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Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Unit
Europe and Central Asia Region



Bridging the Gender Gap in Turkey:
*A Milestone Towards Faster Socio-economic
Development and Poverty Reduction*

Acronyms and Abbreviations

ANC	Antenatal Care
CEDAW	Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CEEP	European Center of Enterprises with Public Participation ?????
CGA	Country Gender Assessment
EEC	European Economic Community
ETUC	European Trade Union Confederation
FP	Family Planning
GDI	Gender Development Index
GDSPW	General Directorate on the Status and Problems of Women
HDI	Human Development Index
ILO	International Labor Organization
MARA	Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs
MCH	Mother and Child Health
METGE	Vocational and Technical Education Development Project
NGO	Nongovernmental Organizations
OHCHR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
PHC	Primary Health Care
PSRF	Public Servants Retirement Fund
SII	Social Insurance Institution
SIS	State Institution of Statistics
SME	Small and Medium Enterprises
SPO	State Planning Organization
STDs	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
TDHS	Turkish Demographic Health Survey
TESK	Confederation of Turkish Craftsmen and Tradesmen
TISK	Turkish Confederation of Employers' Association
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNECE	United Nations Economic Commission for Europe
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICE	Union of Industrial and Employers' Confederations of Europe

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1. INTRODUCTION

Feride Acar

1.1 The integration of “gender” into the national and international ‘development’ agendas is not exactly a recently recognized need, but it has proved to be a complex and difficult task all over the world for national governments and international agencies alike. Throughout much of the 1990’s the international community concurred that

“eliminating social, cultural, political and economic discrimination against women is a prerequisite of eradicating poverty” (ICPD,1994),

and that poverty is a complex, multidimensional problem that has strong links to gender inequality (BPA, 1995). The conclusion of a recent World Bank study, *Engendering Development-Through Gender Equality in Rights, Resources and Voice* (WB, 2001a) documents that economic growth and poverty reduction efforts are undermined by the prevalence of gender discrimination, gender-based division of labor and gender inequality in access to power and resources.

1.2 It is nonetheless a fact that despite clear links between gender and economic growth, poverty reduction, and development effectiveness, such evidence has not yet led to a systematic integration of “gender” into the policies of international and national agencies. Furthermore, to the extent that “gender” has been emphasized in development policies and priorities the issue has been mostly linked to or relegated to the social and political areas of “modernization” or “cultural transformation”, rather than being considered as an integral aspect of the economics of development and growth.

1.3 Similarly, while gender discrimination and gender-based inequalities have come to be widely recognized through such international human rights instruments as the UN Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) around the world, as violations of “women’s human rights”, the links between human rights in general and women’s human rights in particular and economic development and poverty reduction have only recently begun to be questioned and explored.

1.4 These links are now being explored from both ends. The World Bank, as part of its strategy of integrating gender into its work, has undertaken

“to work with governments and civil society in client countries... to diagnose gender-related barriers and opportunities for poverty reduction and sustainable development” (Wolfensohn, 2002:2).

1.5 It has recognized the need to “balance.. poverty reduction strategies with the gender component” (Wolfensohn, 2002:2). It is also significant in this context that UNDP Human Development Report 2000 states that

“A decent standard of living, adequate nutrition, health care, and decent work and protection against calamities are not just development goals—they are also human rights”.

and that guidelines for a Human Rights Approach to poverty reduction strategies which have systematically integrated the “gender” component are in the process of being developed by the OHCHR of the UN.

1.6 The World Bank’s strategy to integrate gender into the development assistance work adopted by this institution in September 2001 thus constitutes a welcome addition to the ongoing international and national efforts to mainstream gender into policies and measures. In this context, World Bank Country Assistance Strategies are to pay more systematic and widespread attention to gender issues. The purpose of the strategy is to create “an enabling environment that will foster country-led, country specific strategies for changing the gender patterns that are costly to growth, poverty reduction and human well-being” (World Bank, 2002. XIII).

1.7 As a Country Gender Assessment (CGA) for Turkey, the present study attempts to analyze gender issues in Turkey through a comprehensive review of conditions and gender disparities in the most relevant sectors. It also seeks to identify areas of potential intervention where World Bank programs and other programs and actions by government and civil society can help impact to enhance sustainable development and poverty reduction efforts in the country.

1.8 To this end, in the present study those areas that have been identified as key sectors in which gender differences and disparities are particularly relevant for development and poverty reduction in Turkey are reviewed in individual chapters*. In these chapters, the most important disparities and differences between women and men in terms of access to resources and opportunities, as well as the socioeconomic and cultural background factors that are salient in explaining the origins and/or persistence of such inequalities, are identified and discussed. Also included in each chapter is a set of recommendations for concrete policies and measures that emerge from the foregoing analysis and that are deemed appropriate to combat existing gender disparities in the area.

1.9 **Chapter 2 on the Legal Framework** provides a thorough analysis of the existing legal framework in Turkey from a gender perspective. In this chapter, the impact of international and regional legal standards such the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the European Union acquis, the stipulations of the Turkish Constitution, and specific laws pertaining to gender relevant areas are reviewed with a view to systematically identifying and analyzing the legal basis of any gender discrimination or inequality in the country. The author underlines the continuing critical role played by the adoption of gender-neutral laws early in Republican history and views the legal framework, despite defects and inadequacies that remain to date, as constituting the backbone of gender equality in Turkey. She further emphasizes that the new Civil Code (2002) as well as the very recent amendments to the Labor Act (2003) effectively improve some of the most problematic provisions of the earlier legislation in these areas so far as gender equality is concerned.

* *Editor’s Note: I would like to acknowledge the contribution made to this work by Ms. Demet Dinler, project assistant, who was involved in all stages of the editing process with extraordinary competence and dedication. FA.*

1.10 According to Süral's analysis, the remaining deficiencies of the legal framework as far as gender equality is concerned pertain mainly to such provisions of the Penal Code as marital rape, leniency for "honor crimes", and the minimum age of marriage in the Civil Code. The author argues that contemporary international standards reflect relatively "new concepts, understandings and approaches," some of which still present difficulties of integration into the legal structure in Turkey. She concludes that although law has always been an important means to bring about gender equality, the ethos that surrounds the legal measures is equally important.

