnişin Sembölü Olarak Reform Kiyafeti", *İdil Journal*, Vol 6, Issue 32, 2017, p. 1391-1392.

⁶ Adam Przeworski, "Conquered or Granted?", 314.

Indian women were granted the right to vote in 1984 and black women only in 1994.⁷ This situation, as can be understood from these examples, indicates that the right to vote granted to women is rather limited and intended to certain groups. It should also be discussed that this situation is not suitable for the functioning of democracy and does not fully express national sovereignty. It is seen that this limited freedom granted to women in countries with the aforementioned situation has only been completed in a long-term historical development.

The rapid granting of women's suffrage, not only in the United States but also in many foreign countries, can be considered as one of the major consequences of the great world war. However, it will be important to regard this process with its colonial feature. It is also necessary to discuss the nature of the right to vote mentioned here. This is because the voting right mentioned is a limited and narrowed one. This subject needs to be examined in the framework of this aspect. It should be noted that providing a chronological summary of the progress of the suffrage movement and an inventory of the current political status of women in foreign countries would allow an accurate assessment of the ultimate impact of the war.

The first activities regarding the suffrage to women in foreign countries actually began during the US Civil War. In 1862, municipal suffrage was granted to elders and widows that payed thax in Sweden. The following year, Finland granted local suffrage to woman who payed taxes and lived in rural areas across the Baltic. And nearly a decade later this right was also given to woman that payed taxes and lived in cities. Bohemia in nearly 1864, granted female taxpayers and women in knowledgeable professions the right to vote, not only in municipal elections, but also for members of the state council. It also made them eligible to become members of the mentioned legislature. At the end of 1869, widows that owned houses and elderly people were given the right to vote for mayor in England and Wales. The following year they were given the right to vote for school boards.⁸

The women's movement known as the Suffragettes which was active especially in the USA and later in England, is important movement regarding women's suffrage. Women's rights defenders, who defended the right of women to vote and be elected, were known as suffragettes.

In the USA, Elizabeth Cady Stanton,⁹ Deborah Brown, Lucretia Mott, Susan B. Anthony, and Carrie Chapman Catt and Alice Paul, who later on joined the movement, were the founders of the American Suffrage movement and in fact the first people to raise voice for struggle regarding women's suffrage. Elizabeth Cady Stanton organized the *Seneca Falls Conference* in New York state in 1848. According to applicable law or custom, women could not vote, speak in public, attend college, or make a living as teachers, tailors, housekeepers, or factory workers. A married woman lived under these restrictions and more. A woman could not enter into contracts, sue somebody, divorce an abusive husband, have custody of her children, or even own the clothes she wore. Although middle-class wives dominated the domestic field, their husbands legally controlled them. It was only in 1848 that women individually expressed their desire for equality. In Seneca Falls, New York, under the leadership of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, they made an official list of complaints based on the Declaration of Independence denouncing inequalities in property rights, education, employment, religion, marriage and family, and especially suffrage. There were also people against slavery who set up businesses in Seneca Falls and Waterloo. Here and elsewhere, Quaker women like Lucretia Mott also living in Philadelphia took an active part in the effort to end slavery. The next step in the struggle to end slavery was the issue of women's suffrage. This practice was the first in history for the struggle for women's suffrage.¹⁰

When the process is taken into consideration from a different point of view, it is seen that the demand for women's suffrage is inspired by universal men's suffrage movements. It can also be said that classical individualism which lies under the democratic tradition makes it difficult for women to be included in the system.

⁷ Zerrin Ayşe Öztürk, "Uluslararası Siyasette Ve Karar Alma Mekanizmalarında Kadın", *Ege Strategic Research Journal*, Vol. 3, Issue 1, 2012,11.

⁸ P. Orman Ray, "Woman Suffrage in Foreign Countries", *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 12, No. 3, (Aug1918), 469.

⁹ Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815-1920) accompanied the World Anti-Slavery Convention in England. When the British female delegates, including Lucretia Mott, Stanton, and Mott, were excluded from the convention, they decided to organize a women's rights convention when they returned to the United States. In 1848, the first such convention was held in Seneca Falls, New York, where Stanton was living at the time. Stanton's Statement of Sentiment for the contract listed eighteen legal complaints to which women were subjected, including their suffrage and pay, personalities and children. She also drew attention to the limited educational and economic opportunities of women. In 1851, Stanton met Susan B. Anthony, and they worked closely together for the next fifty years <http://www.rochester.edu/sba/suffrage-history/biographies-of-influential-suffragists/>, (Retrieved on:13.06.2021).

¹⁰ <http://www.rochester.edu/sba/suffrage-history/womens-rights-convention-in-seneca-falls-ny/>, (Retrieved on: 13.06.2021).

Within this context individualism and independency have been the prerequisites necessary to securely practise democratic suffrage but these factors haven't been able to ensure a reasonable level of trust in women for voting. Men represented the people they are responsible taking care of and women were able to express themselves politically but indirectly via their husbands, fathers and brothers.¹¹ It is understood that there are many different approaches to this issue. These different approaches base the process of women's gaining the right to vote and be elected worldwide on different improvements. According to one of these approaches, when women first started to defend the idea of political equality, it was seen as a way to symbolize the desire for independence that would lead to separation from men and especially from the family. The demand for equal suffrage also represented women's desire for political power, their willingness to act in favor of their own interests, and how these demands would threaten men.¹²

There is an important context regarding women's suffrage, which is associated with the issue of individuality of women. The major claim underlying both the political and symbolic challenge of women's suffrage was women's individuality, which was as fundamental as men's individuality. This approach was against popular idea that women's service to others was the basis of the ethical and emotional core of the family and thus of society. The emphasis on women's individuality implicitly weakened the idea of categorized (male/female) sexual difference. Because if all women were not the same, they were not different from all men as a class. Therefore, women's demand for suffrage posed a radical challenge to the social organization of gender. Over time, women faced great opposition from men to all political views, and this required a women's movement in order to proceed. Although the term women's rights dates back to the 1790s, the demand for equal political rights for women was only visible in the 1840s. During this period, the focus was on the economic rights of married women.¹³

After 1848, women became a target of political oppression, and their political activities were considered as crimes. In the northern states of Germany, women's memberships in political clubs were prohibited from 1850 to 1908. The ban on women's political activism in France continued until the establishment of the Third Republic.¹⁴ The participation of women in the political order by voting was seen as a threat by many countries and repressions continued to be experienced in China in 1914 and Argentina in 1945.¹⁵

Many examples can be given of the view that women's right to vote, which is one of the main arguments of the subject, was given first to countries that experienced colonialism and gained independence. In this context, it was thought that the First World War provided a great credit for women to obtain the right to vote. The perspective from which you look at this subject is very important. It is seen that in societies that experienced unilateral invasions and fought against it there were demands regarding women rights and an atmosphere for women to show courage to struggle. These societies were also in favor of approaches that prioritized democracy and national sovereignty. In this context, the Republic of Turkey is an important example.

A different point of view can be put forward on the above-mentioned approach. Hereof, taking part in the war is in not accorded with women's right to vote. The countries that were in war such as France, Italy and Belgium did not give this right to women; however, neutral countries such as the Netherlands and Scandinavia were among the first to do so. In some countries like Denmark and Iceland, women's suffrage was abolished in 1914 due to war. According to Hause and Kenney, the war in France was essentially 'a setback for the women's suffrage movement. The world war in which French women had the right to vote was, of course, the World War II.¹⁶ In Britain and the United States, the war might have provided political forces the time and environment needed to grant women rights.¹⁷

¹¹ Ellen Carol Dubois, *Feminism and Suffrage: The Origins of an Independent Women's Movement in America, 1848-1869*, New York, 1978, 23.

¹² Barbara Taylor, *Eve and the New Jerusalem: Socialism and Feminism in the Nineteenth Century*, New York: Hachette UK, 1983, 12.

¹³ Barbara Taylor, *Eve and the New Jerusalem*, 12-13.

¹⁴ Taylor, *Eve and the New Jerusalem*, 13.

¹⁵ *German Women in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: A Social and Literary History*, Ed. Ruth Ellen B. Joeres and Mary Jo Maynes, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986.

¹⁶ Steven C. Hause and Anne R. Kenney, *Women's Suffrage and Social Politics in the French Third Republic*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984, 62.

¹⁷ Richard J. Evans, *The Feminists: Women's Emancipation Movements in Europe, America and Australasia: 1840-1920*, New York, 1977, 266.

2- The Issue of Women's Suffrage before the Republican Era

In order to understand the situation of women's representation as a whole in Turkish parliamentary history, we believe that it will be necessary to briefly touch on the development of women's rights in political life before the Republican period. Because this context should be associated with women's visibility and having a say in political, social, economic, cultural and intellectual areas, especially in public. However, since the representation of women in political life, that is, in the Parliament, will be discussed here, the main focus of the subject will be the process that starts with women obtaining their right to vote and be elected.

It is known that in the struggle of Turkish women to exist in many areas of life in general, some important initiatives in the Tanzimat Era led to primary developments. So much so that in this period, the position of women in the Ottoman society and family structure was criticized and some important works were written on this subject. The projection of this literary struggle can be followed through some newspapers and magazines.¹⁸ Although women's political rights were not mentioned in these publications yet, it can be seen that women were conscious about many issues such as gender roles and their visibility in the public sphere.¹⁹ It seems that these intellectual advances paved the way for women's initiatives that will enable them to achieve their right to represent themselves in political life.

It can be said that it is not a coincidence that the movement of ideas, which emerged within the framework of the intellectual writing struggle in the modernization period in the Ottoman Empire, found its place in the media and developed. In this sense, the press and publishing can also be seen as a bridge which help the intellectual writings to reach the public.²⁰ In this context, the modernization process that started especially in the Ottoman Empire gained a significant momentum only with the Second Constitutional Period. In this period, the press became the voice and perhaps the medium of women's rights, women's status, especially women's political life demands, initiatives, ideas and activities.²¹ In addition, thanks to this, women are now prepared to enter social life and take a role in political life. Therefore, it is understood that these efforts have prepared an important intellectual accumulation on the way to the process of women's obtaining the right to vote.²²

In the second period of the Second Constitutional Period, it was the press that conveyed women's rights to the public and relevant places. The increase in the number of media organs and the intensification of these themes in terms of content in the current magazines and newspapers draw attention to the fact that the intellectual accumulation in this direction has reached a certain level. The intellectual accumulation that became visible in the mentioned process raised its voice more through the means offered by the Republican period. Because in this period, it is seen that women took active roles not only through the media organs, but also by establishing

¹⁸ For detailed information about women's struggle in Ottoman society, see: Hatice Tekin and Işıl Işık Bostancı, "Osmanlı Kadınının Kamusal Alanda Yer Alma Aracı Olarak Süreli Yayınlar: Şehbal Mecmuası Örneği", *Mustafa Kemal University Social Sciences Institution Journal*, Vol. 18, Issue 47, 2021 and Işıl Işık Bostancı; Hatice Tekin, "II. Meşrutiyet Döneminin İlk Kadın Gazetesi: Demet", *Kadın Kaleminden Kadın Algısı I*, Ed. Jale Öztürk, Olcay Özkaya Duman, Ankara: Gece Akademi Publishing, 2018 and Özlem Kutkan, "Kadınlar Alemi Dergisi (1914) ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Kadınlık Hâlleri", *Kebikeç*, 24, 2007.

¹⁹ Olcay Özkaya Duman, "Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi'nin Yüzüncü Yılında Tek ve Çok Partili Dönemde Kadın Temsiliyetinin Karşılaştırmalı Analizi (1935-1960)", *Atatürk Yolu Dergisi*, Issue 67, Güz, 2020, 371; A. İçke, *Türkiye'de Kadın Milletvekilleri ve Siyasal Faaliyetleri (1935-1991)*, Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Publishing, 2014, 19. About the rights and representations of women in legal life see: Birgül Bozkurt ve Bozkurt, İbrahim Bozkurt, "Türkiye'nin İlk Kadın İl Belediye Başkanı Müfide İlhan ve Mersin'deki Çalışmaları", *Journal of Modern Turkish History*, Year 10, Issue 19, Spring, 2014, 18.

²⁰ In the ongoing process from the Tanzimat to the Republic, the debates on women's rights and women's place in social life were not handled only by women. Starting with the Tanzimat Period and especially II. In the process of change and innovation that emerged in the Second Constitutional Era, women began to be seen as a part of modernization by male writers, intellectuals and ideologists, Birgül Bozkurt and İbrahim Bozkurt, "Türkiye'nin İlk Kadın", 56.

²¹ Özkaya Duman, "Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi'nin", 373. For detailed information see: Leyla Kaplan, *Cemiyetlerde ve Siyasal Teşkilatlarda Türk Kadını (1908-1960)*, Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Publishing, 1998, 9 and also for detailed information about the position and rights of women in Republican and Ottoman Era see: Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, İstanbul: Metis Publishing, 2016; Serpil Çakır, *Erkek Kulübünde Siyaset*, İstanbul: Sel Publishing, 2019; G. Akyılmaz, "Osmanlı Aile Hukukunda Kadın", *Türkler*, Volume:16, 365-374, Ankara, 2002, 356; Bekir Sıtkı Baykal, *Milli Mücadele'de Anadolu Kadınları Müdafaa-i Vatan Cemiyeti*, Ankara, 1996 and Özlem Kutkan, "Hoca, Talebe: Isabel Dodd'un Kaleminden Halide Edip Adıvar", *Kadın Kaleminden Kadın Algısı I*, Ed. Jale Öztürk, Olcay Özkaya Duman, Ankara: Gece Akademi Publishing, 2018.

²² Özkaya Duman, "Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi'nin", 373. For detailed information about the subject see: Feyza Kurnaz Şahin, "Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Türk Basınında Amerikan Kadını İmgesi", *Selçuk University Journal of Studies in Turcology*, Issue 41, 2017, 328; Ahu Sumbas, "Kadının Politik Temsil Meselesi Üzerine Bir Tartışma", *İstanbul University Faculty of Political Sciences Journal*, No: 53. Ekim, 2015, 108; Ayça Gelgeç Bakacak, "Cumhuriyet Dönemi Kadın İmgesi Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme", *Atatürk Yolu Journal*, Issue 44, Fall, 2009, 629.

societies, associations and organizations that work in various directions, with their pioneering and leading aspects. In this process, the establishment of the Republican People's Party, the first political organization of the period, is very important. The struggle for the establishment of this party is remarkable in terms of understanding the orientation of women regarding their position, status and status, which will also explain the presence of women in the parliament in this period. In this respect, it is necessary to look at the congresses, regulations and programs of the Republican People's Party.

The V. Legislative Period marks a turning point in the History of the Turkish Parliament, for reasons such as being the first parliament where women deputies participated in the last parliament, whose members were determined by Atatürk, and where non-Muslims also served as deputies. The Assembly of 1935 is significant as it has the highest proportion of female deputies (4.6%) among the assemblies in the history of single-party rule.²³

3- Representation of Women in the Republic of Turkey

It is understood that the steps which were taken towards women's right to vote and their status in political life in Turkey can tangibly be seen with the studies of the Republican Period and with the decisions and efforts that accelerated this process. In this context, since the main axis of this study is to understand women's presence and representation in political life, the other areas of life will be excluded from the content of the subject.

Within this framework, Ulviye Mevlan,²⁴ became a pioneer especially in the issue of visibility of women in public life, whereas Nezihe Muhittin²⁵ became a pioneer in the struggle for their representation in political life. In 1923, Nezihe Muhittin attempted to establish the Women's People's Party, also known as the first women's party, under the presidency of herself, however, due to the election law of 1909, which did not grant women the right to vote, the establishment of the party was not approved by the governor's office and an association was made.²⁶ With

²³ Metin Özkan ve Sabri Çiftçi, "V. Yasama Dönemi (1935-1939) Dünya Savaşının Eşiğinde Tek Parti İktidarının Kurumsallaşması: Parti-Devlet Özdeşliği", *Yüzzüncü Yılında TBMM Oluşumu, Çalışma Şartları ve İşlevleri*, Volume 1, Ed. Prof. Dr. Yusuf Tekin, Ankara: TBMM Publishing, 2020, 217.