1.11 In **Chapter 3 Women's Education**, **Feride Acar** provides a review of the gender disparities found with regard to this basic human development indicator in Turkey. To the extent that the relationship between human capital and economic growth is relevant, unequal access to education by women constitutes a critical intervention point for development policies. For the Turkish case, this chapter provides quantitative data and analyses of women's access to education at different levels (literacy, primary and secondary education, higher education) and types (formal and non-formal education), points to the main bottlenecks in such access, and discusses the qualitative content of education with respect to the persistence and prospects of gender disparities and inequalities in the country.

1.12 In this chapter it is argued that while there has been significant improvement over time, women's education in Turkey has not caught up with that of men in terms of most indicators. While the chapter covers the entire spectrum of education from elementary to higher education, it focuses on elementary and secondary education. The author points to gender inequality in access to education as a fundamental problem and underlines the fact that women's access to literacy and education at all levels is systematically lower than that of men. She highlights the fact that in Turkey both illiteracy and lack of access to education increase as one goes from urban to rural populations and from western to eastern regions, as well as from younger to older age cohorts. She further emphasizes that all of these variables affect the literacy and education of women more than they do that of men. The author also indicates that despite the long-term positive trends in literacy, female illiteracy, and particularly adult female illiteracy, as well as non-enrollment and dropout rates of girls in elementary and secondary education continues to be an important problem area in Turkey. She points out that while in urban areas economic factors account more for female non-enrollment and dropping out, socio-cultural forces are more influential in rural areas.

1.13 The positive impact of the eight-year compulsory basic education reform on female enrollment is noted and analyzed.

1.14 In this chapter, while the more prominent presence of female students in academic secondary education is viewed as an indication of the continuing trend for women's entry into higher education and professional careers, by contrast, the gender-based character of technical vocational education is seen as an impediment to women's chances of involvement in income-generating activities. Acar is also critical of the continuing gender-insensitive and sexist character of educational materials, settings and actors in primary and secondary education as well as the "feminization of religious education" which she views as inhibiting women's empowerment and access to the public sphere.

1.15 **Chapter 4 on Gender Issues in Health**, written by **Ayşe Akin**, presents an overall evaluation of women's access to health services in Turkey as well as a specific review of the conditions pertaining to reproductive health, contraception, abortion, HIV/AIDS and STDs as particularly gender relevant issues affecting growth, development and poverty reduction. The author argues that male dominance in decision-making and women's lack of education negatively

affect women's access to health services and also that traditional and cultural norms make it difficult for both health personnel and the public to acknowledge and cope with problems in the area of sexual health.

1.16 The author points out that one of the most important health problems for women, namely the high rate of maternal mortality, is relatively easy to prevent through antenatal care, safe delivery and post-natal care. The persisting use of traditional contraceptive methods, the lack of post-abortion contraception, sexually transmitted infections, and enforced virginity testing are other problems related to women's sexual health. At the core of the chapter is the argument that reproductive health services need to incorporate a comprehensive, gender-sensitive life-cycle approach. The author also argues that the empowerment of women would improve their access to health services.

1.17 **Chapter 5** in which **Yildiz Ecevit** takes up **Women's Labor and Social Security**, and **Chapter 6**, by **Dilek Cindoglu**, on **Women's Microenterprise Activity**, are concerned with the gender analysis of the labor force. Chapter 5 provides a detailed analysis of the labor force participation levels of women as opposed to men by employment category, level, sector (public versus private and formal versus informal) and points to differences between the sexes in earning power, work conditions and benefits, including childcare and on-the-job retraining opportunities. The differential impact of the gender division of labor at home on women's and men's labor market choices and performances is also reviewed.

1.18 In Chapter 5 the author shows that although, in Turkey the steady decline in the overall labor force participation rates of women can partly be attributed to demographics (the high ratio of the young female population) and social change (rural to urban migration and cultural factors such as women's domestic role and caring responsibilities), there are also economic reasons that account for women's low and declining rate of labor force participation and their unemployment. The chapter reveals that a greater reliance on market development and increased deregulation and free market flexibility in the Turkish economy since the 1980's have intensified the existing gender inequalities with respect to types and conditions of work, wages and social security. The author also argues that not only are women in the cities (mostly rural migrants) often working in enterprises where labor law standards are not strictly enforced, but also that employer beliefs, preferences and prejudices against women play an important role in the implementation of many rules and regulations with respect to gender equality. It is argued that employers find numerous ways of circumventing the laws enacted to ensure gender equality and to prevent gender discrimination in the workplace. Furthermore, the existing protective legislation is also seen as limiting women's employment opportunities, particularly as regards to recruitment into non-traditional jobs, and is viewed as an obstacle to their career development.

1.19 Another fact underlined in the Chapter 5 is that, faced with occupational segregation, unemployment and underemployment and the need to maximize family income, women in Turkey are increasingly taking part in activities in the informal sector. The author argues that working in the informal sector has detrimental effects, not only because of low wages but also because there are no social security benefits and guarantees. Moreover, limited access to resources, products, market, credit and infrastructure pose serious problems for women in the informal sector.

1.20 **Chapter 6** on **Women's Microenterprise Activity** takes a look at the characteristics and conditions of women entrepreneurs on the basis of the available information on gender differences in access to credit, scale of enterprises, and types of activity. In the international context, women's microenterprise activities are perceived as buffer mechanisms to control

poverty and unrest in the underdeveloped world. They have thus been supported by governments, international agencies and the media in the last two decades. Locating women's microenterprise activity in Turkey in this context, the author analyzes the particular difficulties faced by women as micro-entrepreneurs in Turkey and stresses, among such difficulties, the lack of access to formal credit channels, the complexity of formal registration procedures, and the persistence of traditional gender role expectations, resulting in women's overwork.

1.21 She suggests that women micro-entrepreneurs should receive increased institutional and educational support, and she underlines the significance of microenterprise activity for its potential to empower women in the private domain as well as to provide income.

1.22 **Chapters 7 and 8** constitute gender-based analyses of poverty in rural and urban settings. In **Chapter 7** entitled **Rural Women and Poverty**, **Halis Akder** provides a review of the different roles women and men play in agriculture and husbandry, analyzing gender differences on the basis of land-ownership, farm size, type of crop, technology use and productivity. Pointing to the fact that academic work on rural women and rural poverty is quite scarce in Turkey, and that studies specifically on the poverty of rural women are almost absent, the author tries to shed light on the issue by focusing on the participation patterns of women in rural work and the division of labor. He argues that because of the low rate of land ownership women lack collateral and are denied access to opportunities such as credit, machinery and new land. The author also takes a critical view of the fact that most of the existing rural development projects lack a gender component. The author's analysis also pertains to the gender-based prevalence of rural poverty and its implications for the future.

1.23 In **Chapter 8, Migration, Poverty, Social Protection and Women**, **Ayşe Güneş-Ayata** takes up the highly salient phenomenon of migration in Turkey and analyzes its impact on poverty. This chapter elaborates on gender differentials with respect to both vulnerability and actual experience of poverty on the basis of recent research findings. Variables such as single parenthood, different types of family structures, household size and locality are used in analyzing gender differentials in vulnerability and poverty.

1.24 The Chapter also presents information on coping strategies used by the poor and evaluates the impact of various community-based social protection measures and safety nets and the effectiveness of state and other poverty alleviation measures and support strategies from a gender perspective. According to the author, when poor migrant women remain single, the community functions as a safety net and helps them to cope with poverty; however, the community also impedes women's empowerment since its traditional norms and values pose obstacles for women to work. The author also shows how training and education increase women's chances of finding a job and thus enhance women's status in both the private and the public domain.

1.25 The state of inequalities and differences between women and men's participation in decision making at the national and local levels in Turkey is taken up in **Chapter 9, Women in State, Politics and Civil Society**, by **Serpil Sancar-Üsür**. While underlining the under-representation of women in political decision-making and the male-dominated models of participation, the chapter shows how women's branches in political parties are seen primarily as instruments for the mobilization of female voters and that only a few powerful women of the elites can be part of the political processes. This chapter also includes an analysis of the evolution of the rationale, structure and functioning of the institutional arrangements (the national machinery) designed to empower women and coordinate the implementation of engendered public policy in Turkey. The General Directorate on the Status and Problems of Women

(GDSPW) is one of those institutions geared to function as a central coordinating unit for gender equality. The author also focuses on the role and different components of women's movement and civil society organizations struggling for gender equality. In this context, she emphasizes that a variety of activities, including diverse issues such as training for empowerment and consciousness-raising of women, pushing for gender-sensitive legislation, building shelters for battered women, as well as advocacy for women's rights have been taken up by women's groups and organizations with increasing effectiveness and impact in the recent past.

1.26 **Violence Against Women** constitutes the subject matter of **Chapter 10**, by **Canan Arin**. The extent to which gender-based violence is prevalent in a society is often indicative of the depth of basic inequality between women and men in that culture. The chapter reviews the prevalence in Turkey of different types and forms of violence against women (domestic, community-based, sexual, etc.) and the effectiveness of measures implemented to combat such violence through the punishment of perpetrators and through rehabilitation and support services for victims. Community and state attitudes as reflected in social norms and cultural practices over a wide spectrum, ranging from "honor crimes" to "brideprice" and "wife-battering," as well as the promulgation and implementation of laws pertaining specifically to gender-based violence in the home, in the community and in the state agencies (that is, in police custody or detention) are discussed.

1.27 **Chapter 11, on Disaster Assistance and Women**, by **Nuray Karanci**, deals with gender differentials in different phases and aspects of the disaster experience (preparedness, mitigation, benefiting from assistance, etc.). The chapter provides a first hand analysis of the Turkish case, exploring the validity of the "window of opportunity" thesis as well as making recommendations for increasing the effectiveness of disaster assistance through gender differentiated strategies and measures. In this context, the author's analysis of the situation in the aftermath of the Marmara earthquake shows that women report more psychological distress than men and reflect a "helpless" coping approach in the post disaster phase. It is thus concluded that empowering women and enabling them to be active in post-disaster contexts is important. The author also underlines the need for community education in order to ensure the active participation of women in the pre-disaster phase with respect to mitigation and preparedness.

1.28 In the **Conclusion (Chapter 12)** of the present study, (by **Feride Acar**) an attempt is made to place the rich sector-specific data and analyses within a comprehensive framework to facilitate identification of gender indicators and policy recommendations that are particularly relevant to poverty reduction in the Turkish context. To this end, the concluding chapter starts with a summarized account of the major questions and observations addressed in the preceding. It then continues with the analyses of findings in each of the sector-specific studies as gender disparity indicators.

1.29 The framework elaborated in the World Development Report *Attacking Poverty* (World Bank, 2000) and the World Bank Policy Research Report on *Engendering Development* (World Bank 2001) is adopted here as a relevant and appropriate tool. This framework analyzes the poverty reduction strategy on the basis of four components: capabilities, opportunities, security, and empowerment. Lack of access to labor markets, and to employment opportunities and productive resources, and constraints on mobility and time burdens that result from double duties in the public and private spheres are defined as accounting for the lack of opportunity. Lack of access to public services such as health and education are linked to lack of capabilities, and vulnerability to economic risks and civil and domestic violence are perceived as leading to lack of security. Being without a "voice" and power at the household, community and national levels is negatively related to empowerment.

1.30 The concluding chapter uses this framework to analyze the findings in each of the sector-specific studies and relates salient gender-based indicators to the four components of poverty reduction schemes.

1.31 It is hoped that the present volume will be beneficial to policymakers and implementers as well as donors and other stakeholders in recognizing needs, identifying tools and pinpointing entry points, in design and implementation of effective poverty reduction and development policies that are both gender sensitive and/or gender based, in Turkey.