²⁴ Ulviye Mevlan was born in Syria in 1893. She was brought to the Court at a young age to receive court training. Then she got married off to an older man according to the Court rules. However, she became a widow after a short period of time. She made her second marriage with Mevlanzade Rifat (Rifat Mevlan) who was one of the famous journalists of the time. It was before this marriage that she started to deal with journalism. She began to publish *Kadınlar Dünyası* newspaper when she was 20 years old. After a while, she broke up with her adversary husband and married Ali Civelek, who came to İstanbul from Antakya to study medicine and was ten years younger than her. Although this marriage was not approved by the families, they lived happy until 1964, which is Ulviye Mevlan (Civelek)'s date of death. After the death of his wife, Ali Civelek had a street named after Ulviye Civelek in his hometown to keep her name alive. Mrs. Ulviye was one of the leading women who strived for Turkish women's rights. Mevlan was the founder of Ottoman Countrywide Resistance Organization that revived feminist discourse. Mevlan, who lived during the Second Constitutional Era, took part in the women's movement, which was quite activist with its newspapers and associations in term of questioning values, bringing various rights and freedom demands to the agenda, and putting them into practice by discussing them in public. Serpil Çakır, "Kadın Tarihinden İki İsim: Ulviye Mevlan ve Nezihe Muhittin", *Toplumsal Tarih*, Issue:46, 1997, 6-7-8 also see: Archive of Women's Museum İstanbul, Nuriye Mevlan Civelek Page; For the speech text on women's movement, women's organizations, and women's political rights, see: The Women's Library and Information Centre Foundation, Hasene Ilgaz Archive, Archive No: 10002_002_145, File/Envelope No: 145

²⁵ Nezihe Muhittin established Women's People Party, which aimed to fight for women's political rights in the first years of the Republic, and published *Kadın Yolu* newspaper. In fact, while the political right for Turkish women to enter the Ottoman Countrywide Resistance Program on 1 January 1921 at the earliest, Nezihe Muhittin (1889-1958) was trying to establish a party for women to gain this right. (This issue was explained in detail in footnote 8). Nezihe Muhittin, began her publishing life with an article she wrote on 6 April 1913 in *Kadınlar Dünyası* under the name of Nezihe Muhlis. She comes from a bureaucratic family. She mostly finished her classes privately. Her father's Mr. Muhittin retired from Mosul appeal, and her mother Mrs. Zehra was the daughter of Ali Şevket Pasha, the son of the first Seraskier Aga Hüseyin Pasha. She went to Sörlük School for a while. She developed her French there. Although she did not graduate from a teacher's school, she submitted a petition to the Ministry of Education to become a teacher, passed the exam, and then gave "National Science" classes at the Girls' High School. She was assigned as a teacher to Darülmüallimat at the age of 20. Muhittin, who never gave up on women's struggle for political rights, continued the main struggle for political purposes after the War of Independence by establishing the party that was briefly mentioned above. Although the establishment of the party did not occur, she continued the struggle for women's political rights with a strong effort through activities of associations and societies that would continue later. She passed away in 1958. Serpil Çakır "Kadın Tarihinden İki İsim", 10. For the draft of the speech on "Womanhood" written for the event organized by the İstanbul Center of Turkish Women's Union, see: The Women's Library and Information Centre Foundation Collection, Hasene Ilgaz Archive, Archive No: 10002_001_090, File/Envelope No: 90

²⁶ It is understood that on the way from Women's People Party to the Turkish Women Union (TKB), significant process was made, especially in the direction of women's rights and freedoms in the election process being brought to the agenda, under the presidency of Nezihe Muhittin. TKB Particularly carried out primary works on many issues such as women's acceptance in social, political and economic life, their emancipation, their participation in decision-making mechanism and their voices. Nezihe Muhittin, effectively continued her association activities, which is the carrier of these works, which ensured the execution of these works on the defense of

the Proclamation of the Republic on 29 October 1923, the legal studies were accelerated and also by enacting the Municipality Law in 1930, women were given the right to vote in municipality elections.²⁷ With the amendment made in the Village Law on 26 October 1933, the right to be headman in villages and to be elected to the council of elders were given to women. In addition, with the constitutional amendment on 5 December 1934, women were granted the right to vote and stand for election.²⁸

It is understood that the fundamentalist reforms mentioned above, which were initiated with the leadership and initiative of Atatürk in the Republican era, paved the way for women to gain political rights and to participate in the democratic life.²⁹ Women's right to vote, which is referred as "women's suffrage" in western literature, is a condition that prioritizes democracy. As it was mentioned in the Introduction part of the study, Scandinavian countries like Finland, Norway, Denmark, and Iceland followed New Zealand and Australia as the first countries in the world to grant the right to vote to women. While women in America could vote in 14 states in 1914, 72 years after the First Women's Rights Convention of 1848, the right to vote on national elections was granted to women in 1920, in England in 1928, and in Turkey in 1930. In fact, women across the world gained the right to vote and to stand for election gradually. On the other hand, in South Africa, white women had the right to vote in 1930 whereas hybrid and Indian women were granted the right to vote in 1984 and black women in 1994.³⁰

In general terms, it is observed that the right to vote is introduced gradually and partially in many countries. This subject is also interesting from another aspect, among the general common attributes of the countries that prioritized this process, including Turkey, are the fact that they experienced the colonial process, gained their independence, and entered the process of nation-state. It is understood that the countries who delayed the same process, gave women the right to vote in the postcolonial state after the Second World War as the second wave. Within this context, it is understood that both periods become prominent. These are after 1918 and 1945.

The basic approach to women's political rights, as it was briefly mentioned above, and the discourse that expresses this as "women deserved citizenship by taking part in the national struggle" which marked the postcolonial and colonial era, is one of the important foundations for women to have equal rights as men. Therefore, the recognition of women as equal citizens by the new regime is justified by their participation in their

women's rights. It can be stated that these painful activities that were carried out through propaganda method of press and broadcast, played an important role in the first women's studies of the Republican period. Salhadin Gök ve Özlem Kılınççeker, "Türk Kadınının Siyasete Giriş Süreci ve İlk Kadın Sayılab Mihri İffet Pektaş", *Mecmua International Social Sciences Journal*, Year 4, Issue 8, p.48-84, 2019, 50. For additional detailed information, see: Zehra Toska, "Cumhuriyet'in Kadın İdeali: Eşiği Aşanlar ve Aşamayanlar," *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Publishing, 1998.

²⁷ Cumhuriyet Newspaper, dated 3 April 1930, stated that Afet İnan, who draws attention as the first women to enter into the Republican People's Party (CHP), would give an important conference on the women's right to be elected to the municipal council. The conference in question was on the first page of the newspaper dated 4 April. The following information was given about the conference by Afet İnan; "At the conference, Gazi, İsmet and Kazım Generals, deputies and ambassadors were present. In summary, some of the information about the conference which is given by Afet İnan are briefly as follow; "... I am coming to your high presence with a very big issue, which is the issue of election. First of all, we are Turkish citizens. I am a woman who wants no gender discrimination about the issue of election. And a teacher of civics at the Music Teaching School. In the program of this class, there is also the issue of the right of election. ...Ladies, Sirs! Election is your right; it is your duty. The fundamental of election is for citizens to use their opinions. Election is the actual application of the principle of national populism. To grant women the right to elect and to be elected is an expression of national sovereignty. All citizens apart from little child and insane people, have the right of election as women and men. Those who doubt this are helpless who do not know about national sovereignty and democracy... (Cumhuriyet, 1930:1-4).

²⁸ TBMM, *Türk Parlamento Tarihinde Kadın Parlamenterler 1935-2009*, Directorate of Laws and Resolutions, Prepared by: Semra Gökçimen, Havvana Yapıcı et. al., Ankara, 2009, 15-16.

²⁹ For detailed information about Atatürk's perspective on Turkish women's rights and activities he developed, see ; Sinever Esin Dayı, "Atatürk'e Göre Cumhuriyet Öncesi ve Sonrasında Türk Kadını", *Atatürk Journal*, Vol. III, No. 1, pp.115-133, 2000, p.11; E. Doğramacı, *Türkiye'de Kadının Dünü ve Bugünü*, Ankara 1998; Perihan Naci Eldeniz, "Atatürk ve Türk Kadını", *Belleten*, Vol. XX, No. 80, 739-743, 1956; TBMM, *Türk Parlamento Tarihinde Kadın Parlamenterler 1935-2009*, Kanunlar ve Kararlar Dairesi Başkanlığı, Prepared by: Semra Gökçimen, Havvana Yapıcı et. al., Ankara, 2009; Hale Şivgin, "Atatürk ve Türk Kadın Hakları", *Erdem*, Cumhuriyet Özel Sayısı - I, Vol. XI, No. 31, 245-258, 1999, 249 and Saime Yüceer, "Demokrasi Yolunda Önemli Bir Aşama: Türk Kadınına Siyasal Hakların Tanınması", *UÜ Faculty of Science and Letters, Social Sciences Institution Journal*, Year 9, No. 14, 131-151, 2008, 140.