1.32 The organization and categorization of the data by means of the conceptual framework used in the concluding chapter aims to facilitate policy-oriented analysis and provide a basis for international and regional comparisons. The sector-specific analysis provided in the individual chapters of this study, however, constitutes a rich compilation of existing analytical materials and/or new information collected, organized and interpreted by each author from his or her expert perspective. Therefore, each chapter contains a wealth of information and reflects an analytical depth perhaps extending well beyond what is needed to demonstrate linkages between gender disparities in each sector and poverty reduction strategies. Each chapter is an exhaustive and up-to-date review of the status quo in Turkey with respect to women's and men's differential possession of human capital; access to resources; and ability to enjoy rights and use power and influence. Therefore, it is hoped that the present compilation will also be valuable as a handbook of gender conditions and relations in Turkey.

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2. LEGAL FRAMEWORK FOR GENDER EQUALITY¹

Nurhan Süral

Women under the General Legal Framework

2.1 The achievement of gender-sensitive and gender-balanced legislation is an important step in the continuous struggle against cultural conservatism and sexist prejudices. Each new measure in favor of equality encourages a thoroughgoing change in habits and attitudes. It is only with such a progressive legal approach that women will be able to play their full part on an equal footing with men. To achieve this end, the primary strategy is the definition and putting into practice of the principle of equal rights and opportunities for both sexes. This means legal definition and gradual social implementation – in the family, at work, in political and civic rights and in social and cultural life. Turkish law guarantees formal equality between men and women.

The Constitution

2.2 The framework of the legislation requiring equal treatment between men and women consists of constitutional provisions and also provisions ratifying international instruments. The formal starting point for considering equality for women is the Constitution.

2.3 The 1982 Constitution is the third Constitution of the Republic of Turkey replacing the former Constitution (the 1961 Constitution), both of which were adopted following military takeovers. The Constitution is rigid in the sense that a constitutional amendment can be proposed in writing by at least one-third of the total number of members (550) of the Turkish Grand National Assembly and an amendment proposal can be adopted by at least a three-fifths majority of the total number of members of the Assembly (Art. 175).

2.4 Article 10 of the Turkish Constitution sets out in the first sentence the principle of equality before the law for all Turkish nationals. This article corresponds to a principle which is included in all European constitutions and has also been recognized by the Court of Justice of the European Community as a basic principle of Community law. Any discrimination based on any ground such as sex, race, color, language, political opinion, philosophical belief, religion and sect shall be prohibited. Although this equal treatment principle may be interpreted as implying the absence of all discrimination, either direct or indirect, based on sex but not preventing the maintenance or adoption of measures providing for specific advantages in favor of the under-represented sex, a constitutional provision stating this explicitly and defining direct and indirect discrimination may serve a lot better.

2.5 Article 41 of the Constitution was amended in October 2001 with a view to establish the principle of equality between spouses as a basis for the family. Article 66 of the Constitution on Turkish citizenship, as also amended in October 2001, no longer discriminates on the basis of

¹ This article includes all legal developments up to its submission date of June 9, 2003.

gender in the case of a foreign parent. Neither these constitutional articles nor the laws define direct or indirect discrimination.

International Standards and Turkey

Table 2.1: Relevant International Standards			
Body	Treaty	Signed	Ratified
UN	Convention on the Elimination of All Types of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)	9/9/2000	7/24/1985
	Optional Protocol to CEDAW	9/8/2000	10/29/2002
	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)	8/15/2000	X*
	International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (CESCR)	8/15/2000	X**
	Convention on the Political Rights of Women	12/12/1954	12/26/1960
UN/ILO	ILO Conventions		Registration dates
	45 Underground Work (Women) Convention		4/21/1938
	100 Equal Remuneration Convention		7/19/1967
	111 Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention		7/19/1967
	118 Equality of Treatment (Social Security) Convention		6/25/1974
	122 Employment Policy Convention		12/13/1977
	158 Termination of Employment Convention		12/4/1995
Council of Europe	European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms	11/4/1950	3/19/1954
	European Social Charter	9/18/1961	6/16/1989

* Act no. 4868 of June 4, 2003 approves its ratification by the President of the Republic.

** Act no. 4867 of June 4, 2003 approves its ratification by the President of the Republic

2.6 In Turkey, international agreements duly put into effect carry the force of law. No appeal to the Constitutional Court can be made with regard to these agreements on the grounds that they are unconstitutional (Const. Art. 90).

2.7 The right of all persons to equality before the law and protection against discrimination constitutes a universal right recognized by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Types of Discrimination Against Women, UN Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and by the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. It is important to respect such fundamental rights and freedoms. Turkey is a party to a number of relevant

international instruments: the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Types of Discrimination Against Women, 1980; ILO Conventions no. 45 (Convention concerning the Employment of Women on Underground Work in Mines of all Kinds, 1935), 100 (Convention concerning Equal Remuneration for Men and Women Workers for Work of Equal Value, 1951), 111 (Convention concerning Discrimination in Respect of Employment and Occupation, 1958), 118 (Convention concerning Equality of Treatment of Nationals and Non-Nationals in Social Security), 122 (Convention concerning Employment Policy), and 158 (Convention concerning Termination of Employment, 1982); the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, 1950; and the European Social Charter, 1961. The Accession Partnership and the National Program for the Adoption of the Community Acquis envisage ratification by Turkey of the UN Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

2.8 The Convention on the Elimination of All Types of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), ratified by Turkey in 1985, defines “discrimination against women” as “any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field” (Art. 1). Reservations made by Turkey to Articles 15/2 according women a legal capacity identical to that of men, 15/4 according to men and women the same rights regarding residence and domicile, 16/1(c) according to men and women the same rights and responsibilities during marriage and its dissolution, 16/1 (d) according the same rights and responsibilities as parents in matters relating to their children, 16/1 (f) according the same rights and responsibilities with regard to guardianship, wardship and trusteeship, and 16/1 (g) according the same personal rights as husband and wife, including the right to choose a family name, a profession and an occupation, were withdrawn in September 1999. Corresponding amendments are made in the relevant legislation.

2.9 Turkey, as a country eager to join the European Union, is passing through a phase of adoption of the Community acquis. The Helsinki European Council held in December 1999 concluded that “Turkey is a candidate State destined to join the Union on the basis of the same criteria as applied to the other candidate States. Building on the existing European Strategy, Turkey, like other candidate States, will benefit from a pre-accession strategy to stimulate and support its reforms.” The Accession Partnership was formally adopted by the European Council on March 8, 2001. Its purpose was to set out in a single framework the priority areas for further work, the financial means available to help Turkey implement these priorities and the conditions applying to that assistance. The Accession Partnership priorities were reflected in Turkey’s National Program for the Adoption of the Acquis, which sets out the policy framework, the schedule for adopting new legislation, policies and practices, and the administrative and budgetary requirements needed for Turkey to adopt the acquis. The Turkish Government adopted its National Program for the Adoption of the Acquis on March 19, 2001. The Community dimension of the promotion of gender equality is considered in the making of new legislation and amendments. The national starting point is the incorporation of the relevant acquis and this has to be followed by an effective implementation. As for the elimination of discrimination based on sex, the following matters were required to be fulfilled:

- To complete the legal arrangements on paid maternity leave and parental leave;
- To abolish the term “head of the family,”
- To introduce arrangements on equal treatment in terms of social security;

- To make the necessary arrangements for shifting the burden of proof in cases of sex discrimination to the employer.

2.10 These requirements to be fulfilled by Turkey clearly indicate that the relevant Turkish legislation does not lack the essential points to achieve an egalitarian treatment of women. The newly enacted Labor Act reveals Turkey's increased efforts to catch up with the latest developments such as parental leave, burden of proof in cases of sex discrimination,² sexual harassment at the workplace³ and extended maternity leave⁴ that have also been made subject to recent amendments in various national, regional and international regulations such as: ILO Convention no.183 (Maternity Protection Convention [Revised]), that became effective in February 7, 2002; Article 8 of the Council of Europe Revised European Charter, that became effective on July 1, 1999; European Community Directive of June 3, 1996 on the framework agreement on parental leave concluded by UNICE, CEEP and the ETUC; Directive of December 15, 1997 on the burden of proof in cases of discrimination based on sex; Directive of November 27, 2000 establishing a general framework for equal treatment in employment and occupation; and the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union of December 2000.

2.11 Turkey, like the other Continental European countries, follows the system of Roman law and therefore European laws and standards constitute the basic reference point in legal comparisons.

Selected pieces of relevant legislation	Act no.	Adoption date
Constitution	2709	10/18/1982
Turkish Civil Code Preliminary chapter Law of Persons Law of Family Law of Succession Law of Property Law of Obligations	4721	11/22/2001
Turkish Criminal Code	765	3/1/1926

² The Court of Justice of the European Communities has held that the rules on the burden of proof must be adopted when there is a prima facie case of discrimination and that, for the principle of equal treatment to be applied effectively, the burden of proof must shift back to the respondent when evidence of such discrimination is brought. Council Directive 97/80/EC of 15 December 1997 on the burden of proof in cases of discrimination based on sex adopted rules conforming to the decisions of the Court of Justice. The last paragraph of Article 5 of the new Labor Act is a mere adaptation of the Directive to labor relations.

³ Sexual harassment constitutes discrimination on the grounds of sex. Council Recommendation of 13 December 1984 on the promotion of positive action for women (84/635/EEC), European Parliament Resolution of 11 June 1986 on violence against women, Council Resolution (90/C 157/02) of 29 May 1990 on the protection of dignity of women and men at work, Commission Recommendation of 27 November 1991 on the protection of the dignity of women and men at work (92/131/EEC), and Council Directive 2000/78/EC of 27 November 2000 establishing a general framework for equal treatment in employment and occupation contain provisions on sexual harassment in the workplace. Articles 24/II/b, d and 25/II/c of the new Labor Act regulate sexual harassment in the workplace in conformity with the relevant rules of the aforementioned EC regulations.

⁴ The 12-week maternity leave that was not in line with the 14-week maternity leave envisaged by the ILO Convention no. 183 on Protection of Maternity, Article 8 of the Revised European Social Charter, and Council Directive 92/85/EEC is extended to 16 weeks (18 weeks in case of multiple pregnancy) by Article 74 of the new Labor Act.

Education Act	1739	6/14/1973
Turkish Nationality Act	403	2/11/1964
Population Planning Act	2827	5/24/1983
Protection of the Family Act	4320	1/14/1998
Labor Act	4857	5/22/2003
Civil Servants Act	657	7/14/1965
Establishment, Jurisdiction and Trial Procedures of Family Courts Act	4787	1/9/2003

The Civil Code

2.12 Conventional discussion of social policy tends to take the family, and the gendered division of labor within it, as a natural fact, based on the assumption of women's economic and social dependence on men. Dependency and equal treatment do not mix. This conventional approach was challenged by feminist analysis that came up with new concepts and considerations which gradually affected international and national standards. While Turkey has historically followed a male breadwinner model that was reflected mainly in the book on family law of the Turkish Civil Code, this law has recently been subject to drastic change. The new Turkish Civil Code enacted in December 2001 removed the remaining discrimination and strengthened gender equality.

Law of Persons

2.13 According to the Law of Persons of the Turkish Civil Code (Art. 8), all persons are the subject of rights. A distinction is made between the ability to be the subject of rights and the capacity to act. There are different degrees of capacity – full capacity, limited capacity, partial disability and full incapacity. Under the previous Law, a married woman was considered as one with partial disability, with her capacity limited only in a few cases explicitly cited by the law. These limitations do not exist any longer and therefore men and women possessing the essentials for full capacity, whether married or not, are fully capable. Majority is attained at age 18 or upon marriage (Art. 11). Earlier, the law designated that a married woman had her husband's domicile. With the new Law, it is not the husband but both spouses that choose the domicile (Art. 21, 186).