³⁰ Zerrin Ayşe Öztürk, "Uluslararası Siyasette Ve Karar Alma Mekanizmalarında Kadın", *Ege Strategic Research Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 2012, 11 See also: E.R. Turner, "The Women's Suffrage Movement in England", *The American Political Science Review*, Nov., Vol. 7, No. 4 (Nov., 1913), 588-609, Published by: American Political Science Association, 1913, 589; P. F. Dolton, and A. Graham, "Women's Suffrage Movement", *Reference & User Services Quarterly* Vol. 54, No. 2 (Winter 2014), 31-36, Published By: American Library Association, 2014,36.

country's struggle for independence.³¹ Within this framework, when this issue is taken from the perspective of the right to vote and stand for duty ship, after completing the national struggle for independence, Turkey granted this right to Turkish women at a very early date and at the same time, compared to contemporary countries. Turkey also draws attention by the fact that, unlike many other countries, there are no imposed restrictions on the law in question about the use of this right. Because, Atatürk gave significant messages about the Republic of Turkey, which he idealized by seeing contemporary and modern Turkey to be possible with the women who have a right to have a say in determining its future. In this sense, with the example of his adoptive daughter Afet İnan,³² he designed a role for Turkish women as strong, highly educated, and skilled in representation. By being closely interested in Afet İnan's education, discourse, and actions, he indicated the position the Turkish women would reach in the future.

One of the important historical developments occurred in women's right to vote in the Republican era is an event that Afet İnan carried out in March 1930, while she was still a new teacher, to implement the Municipality Law with male and female students. In this event, İnan purposed reading the Municipality Law to the students and making an election experience accordingly. Every class was prepared, and an election was held based on this. The mayor was a girl according to the law at the time. However, a student named Selahattin with a paper in his hands said, "Sir, you made us do something wrong! The Law does not allow women to vote! This right is only granted to men!" After this speech, İnan went to Atatürk crying. Admiral requested Şükrü Kaya, the Minister of Internal Affairs of the period, to work on this issue and examine other countries' implementations. While the studies in topic was carried out, books about the subject came to İnan. In one of the books, it was stated that the state of Wyoming gave rights to women for the first time in 1865. Not in France, not in Switzerland. England had it. Sweden and Norway had it. She took notes. Finally, Atatürk invited people who would talk about the subject from statesmen to law schoolteachers to Çankaya Mansion and opened the issue for discussion. Şükrü Kaya was a supporter but Şükrü Saraçoğlu was an opponent. There was no right to vote for women in the Municipal Law Bill, included in the minutes of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey on 25 March 1929.³³ However, it was urgently decided in the Assembly to discuss the proposal of İstanbul Deputy Süreyya pasha on the amendment of the Municipal Law Petition dated 20 March 1930.³⁴ Finally on 3 April 1930, Turkish women were granted the right to vote in Municipality Elections. Republican People's Party stated with a note in its organization on 24 March 1930 that women can be members. Afet İnan became the first female member of the party on 31 March.³⁵ It is understood that Afet İnan, who wished Turkish women to participate in the political life as equals and who prioritized women's courage and initiative, had a significant role. Within this context, it can be stated that Turkish women presented an active, combative, determined, and persistent attitude in gaining the right to representation in political life and is a pioneer in directing and influencing this process.

³¹ Elif Gazioğlu Terzi, "Ulus-Devlet İnşa Sürecinde Kadınların Siyasal Hakları: Türkiye'de Seçme-Seçilme Haklarına İlişkin Tartışmalarda Sömürgecilik Sonrası Söylemin İzleri", *Journal of Academic Inquiries*, Vol. 10, No. 2, 2015, 117.

³² She was born in the district of Doyram in 1908. Her family immigrated to Turkey. She started her primary education in Adapazarı in 1913. Then continued in Ankara and Mihaliççik district of Eskişehir. She completed her primary education in Biga in 1920. Then, she entered Teacher School for Girls in Bursa. She graduated in 1925. Started teaching in İzmir. In October 1925, Atatürk came to İzmir and met Afet İnan, a 17-year-old young teacher working at the Reddi İlhak Primary School. Atatürk sent Mrs Afet to Switzerland's Lozan city for language education. Mrs. Afet returned in 1927 and entered into French Notre Dame de Sion Girl's High School. She graduated in 1929. By passing the teacher exam, she started to work as a civics and history teacher in Ankara Music Teacher's School. In 1930, she wrote books named "Seçim", "Askerlik Görevi", "Vergi Bilgisi", "Şirketler", "Bankalar" under the supervision of Atatürk. She donated the income of these books to Child Welfare and Soldier Orphans. She gave her first conference on 10 April 1930. The subject of the conference was "Women's Rights". 20 days later, she participated in Turkish Hearths VI. General Assembly as a Aksaray commissioner. At the last day of the Assembly, she presented the proposal that would lead to the birth of Turkish Historical Society. She became the president of Turkish History Committee, which was established under the roof of Turkish Hearths. Afet İnan was the first women member to enter to CHP. Afet İnan's proposal gave women the right to be elected. Prof. Afet İnan, who passed away at the age of 77, was the advocate of Atatürk's reforms and Turkish women's rights, and the founder of History of Turkish Revolution Platform. She was a member of UNESCO National Committee, European Cultural Organization, Turkish Language and History Society; she also had many works on Turkish Civilization and Revolution. For detailed information, see: *Taha Toros Archive*, TT 640192 and *Taha Toros Archive*, TT 516983

³³ Assembly Minutes in the Archives of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, D.3, C.IX, 25 March 1929

³⁴ See: Assembly Minutes in the Archives of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, D.3, Vol.XVII, 20 March 1930 and Assembly Minutes in the Archives of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, D3, Vol.XVII, 22 March 1930 additionally Assembly Minutes in the Archives of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, D3, Vol. XVII, 24 March 1930. Also see: Volkan Payaslı and Olcay Özkaya Duman, *Tarihe Tanık ve Adanmış Bir Ömür: Afet İnan*, Ankara: Gece Kitaplığı, 2018, 74.

³⁵ Volkan Payaslı and Olcay Özkaya Duman, *Tarihe Tanık ve*, 76.

One of the other important developments that occurred about women's right to vote in the Republican era is a conference Afet İnan gave on 4 April 1930.³⁶ İnan began her speech by saying "As a Turkish citizen, I wish the right to vote to include everyone, regardless of their gender" and continued as such: "Our Republic's policy regime is based on the principle of equality... In the good management of public services, women have as many rights as men to defend... Our women have opinions to express about our society... The recognition of the right of Turkish women to participate in municipal elections and the introduction of the right to vote and stand for Grand National Assembly will undoubtedly be a happy start in the near future." It is remarkable what Şevket Süreyye, who is one of the witnesses of the period, stated about İnan's preparation for this speech. According to it, "...Afet İnan worked for this manifesto for days and nights. However, Mrs. Afet had to be seen as a different woman in the platform, including her clothes. Then, this outfit makes Atatürk think for a long time. Pictures, shapes are drawn. Finally, tailors are called and an outfit that suits this 22 year old young girl, half teacher, half nun, half professor, comes out with Atatürk's meticulousness...".³⁷ Atatürk's meticulous attention to the subject, not only with the speech text of İnan but also with the clothes she will wear, reveals that the fact that he associated the contemporary Turkey with the image of a modern woman in every aspect, and that he believed that the measure of a civilization's development can be measured by the value he gave to his women.