Law of Family

2.14 In Turkey, the reforms of the early Republican era eliminated, to a large extent, segregation and the differential legal treatment of women, clearing the way for comprehensive changes in the position of women. The adoption of the Civil Code from Switzerland in the year 1926 constituted an important break with tradition and religious norms, making Turkey the only country with a Muslim population that has eliminated the Sharia from its legal system. This was a unique legal reform with tremendous implications for the social fabric and life patterns of the majority of Turkish women. The Swiss Civil Code, regarded as the most modern and progressive legislation existing in the Continental European countries at the time of adoption, proved to be insufficient, especially with the new considerations and achievements in gender equality issues. The book on family law based on a paternalistic approach had the husband as the head of the conjugal union being responsible for the maintenance of the family and the wife as the homemaker having the management of the household affairs. Switzerland passed significant amendments regarding women's rights in 1984 and started implementation in 1988. Similarly, starting in the early 1980s, law commissions were also formed in Turkey to prepare amendment proposals. The result was an entirely new Turkish Civil Code introduced in December 2001. Discrimination based on marital or family status reached an end with the enactment of the draft civil code. The new family law is largely modeled after the international instruments and the

Swiss model. When compared with the previous law there is a striking shift from the idea of “protection” to “equality between the spouses.”

Major amendments in the family law (From paternalist approach to equality between the spouses)	
Previous rule	Current rule
The husband is the head of the conjugal union.	(lifted)
The husband duly provides for the maintenance of wife and children. The wife has the management of household affairs.	The spouses, each according to his or her capacity, care jointly for the proper maintenance of the family.
The husband represents the conjugal union. The wife has, for the purpose of providing the current necessities for the home, the same authority as the husband to represent the conjugal union.	Each spouse represents the conjugal union in matters of the current requirements of the family during their matrimonial life.
The regular matrimonial property regime is the separation of property.	The regular matrimonial property regime is ‘participation in acquisitions’.
The husband chooses the conjugal home.	The spouses determine the conjugal home jointly.
During the marriage the parents exercise parental power jointly. The husband’s views shall prevail if there is disagreement.	During the marriage the parents exercise parental power jointly.

2.15 The new Civil Code raises the legal age of marriage age for women from 15 to 17. Boys and girls who have not completed 17 years of age cannot get married. Because majority is acquired with the completion of 18 years of age, a 17-year-old minor needs the permission of his statutory representative(s), (i.e., parents or guardians,) to get married. However, under extraordinary conditions and for an important cause, the judge, after listening to the statutory representative(s), may permit a boy or a girl who has completed 16 years of age (15 and 14 previously), to get married (Art. 124). Marriage confers majority (Art. 11).

2.16 In Turkey, civil marriage is the legally recognized marriage. The spouses may have a religious ceremony only after the performance of the civil marriage (Art. 143). A religious ceremony on its own without a civil marriage preceding it constitutes a crime under Article 237/4 of the Criminal Code. A claim of unconstitutionality regarding the stated article of the Criminal Code was rejected by the Constitutional Court in November 1999.

2.17 Under the new Family Law, there is no longer a head of the family. With marriage, the husband’s surname becomes the wife’s surname. The bride is entitled to declare in the presence of the marriage officer or, after the marriage, to the registrar, that she wants her former name to be placed in front of the husband’s surname (Art. 187). The spouses, each according to his or her capacity, are to care jointly for the proper maintenance of the family (Art. 185-186). They have to agree on how much each of them contributes to the maintenance, in particular through payments, to keeping the household and looking after the children, or through assisting the other spouse in his or her work, profession or trade. In doing so, they are to consider the requirements of the conjugal union and their personal circumstances. At the instance of one of the spouses, the judge determines the amounts to be paid for the maintenance of the family taking into account the contribution made by the spouse managing the household affairs, caring for the children or helping the other spouse in his or her profession or trade (Art. 195).

2.18 The conjugal home has to be determined jointly by the spouses (Art. 186). A spouse can only with the express consent of the other spouse terminate a lease, sell the house or the apartment of the family or restrict through other legal transactions the family's right of use of the conjugal home. Where a spouse cannot secure the other spouse's agreement or where it is refused without serious cause, he or she can appeal to the judge. The spouse who is not the owner of the place of abode allocated as the conjugal home may apply to the land registry to have the place of abode registered as the conjugal home. Where a rented object serves as the conjugal home, the other spouse who is not a party to the lease contract may, through a notification made to the landlord, become a party to the contract with joint liability (Art. 194).

2.19 Each spouse represents the conjugal union in matters of the current requirements of the family during their life in common. For the other requirements of the family, one spouse can only represent the conjugal union if he or she is authorized by the other spouse or by the judge or if the interest of the conjugal union does not allow a delay of action and the other spouse is unable to consent on account of illness, absence or similar reasons (Art. 188).

2.20 The matrimonial property law has been subject to substantial amendments. The Swiss Civil Code, before being amended in 1984 in Switzerland, provided for the so-called "co-owned property" as the regular regime (marital system) for holding matrimonial property. The regular regime is the regime that operates unless otherwise provided by the parties or by law. At the time, in Switzerland, one of the regimes of "separate estates" and "community of property" could be adopted through an ante-nuptial or a post-nuptial marriage covenant. Under the regular regime, the wife's property with the exception of her separate estate fell into the usufruct of the husband. The wife remained the owner of her property, except for her perishable property which fell under the ownership of her husband, but the husband, as the usufructuary, was the one to take all the profits from her property. Most of the property of the wife as well as the husband's own property fell under the husband's management.

2.21 In 1926, when adopting the Swiss Civil Code, the Turkish legislator accepted "separate estates" as the regular regime for holding matrimonial property, bearing in mind that the "co-owned property regime" was open to abuse by the husband. In Turkey, "co-owned property" and "community of property" were accepted as regimes to be adopted through a marriage covenant. The regime of "separate estates," where each spouse administers and uses his or her property and disposes of it, operated well but had an important failure due to social customs and practices. The social norm of having an immovable property acquired during marriage registered in the husband's name caused suffering for women, especially in cases of divorce or upon the death of the husband.

2.22 The new Turkish Civil Code provides for the "participation in acquisitions" as the regular regime and "separate estates," "allocable separate estates," and "community of property" as the regimes to be adopted through a marriage covenant. The new matrimonial property regime "participation in acquisitions," largely modeled on the new Swiss regular regime, consists of acquisitions and of each spouse's own property (Art. 218). A spouse's acquisitions are that property which a spouse acquires as income during the matrimonial property regime. The acquisitions of a spouse comprise in particular his or her income from work; payments made by the staff welfare institutions, social insurances and social welfare institutions; indemnities for incapacity to work; revenues from his or her own property; and replacements of items which have been part of the acquisitions (Art. 219). The following property is, by operation of the law, each spouse's own property: articles which are intended for the exclusive personal use of one of the spouses; property which belongs to a spouse at the beginning of a matrimonial property regime or which comes to the spouse during marriage by succession or other gratuitous title; claims for

payment of a sum of money by way of moral compensation; and replacements of items which have been part of a spouse's own property (Art. 220).

2.23 The matrimonial property regime is dissolved on the death of a spouse or by an agreement upon a different matrimonial property regime. In the case of divorce, judicial separation, declaration of nullity of a marriage or of a court order by which the regime of separate estates is introduced between the spouses, the dissolution of the matrimonial property regime is dated back to the day on which the petition is filed (Art. 225). Each spouse takes back his or her property, which is in the possession of the other spouse. Where there is co-ownership of property and a spouse provides evidence of a preponderant interest in this property, he or she can, besides the legal measures, demand that this property is undividedly allotted to him or her against compensation. The spouses settle their mutual debts (Art. 226).

2.24 Grounds for divorce are the same for both spouses (Art. 161-166). The judge has wide discretionary powers in deciding the custody of the children and the amount of support (Art. 182). After divorce, the ex-wife resumes her maiden name, although with cause and permission of the judge she may carry her ex-husband's name (Art. 173).

2.25 As regards to the parent-child relationship, also regulated by the Family Law, both spouses have parental authority over the children. The provision of the previous legislation stating that the husband's views will prevail in case of a dispute no longer exists.

2.26 The Act on Establishment, Jurisdiction and Trial Procedures of Family Courts was enacted on January 9, 2003.

Law of Inheritance

2.27 The legal equality of inheritance has been assured in Turkey since the unique law reform of 1926, the date of adoption of the Swiss Civil Code. This constituted a complete break from the religious norms according to which estate distributions were formerly made. There is no legal distinction made between male and female heirs. There was a single discriminatory article in the previous Law of Inheritance making a discrimination with the idea of trying to avoid the partition of agricultural undertakings with an economic unity and indivisible entity: the court would grant ownership to the heir most able to manage the undertakings. In a case in which there was more than one heir desirous, male children were given priority (Art. 597-598). Under the new Law, in such cases of agricultural undertakings with an economic unity and indivisible entity, the court will grant ownership to the capable desirous heir whether male or female (Art. 659).

Law of Property

2.28 The Law of Property accords women the equal right to hold title and convey land, and the ability to record property ownership.

Law of Obligations

2.29 The Law of Obligations covers legal transactions, tortious liability and unjust enrichment. No legal distinction has been made by the Law of Obligations between men and women.

The Law on Banks and Credit Regulations

2.30 There is no discrimination by gender in the Law on Banks and Credit Regulations.

Education Laws

2.31 Universal education has been an important principle of the Republic since its foundation; equal education opportunity is assured for boys and girls by the Constitution (Art. 42). Basic education is compulsory for all citizens of both sexes and is free of charge in public schools. Basic education was extended from five to eight years in 1997 with Law no. 4306.

Laws on Political Rights of Women

2.32 The right to vote and to be elected was first granted to Turkish women for local elections in 1930, and subsequently for national elections in 1934. Eighteen women entered Parliament in 1934, forming 4.5 percent of the total number of deputies (395); with the exception of Finland, this was then the highest percentage in the world. This, however, is the highest percentage ever reached in Turkey. In the 2002 general elections, 24 women were elected to the 550-member Turkish Grand National Assembly, thus constituting 4.4 percent of the total number of parliamentarians. The constitutional provision (Art. 68/6) prohibiting the formation of “discriminatory auxiliary bodies such as women’s or youth branches” by the political parties was lifted in July 1995. Such a prohibition did not exist under the 1924 and 1961 Constitutions.

2.33 In Turkey, the laws on political parties and parliamentary elections are silent regarding quotas. No consideration has yet been given to the question of whether men, when they bear the consequences of positive action favoring women, may complain of discrimination against themselves. So far, there has not been a legal challenge to be decided upon by the Turkish courts. As to whether quotas, seen especially in the field of politics, are legally acceptable or not, the decision given in the Kalanke case by the European Court of Justice has to be considered. The Court’s ruling made it clear that national rules which guarantee women absolute and unconditional priority for appointment or promotion, go beyond promoting equal opportunities and overstep the limits of the positive action. In 1996, the European Commission issued a Communication to the Council and the European Parliament on the interpretation of Kalanke putting forward the view that quota systems which fall short of being rigid and automatic are lawful. Member states to the European Union and employers are thus free to have recourse to all other forms of positive action, including flexible quotas. It is the opinion of the Commission that a wide range of actions to promote access to employment and promotion of members of the under-represented sex continues to be legal. Likewise, Article 4/1 of the CEDAW states that “adoption by State Parties of temporary special measures aimed at accelerating de facto equality between men and women shall not be considered discrimination as defined in the present Convention, but shall in no way entail as a consequence the maintenance of unequal or separate standards; these measures shall be discontinued when the objectives of equality of opportunity and treatment have been achieved.”

Nationality Laws

2.34 Article 66 of the Constitution on Turkish citizenship states that everyone bound to the Turkish State through the bond of citizenship is a Turk. The child of a Turkish father or a Turkish mother is a Turk. Previously, there was a sentence which stated that the citizenship of a child of a foreign father and a Turkish mother would be defined by law. This provision was deleted in October 2001. Thus, the Constitution no longer discriminates on the basis of sex in the case of a foreign parent.