4- 1930s and 1960s in Terms of Female Representation in Turkey

The fact that the primary requests about Turkish women's representation in the political life was defended by male members life in the parliament draws attention.³⁸ Within this framework, the most fundamentalist reform for women that happened in this subject was to grant the right to vote and stand for a deputy. The process in question took place on the first page of the 6 December 1934 issue of *Ulus* newspaper, one of the periodical publications of the era. The newspaper informed that every Turkish including women and men who was older than 22 can elect a member of the parliament, and those over the age of 30 were approved to be elected.³⁹ According to this, Turkish women gained the right to vote and stand for a member of the parliament. Thus, for the first time on 8 February 1935, women attended the election for deputy, and as a result of this, 17 female members were elected. However, in the by-election held for the vacant deputies in 1936, Hatice Özgener was elected as a deputy from Çankırı, and the number of women deputies increased from 17 to 18. As a result, in the first period of the political rights given to women, that is the V. Period of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey in 1935-1939, the representation of female deputies in the Parliament has reached a situation of 4.5%.⁴⁰ Whereas in the 1939-1943 elections, it was seen that there was a decrease in women's representation, compared to the first years when women were granted the right to vote and stand for election. There are only 16 women representations in the Parliament. In the next period, which is 1946, women could enter to the parliament with 9 deputies. It can be stated that, after the single-stage elections which started to be implemented after 1946, had

³⁶ *Cumhuriyet*, 1930, *Akşam*, 1930; Volkan Payaslı and Olcay Özkaya Duman, *Tarihe Tanık ve*, 76.

³⁷ Volkan Payaslı ve Olcay Özkaya Duman, *Tarihe Tanık ve*, 85 and Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, *Tek Adam*, Vol.III., Remzi Publishing, İstanbul, 1966, 496.

³⁸ In the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper dated 27 October 1933, the news titled "Amnesty Pleading was negotiated and accepted", the decisions that were taken in the parliamentary meeting the day before was detailed. After this, it was emphasized that the village women could be elected as headman was enacted. Additionally, it was also stated in the discussion held during the preparation of this negotiation that the minister of the Interior with Party Clerk general Mr. Recep gave speeches. Republican People's Party Clerk general Kütahya member Mr. Recep started his speech as "We are living big days", by explaining how the public excitement came to work on the anniversary of the 10th Republic Day, appreciated the fact that the government brought such a proposal to the parliament during these great days, with a feeling of great respect. (*Cumhuriyet*, 27 October 1933).

³⁹ In the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper dated 27 October 1933, the news titled "Amnesty Pleading was negotiated and accepted", the decisions that were taken in the parliamentary meeting the day before was detailed. After this, it was emphasized that the village women could be elected as headman was enacted. Additionally, it was also stated in the discussion held during the preparation of this negotiation that the minister of the Interior with Party Clerk general Mr. Recep gave speeches. Republican People's Party Clerk general Kütahya member Mr. Recep started his speech as "We are living big days", by explaining how the public excitement came to works on the anniversary of the 10th Republic Day, appreciated the fact that the government brought such a proposal to the parliament during these great days, with a feeling of great respect. (*Cumhuriyet*, 27 October 1933).

⁴⁰ Özkaya Duman, "Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi'nin", 375. For a detailed information about Turkish women's struggle for political life, also see: Ümit Akagündüz, *II.Meşrutiyet Döneminde Kadın Olmak*, İstanbul:Yeni İnsan Publishing, 2015; Serpil Çakır, "Kadın Tarihinden İki İsim: Ulviye Mevlan ve Nezihe Muhittin", *Toplumsal Tarih*, No. 46, 1997,10; S. Gökçimen, "Ülkemizde Kadınların Siyasi Hayata Katılım Mücadelesi", *Yasama Journal*, No. 10, September, October, November, December, 2008, 5; Funda Şahin, *Kadınların Siyasal Katılımları Çerçevesinde Kadın Meclislerinin Yerel Siyasetteki Etkinlikleri ve Üye Profilleri*, Ankara:T.R. Directoral General on the Status of Women Publishing, 2011, 21.

an effect on the decreased female deputies' numbers in the parliament. It is stated that this situation affected the decrease in the question, as single-stage elections created a competitive environment for women.⁴¹

When the female deputy presence in the parliament in the 1950's multi-party election is considered, the Democrat Party (DP) was able to get 416 male and only 1 female deputies. 3 female deputies, one of whom was from DP, were able to take part in the parliament. Looking at the DP period in general, the issue can be summarized in three categories in terms of the distribution of female deputies. In the first period which comprehends the 1950 election and the DP period, the lowest rate of female representation was in question. As it was mentioned above, only 3 female deputies (0.6%) were able to enter to the parliament. In the elections held on 2 May 1954, 4 out of 535 deputies (0.7%) and on 27 October 1957, only 8 out of 587 deputies (1.3%) were able to enter the parliament as women.⁴² The most serious period of this decline was the 1950 elections. It is considered that this decline in the number of women deputies in the parliament can be evaluated within the framework of DP's electoral policies, women policies, period conjuncture, and similar criteria. We believe that analyzing CHP (Republican People's Party) and DP's founding members in various aspects will establish conclusive data within the context of the issue. Within the framework of "statist-elitist" and "traditionalist-liberal" distinction in the literature, both periods will be compared according to female voters, who can differ in terms of their pro-Westernization, anti-monarchy-theocracy reformist identities or their distance from Westernization, moderate in reformist policies, liberal and protective in economy. It is thought that this comparison can also reveal remarkable data. The extraordinary conditions of the first period (1935-1947), with an approach that the historical context can be determinant, and the effects of complex and uncertain environment which was pulled into a turbulence in every aspect (domestic and foreign security, economy, politics etc.) under the shadow of the Second World War are important. In the second period (1950-1960), on the other hand, it is obvious that the struggle for power in the new world and the effects of the cold war, and in domestic politics, the expectations of multi-party system and efforts are important in terms of understanding the issue. Where did women stand in terms of seeking and even questioning their place, rights, position, and identity in political life as well as socio-cultural and economic life in both periods? It would be appropriate to find the answer to this question in both parties' party politics, their approaches to the sociological conditions of the members of the parties in question with the domestic and foreign conjuncture. We believe that this evaluation would be significant in terms of analyzing the activities that occurred in women's life and that women revealed towards themselves.⁴³

Table 1. WOMEN DEPUTIES WHO ACCEPTED DECLERATIONS, RECEIVED PROPOSALS, AND TOOK THE FLOOR BETWEEN 1953-1960

5.PERIOD 01/03/1935 27/01/1939	6.PERIOD 03/04/1939 15/01/1943	7.PERIOD 08/03/1943 14/06/1946	8.PERIOD 05/08/1946 24/03/1950	9.PERIOD 22/05/1950 12/03/1954	10.PERIOD 14/05/1954 11/09/1957	11.PERIOD 01/11/1957 25/05/1960
Benal Arman	Belkıs Baykan	Belkıs Baykan	Fakihe Öymen	Firuzen(Füruzan) Tekil (DP Deputy)	Edibe Sayar (DP Deputy)	Ayşe Günel(DP Deputy)
Esmâ Nayman	Fakihe Öymen	Hasene Ilgaz	Hasene Ilgaz	Halide Edip Adivar (Independent Deputy)	Firuzen(Füruzan) Tekil (DP Deputy)	Hürrem Müftügil (CHP Deputy)
Fatma Memik	Fatma Memik	Nakiye Elgün	Latife Bekir Çeyrekbaşı	Tezer Taşkıran (CHP Deputy)	Nazlı Tlabar (DP Deputy)	Nazlı Tlabar (DP Deputy)

⁴¹ Filiz Çolak, "Demokrat Parti Döneminde TBMM'deki Kadın Milletvekilleri ve Meclisteki Faaliyetleri (1950-1960)", *Journal of History School*, Year 10, No. XXXII, December, 2017,117.

⁴² Özkaya Duman, "Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi'nin", 376; In addition, detailed news about the elections can be found in the Cumhuriyet Newspaper dated 3 May 1954 and 28 October 1957. In the newspaper, information was given to the public not only about the election results, but also about the developments before and after the election process and about female voters (Cumhuriyet, 3 May 1954 and Cumhuriyet, 28 October 1957.). In its copy of the same date, Milliyet newspaper, one of the national presses of the period, also draw attention to the election with the headline "Citizen, Participate in the Election". (Milliyet, 3 May 1954). In addition, this issue about the developments regarding the election results was discussed in the issue of Milliyet dated 28 October 1957 under the title of "Election Events in the Homeland". According to this, it is stated that DP 37, CHP 21, Hürriyet Party and CMP have won in each province, and DP can have 400 deputies and CHP more than 200. (Milliyet, 28 October 1957).

⁴³ Özkaya Duman, "Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi'nin", 377.

Ferruh Güpgüp	Hacer Dicle	Şehime Yunus	Mebrure Aksoley		Nuriye Pınar (DP Deputy)	Necla Tekinel (DP Deputy)
Huriye Öniz	Mebrure Gönenç	Tezer Taşkiran	Tezer Taşkiran			Nuriye Pınar (DP Deputy)
Meliha Ulaş	Meliha Ulaş		Zehra Budunç			Perihan Arıburun (DP Deputy)
Mihri Pektaş	Mihri Pektaş					Übeyde Elli (CHP Deputy)
Nakiye Elgün	Nakiye Elgün					
Seniha Hızal	Salize Abanazoğlu					
Türkan Baştuğ	Şehime Yunus					
	Türkan Örs					

The information used in the formation of Table 1 has been obtained from the Assembly Minutes in the Archives of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey.

In Table 1, attention is drawn to the status of women deputies in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey from the 5th to the 11th Period, accepting declarations, receiving proposals, and taking floor. According to this, it is understood that in the 5th Period, women deputies attended the most, however, in the 18th Period, although attendance is low, they accepted declarations, received proposals, and took the floor the most. In addition, it is noteworthy that from the 5th Period to the 11th Period, the participation number gradually decreased in the 5th Period, and after the 9th Period, there was an improvement in the same issue. Therefore, the issue should be evaluated from the perspective of numerical participation and activity intensity. Numerical participation can be associated with the acquisition of democracy and the political environment created by the first gain of request in this aspect, whereas the intensity and high awareness of participation in activities can be associated with the development of women's knowledge and education about the political life and parliamentary system. Of course, this issue should also be evaluated with the effective party programs, activities, and tendencies in the parliament in the mentioned period.

Table 2. THE AMOUNT OF DECLERATIONS, RECEIVED PROPOSALS, AND TOOK THE FLOOR BETWEEN BY WOMEN DEPUTIES BETWEEN 1953-1960

	5.Period 01/03/1935 27/01/1939	6.Period 03/04/1939 15/01/1943	7.Period 08/03/1943 14/06/1946	8.Period 05/08/1946 24/03/1950	9.Period 22/05/1950 12/03/1954	10.Period 14/05/1954 11/09/1957	11.Period 01/11/1957 25/05/1960
Taking the Floor	30	22	22	83	35	16	11
Declaration (Resolution)	-	-	1	1	1	1	1
Proposal	-	-	2	8	6	12	4
Verbal Question Resolutions and Answers to These	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Speeches About Members	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Statements and Declamations	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
TOTAL	30	22	25	94	42	29	16

The information used in the creation of Table 2 has been obtained from the Assembly Minutes in the Archives of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey.

As it can be seen from the Table 2, by taking the floor 83 times, 1 declaration, 1 speech about the members, and 1 verbal question resolutions and answers to these, women deputies were more active in the 8th Period, and created a record in this context by being more active compared to other periods. Within this perspective, women deputies took the floor the most in the 8th Period. In this period, CHP female deputy Hasene Ilgaz, who took the floor 32 times and received 4 proposals, and again CHP female deputy Tezen Taşkiran, who took the floor 26 times and received 4 proposals, take the lead.⁴⁴ 9th Period follows this issue. In the 9th Period, CHP female deputy Tezen Taşkiran, by taking the floor 17 times and receiving 6 proposals, takes the lead again.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, the 10th Period became period when the most proposals were received. According to the content analysis of the speech texts which were made in the Parliamentary Minutes of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, it is seen that women deputies did not speak or express any opinion about women's rights; however, they expressed their opinions and gave declarations and proposals about many needs and problems of the country, including health, security, justice, economy, and culture.⁴⁶

Conclusion

Within the framework of the conclusion, when it is analyzed from the perspective of representation of women within a general projection, it is understood that important developments have been made in ensuring the full presence of women in political life, however, many more efforts should be made in this direction. If it is necessary to reveal some determination about the content analysis of this subject, it is noted that the right to vote about the presence and representation of Turkish women in political life in Turkey was granted before many other European countries. In addition, unlike most European countries, this process was not granted gradually or limited, but on the contrary, the right to vote and stand for election was granted at the same time. Because the right to vote and stand for election for women has been granted gradually, narrowly, and in a limited way in many countries. With the leadership of Atatürk, Turkish women were given the right to vote in 1930 and the right to vote and stand for election in 1934, which is a date that can be considered as early in comparison to many contemporary countries, and the aforementioned process is also significant in relation to the decolonial period, that is Anatolia's struggle to gain independence against colonialism.

Another determination, based on the example of Turkey, is the fact that in the Republican era women have achieved the right to vote and stand for election, which enabled them to participate in political life, through the struggle they have shown since the last periods of the Ottoman Empire. Within this framework, women have clearly shown that they aspire to have basic citizenship rights to vote and to stand for election with their initiatives to establish a political party (Women People's Party). The modernization and westernization in the Ottoman Empire did not find its full meaning and gave women only the opportunity to discuss and talk about the issues that concern their own lives and status. This process not only appears as an achievement of the Republican era, but it also demonstrates that women took combative, active, resistant, and courageous role in this process. Because this process of gaining rights can be related to the national struggle of independence. Here, Anatolian women were partners and executives of the independence struggle on the way to the nation-state process, which is the rejection of colonialism and the struggle for independence. Within this framework, they followed a just and demanding attitude by seeing the right to speak about the future of the new independent state. Grounding this subject within this context, similar to which we can see in the West, is equal to the colonized societies' achievement of nation-state and decolonial success.

One of the other outputs of this study is related to the Republic of Turkey in particular, as well as the general picture where women's right to vote and stand for election is examined. Compared to the world in general, women in Turkey were able to obtain representation with the right to vote and stand for election, which they acquired in a very early period. In the first years of the Republic in Turkey, during the CHP period, it is understood that women represented for the first time in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey with 18 deputies in the V. Period, however, after these elections, there was a numerical decrease in the representation of women in the parliament. While the number of women deputies gradually decreased in this period, it is understood that especially after the establishment of DP, this number decreased rapidly. According to the election result of 1950,

⁴⁴ *Turkish Grand National Assembly Minutes of Turkey*, 1947:148-149.

⁴⁵ *Turkish Grand National Assembly Minutes*, 1950:415.

⁴⁶ *Turkish Grand National Assembly Minutes*, 1937: 229); *Turkish Grand National Assembly Minutes*, 1942: 283; *Turkish Grand National Assembly Minutes*, 1947:.85-227-231; *Turkish Grand National Assembly Minutes*, 1948: s.358; *Turkish Grand National Assembly Minutes*, 1951:706-707; *Turkish Grand National Assembly Minutes*, 1955:134-135; *Turkish Grand National Assembly Minutes*, 1958:893.

when DP was in power alone, only 3 women could get representation in the parliament, while in the 1957 election, 8 women deputies were able to enter the parliament. Therefore, although there was a numerical increase in terms of women's representation, in general, it is worth noting that the representation rate and their effectiveness in the parliament have weakened.

When it is looked in general, the presence of women, when they were represented in the parliament in Turkey during the CHF period, fluctuated numerically. Although some fluctuation continued during and after the DP period, what draws attention is this decrease in the numerical presence. One of the reasons for this is the perspective of the relevant party programs and policies on the presence of women in political life. In addition, a relation can be established in the subject due to the inadequacy of propaganda in this direction. Another important factor is the issue of trust created by the chaotic situation, established by the political conjuncture of the period, like the war environment between 1939-45.

Another implication, as evaluated in Table 3, is the female deputies in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey from the 5th to the 11. Period who accepted declarations, received proposals, and took the floor. Considering the issue from the perspective of numerical majority of women who spoke and participated in other speeches, in the 5th Period, numerical majority is high, but activity is low. It is understood that the numerical participation and activity of women deputies fluctuated from the 5th To the 1st. Period.

By taking the floor 83 times, 1 declaration, 1 speech about the members, and 1 verbal question resolutions and answers to these, women deputies created a record in the 8th Period. Therefore, women deputies took the floor the most in the 8th Period. Nevertheless, the 10th Period became period when the most proposals were received. According to the content analysis of the speech texts which were made in the Parliamentary Minutes of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, it is seen that women deputies did not speak or express any opinion about women's rights; however, they expressed their opinions and gave declarations and proposals about many needs and problems of the country. It seems that, with the multi-party life, it would be possible to understand what kind of policy the DP and CHP follow in spite of the active presence and activities of women in the Parliament, by looking at the issue from all angles. In this regard, it is understood that in addition to all kinds of characteristics of the party programs, the historical conjuncture of the period and social expectations can be effective.

Lastly, one of the main conclusions of the study and the context of the subject that aims to draw attention to is the fact that process of women's search for right was prioritized in societies that have decolonial experience. Especially, it was seen that the war industry directed many women to various business lines at the beginning of the twentieth century in many countries, especially in the USA and England, and therefore women began to work in factories and as nurses in the Red Cross. Afterwards, it can be said that war had a driving force on women who pursue democratic ideals. It is seen that the ideological ground of war triggered the process of women's demand to right to vote. In many countries, periods of social reform begin, perhaps not simultaneously, and the issue of women's right to vote becomes a forefront of domestic policies in this process. Additionally, it should be highlighted that this point of view addresses not only the historical perspective but also with the methodology of sociology and psychology, which examines the historical process and context. Hence, we hope to reveal how the change created in the base of the society and the main element of the social structure, which is the inner world of the individual, affects the persistent search for rights developed by women, so that it becomes the main issues of new studies.

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Conflict of Interest/Çıkar Çatışması	The author has no conflict of interest to declare. /Yazar çıkar çatışması bildirmemiştir.

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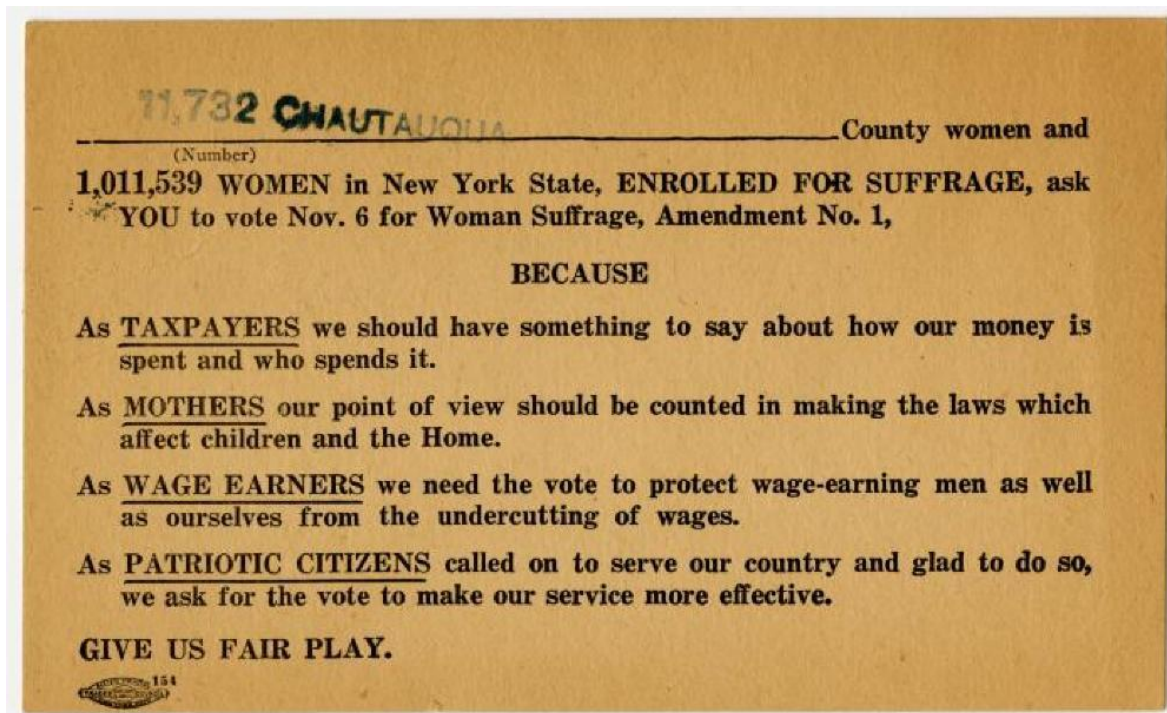
ATTACHMENTS

Attachment 1- The Suffrage Movement



Reference: https://www.womensrightsfriends.org/history_convention.php.

Attachment 2- The front face of the NY women's suffrage card. With this card people are asked to vote for women's suffrage, 1918.



Reference: <http://www.archives.nysed.gov/education/womens-suffrage-card-chautauqua-county-c-1918>. (New York State Archives, NYSA A0412-78 B04 F01 Suffrage Card Front).

Attachment 3- Kadınların Oy Hakkını Destekleyen Elizabeth Cady Stanton ve Susan B. Anthony ve Diğerlerinden Birleşik Devletler Kongresi'ne gönderdikleri Mektup (Letter to the United States Congress from Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony and Others in Support).

To the Honorable the Senate
and House of Representatives of the
United States in Congress assembled.

The undersigned Citizens
of the United States, believing that under
the present Federal Constitution all
women who are citizens of the United
States have the right to vote, pray
your Honorable Body to enact a law
during the present session that
shall assist and protect them in
the exercise of that right.

And they pray further that they
may be permitted in person, and in
behalf of the thousands of other women
who are petitioning Congress to the same
effect, to be heard upon this Memorial
before the Senate and House at an
early day in the present session.

We ask your Honorable Body to bear
in mind that while men are repre-
sented on the floor of Congress and so
may be said to be heard there, women
who are allowed no vote and therefore
no representation cannot truly be
heard except as Congress shall open
its doors to us in person.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton
Isabella Beecher Hooker
Elizabeth S. Stanton
Olympia Brown
Susan B. Anthony
Josephine S. Griffing

Hartford Conn.
Dec. 1871.

42 Aug. } ✓ 69
2 Dec } Petition of
Elizabeth Cady Stanton
and other women -
praying that the right of
suffrage may be extended
to women, and that they may
be granted the privilege of being
heard on the floor of Congress
in support of this petition -

1871 Dec 21. Referred to the
Committee on the Judiciary
42 A - H 11.4

15
Trumbull
JWS
Mr Trumbull

Reference: <https://catalog.archives.gov/search?q=Elizabeth%20Cady%20Stanton&tabType=online> Women's Suffrage.

Attachment 4- Known as the world's first declaration of women's rights, written by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the Seneca Falls Declaration was declared on July 19-20, 1848, in Seneca Falls (New York). The declaration was discussed at this meeting and then opened for signature. This declaration became the main point of departure for the suffragette movement, which was fighting for women's suffrage. This date paved the way for the women's suffrage movement. This effort also received support from the Abolitionist Movement in the process.

DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one portion of the family of man to assume among the people of the earth a position different from that which they have hitherto occupied, but one to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes that impel them to such a course.

We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. Whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of those who suffer from it to refuse allegiance to it, and to insist upon the institution of a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves, by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of the women under this government, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to demand the equal station to which they are entitled.

The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.

He has compelled her to submit to laws, in the formation of which she had no voice.

He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men—both natives and foreigners.

Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides.

He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.

He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns.

He has made her, morally, an irresponsible being, as she can commit many crimes with impunity, provided they be done in the presence of her husband. In the covenant of marriage, she is compelled to promise obedience to her

husband, he becoming, to all intents and purposes, her master—the law giving him power to deprive her of her liberty, and to administer chastisement.

He has so framed the laws of divorce, as to what shall be the proper causes of divorce; in case of separation, to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given, as to be wholly regardless of the happiness of women—the law, in all cases, going upon the false supposition of the supremacy of man, and giving all power into his hands.

After depriving her of all rights as a married woman, if single and the owner of property, he has taxed her to support a government which recognizes her only when her property can be made profitable to it.

He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow, she receives but a scanty remuneration.

He closes against her all the avenues to wealth and distinction, which he considers most honorable to himself. As a teacher of theology, medicine, or law, she is not known.

He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education—all colleges being closed against her.

He allows her in Church as well as State, but a subordinate position, claiming Apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and, with some exceptions, from any public participation in the affairs of the Church.

He has created a false public sentiment, by giving to the world a different code of morals for men and women, by which moral delinquencies which exclude women from society, are not only tolerated but deemed of little account in man.

He has usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself, claiming it as his right to assign for her a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and her God.

He has endeavored, in every way that he could to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.

Now, in view of this entire disfranchisement of one-half the people of this country, their social and religious degradation,—in view of the unjust laws above mentioned, and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed, and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of these United States.

In entering upon the great work before us, we anticipate no small amount of misconception, misrepresentation, and ridicule; but we shall use every instrumentality within our power to effect our object. We shall employ agents, circulate tracts, petition the State and national Legislatures, and endeavor to enlist the pulpit and the press in our behalf. We hope this Convention will be followed by a series of Conventions, embracing every part of the country.

Firmly relying upon the final triumph of the Right and the True, we do this day affix our signatures to this declaration.

SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS SENECA FALLS • NEW YORK • JULY 19-20 • 1848

Barker, Caroline	Drake, Julia Ann	Jones, John	Mirror, Mary S.	Ridley, Martha	Stebbins, Catharine F.
Barker, Eunice	Eaton, Harriet Cady	Jones, Lucy	Mosher, Phoebe	Schooley, Asariah	Taylor, Sophronia
Barker, William G.	Foot, Elisha	King, Phebe	Mosher, Sarah A.	Schooley, Margaret	Tewksbury, Betsey
Bonnel, Rachel D. (Mitchell)	Foot, Eunice Newton	Latham, Hannah J.	Mott, James	Scott, Deborah	Tilman, Samuel D.
Bunker, Josi D.	Frank, Mary Ann	Latham, Lovina	Mott, Lucretia	Segur, Anaisette E.	Underhill, Edward F.
Burroughs, William	Fuller, Cynthia	Leslie, Elizabeth	Mout, Lydia	Seymour, Henry	Underhill, Martha
Cagron, E. W.	Gibbs, Experience	Martin, Eliza	Paine, Catharine C.	Seymour, Henry W.	Vail, Mary E.
Chamberlain, Jacob P.	Gilbert, Mary	Martin, Mary	Palmer, Rhoda	Seymour, Malvina	Van Tassel, Isaac
Conklin, Elizabeth	Gild, Lydia	Mathews, Delia	Phillips, Saron	Shaw, Catharine	Whitney, Sarah
Conklin, Mary	Hallowell, Sarah	Mathews, Dorothy	Fischer, Sally	Shear, Stephen	Wilbur, Maria E.
Culvert, P. A.	Hallowell, Mary H.	Mathews, Jacob	Plant, Hannah	Sisson, Sarah	Williams, Justin
Davis, Cynthia	Halley, Henry	McClintock, Elizabeth W.	Porter, Ann	Smallbridge, Robert	Woods, Sarah R.
Dell, Thomas	Hoffman, Sarah	McClintock, Mary	Post, Amy	Smith, Elizabeth D.	Woodward, Charlotte
Dell, William S.	Hoskins, Charles L.	McClintock, Mary Ann	Pryor, George W.	Smith, Sarah	Woodworth, S. E.
Doy, Elias J.	Hunt, Jane C.	McClintock, Thomas	Quinn, Margaret	Spalding, David	Wright, Martha C.
Doy, Susan R.	Hunt, Richard P.	Metcalf, Jonathan	Quinn, Susan	Spalding, Lucy	
Douglas, Frederick	Jenkins, Margaret	Miliken, Nathan J.	Race, Rebecca	Stanton, Elizabeth Cady	

This Declaration of Sentiments is reprinted from "Report of the Woman's Rights Convention held at Seneca Falls, N.Y. July 19th & 20th, 1848."

Attachment 5



Courtesy of Library of Congress, Gustin, E.W, "Election Day!" 1909.

Reference: <https://iowaculture.gov/history/education/educator-resources/primary-source-sets/womens-suffrage/election-day-political>, (Retrieved on: 13.06.2021).

Attachment 6



Nezihe Muhittin (1935), Taha Toros Archive, Document No:33574.

Attachment 7



Nezihe Muhittin and a Group of Women who want political law and equality for women, Illustrated Penbe Journal, Taha Toros Archive, TT532709.

Attachment 8



Nezihe Muhittin, one of the founders of the Turkish Women's Union
 Taha Toros Archive, TT 563235.

Attachment 9



Taha Toros Archive, TT 516988.

Attachment 10

6 MUHİT 77 516986

A FET HANIMIN KONFERANSI

İntihap sandığı önünde en ümmî ile en büyük devlet adamı müsavidir. Kadın niçin bu müsavattan hariç tutulsun ?

“Kadının siyasi ehliyetsizliğine mantıkî hiç bir sebep yoktur. Bu husustaki tereddüt ve menfi zihniyet mazinin içtimaî bir halinin can çekişen bir hatırasıdır.”

[Kadınlara belediye intihabı hakkı verildikten sonra kadınların intihap haklarına dair ilk konferans Ankara Musiki Muallim mektebi muallimlerinden Afet hanım tarafından Ankara Türk ocağında verildi. Gazi Hazretlerinin, Kâzım ve İsmet paşaların, vekillerin, mebusların, kadın erkek bütün Ankara münevverlerinin huzurunda verilen bu ehemiyetli ve kıymetli konferansın mühim kısımlarını naklediyoruz.]

Afet Hanım sözüne evela muhtelif hükümet sistemleri hakkında mâlûmat vermeye başlamış ve şöyle devam etmiştir :

Hanımlar, Efendiler,

İntihapta adalet ve müsavatı temin etmek için düşünülen ve bazı memleketlerde tatbik olunan çare, *Nisbî Temsil* usulüdür.

Ekseriyet sistemine göre intihap olunacak meb'usların kâffesi en kuvvetli olan ve bu sebeple en çok rey kazanan fırkanın namzetleri olur. Bu fırka, tek başına mecliste bütün milleti temsil edebilir.

Nisbî Temsil sistemi ise, her fırkaya, malik olduğu âza adediyle mütenasip bir temsil hissesi temin etmek ister.

Bu sistemin tatbiklerini iyizaha kalkışarak sizi yormaktan çekinirim. Yalnız şurası muhakkaktır ki, Nisbî Temsil sistemi de tenkitten tamamen masun, mükemmel bir sistem değildir.

Nisbî Temsilin başlıca mahzurları şunlardır: Nisbî Temsil, mecliste ehemmiyetsiz bir takım gruplar doğurur. Bu vaziyet müstakar bir ekseriyetin teşkilini men eder. Meclisi iktidarsızlık içine gömer. Hükümet buhran-

larını ziyadeleştirir. Bu sistem yüzünden ıstırap çeken, ve bunu terkeden devletler vardır. Bu mahzurlara karşı Nisbî Temsil sistemi lehinde, en son yapılan müdafaa şudur :

Bir memlekette, medeni ve siyasi terbiyesi yüksek, şuurlu ve kuvvetli partiler teessüs etmişse Nisbî Temsil sisteminin tatbikinde mahzur yoktur.

Bu müdafanın yanında şunu da nazarı dikkate koymalıdır ki, yanlış fikir ve içtihatlarla imale edilmiş insanlardan mürekkep zümrelerin, behemehal, mecliste faaliyetini temine çalışmak, milletin menfaatine hizmet sayılmaz. Zikredilen iddiaya rağmen dünyanın bu sistemi tatbik eden en demokrat memleketlerinde buhranların sık ve çok olduğu görülmektedir. Her halde intihap sistemleri, az çok farkla, içtimaî mücadelelerden ibarettir. Cemaat içinde yaşamak tabiatî icabı olan insan, kendini içtimaî mücadeleye kabiliyetli bir hale getirmeğe mecburdur.

Hanımlar, Efendiler ;

Yüksek içtimaî heyetlerde, mücadele, fikir mücadelesi halinde olur. Vatandaş arzusunun gösterir ; fakat, ekseriyetin göstereceği arzusunun muteber olacağını da bilir. İntihap, ancak, tamam inkişaf etmiş, intizam sahibi cemiyetlerde görülür.

İntihap, hak mıdır ? vazife midir ? İşte bu sorgu, bizi bugünün mes'elesi olmak lâzımgelen bir zemine sokacaktır.

İntihabın esaslı ciheti, vatandaşın intihapta reyini kullanması hakkıdır. İntihap, millî hakimiyet prensibinin




Attachment 11



Feridun Fazıl Tülbentçi Archive, FFT 756053.