2.35 Under the Turkish Nationality Act of February 1964, Turkish nationality is acquired by birth, marriage or naturalization. Acquisition of Turkish nationality by birth in Turkey is limited to the children who are born in Turkey but do not acquire nationality from parents by birth. Foundlings, unless the contrary is proven, are presumed to have been born in Turkey (Art. 4).

2.36 Until recently, there were provisions in the Turkish Nationality Act laid down with the idea of avoiding dual nationality that nonetheless contradicted gender equality. According to these provisions, a foreign woman who married a Turkish citizen acquired Turkish nationality with a declaration made to the marriage officer (Arts. 5, 42). She acquired Turkish nationality automatically only if she lost her former nationality upon marriage or if she was stateless at the time of marriage. However, a foreign man married to a Turkish woman was not within the scope of the stated articles; he was entitled to a simplified naturalization procedure (Art. 7/b). With the adoption of Act no. 4866 on June 4, 2003 amending the Turkish Nationality Act, a foreign woman or man married to a Turkish citizen are both subjected to the same legal terms in acquisition of Turkish nationality upon marriage. In order to avoid sham marriages, the new Act does not speak of automatic acquisition of Turkish nationality by either sex upon marriage. It requires that the couple be married for at least three years and that there should be cohabitation and intention to remain married (Art. 1 amending Art. 5). If, on the other hand, the foreign spouse loses his or her nationality upon marriage to a Turkish citizen, the law allows for automatic acquisition of Turkish nationality.

2.37 According to the previous rule, a Turkish woman who married a foreigner did not lose her Turkish nationality unless she acquired her husband's nationality by marriage or applied to the authorities for acquisition of her husband's nationality (Arts. 19, 42). These provisions did not apply to a Turkish man married to a foreign woman: he could, with the permission of the Council of Ministers make a declaration of renunciation (Art. 20). With Act no. 4866 of June 4, 2003, men and women have been equalized in this respect. From now on, a Turkish woman or man married to a foreigner shall not lose Turkish nationality by acquiring the foreign spouse's nationality. Also, a woman who has lost her citizenship prior to this new Act may reacquire it with a decision of the Council of Ministers (Art. 2 amending Art. 8).

2.38 Naturalization of the husband or wife does not affect the nationality of the other spouse, except that a stateless woman acquires Turkish nationality upon naturalization of the husband (Art. 15). Minor children acquire Turkish nationality simultaneously with their father, but they acquire it with their mother if they are stateless, or if their father is dead, unknown, or stateless, or if parental authority has been conferred upon their mother (Art. 16). This difference between the law's treatment of the sexes remains.

2.39 Turkish citizenship may be lost by renunciation or deprivation. Renunciation does not affect the nationality of the other spouse (Art. 31). Act no 4866 equalizes the conditions for loss of Turkish nationality by the minor children of a father or mother who loses Turkish citizenship through renunciation (Art. 5 amending Art. 32). If the child has completed 15 years of age, his/her written consent is essential. If the child is to become stateless with the loss of Turkish nationality then he/she will remain bound to Turkish nationality.

2.40 Decisions of deprivation by the Council of Ministers are personal. They will not affect the spouse or the children of the concerned (Art. 35).

Criminal Laws

2.41 The Turkish Criminal Code is the bulk of the criminal law and it is based almost entirely on the Italian Criminal Code of 1889, adopted by Turkey in 1926. The Code, made subject to many amendments, specifies crimes and punishments with a gender neutral terminology. However, penal provisions with reduced sentences on killings for the sake of honor and differential treatment of married and unmarried women in cases of abduction, as well as the absence of marital rape as a crime, are deviations from contemporary evaluation of human dignity

and women's human rights. The Draft Criminal Code, expected to be enacted soon, contains important amendments in provisions pertaining to such crimes.

2.42 Under the extant Criminal Code, sentences are reduced in a number of so-called "honor killings" regarded as "special types of provocation." This is the case in killing the spouse or sister or a descendant caught in the act of an illegal sexual intercourse including adultery (Art. 462), abortion committed for the sake of protecting one's own or a relative's honor and chastity (Art. 472), leaving an illegitimate child to die within a period of five days following birth for the sake of protecting one's own or wife's or mother's, or a descendant's or sister's honor and chastity (Art. 475), and a mother's killing of a new born illegitimate baby for the sake of protecting her own honor (Art. 453). Sentences are also reduced in the commitment of the so-called "lineage offences" such as concealment of birth or replacing a child with another, changing the lineage of a child, or deserting of a child for the sake of protecting one's own or wife's or mother's or sister's or a descendant's chastity (Art. 475).

2.43 Under the relevant European Community⁵ directives, sexual harassment constitutes discrimination on the grounds of sex. In Turkey, there is no crime under the title of "sexual harassment." There are various sexual offences, such as indecent assault, gross indecency, solicitation, indecent exposure, incest, child abuse, rape, and abduction falling within the scope. Marital rape does not constitute a crime. Adultery no longer constitutes a crime with the annulment of the relevant provisions by the Constitutional Court in 1996 and 1999; it is solely an absolute ground for divorce.

2.44 Under the Law of Population Planning, a woman can demand an abortion up to the tenth week of pregnancy (Art. 5). If the woman is married, she must have her husband's approval and in the case of a single minor, the statutory representative's approval is necessary (Art. 5). After the tenth week abortion is permitted on medical grounds if the pregnancy threatens the health of the woman or would result in the child being seriously disadvantaged (Art. 5). Abortion after ten weeks' pregnancy is a crime under the Turkish Criminal Code. The sentence for a woman who has willingly aborted a child after ten weeks of pregnancy is one to five years of imprisonment (Art. 469). If there is an abortionist involved in the case, he /she will be sentenced for two to five years of imprisonment (Art. 468/2).

2.45 Tackling domestic violence is another important issue. There are women who are beaten, humiliated or mentally tortured by their brutal partners, thus trapped in a cycle of cruelty behind closed doors. Domestic violence cases are brought in both criminal and civil justice systems and Turkey tries to develop and regularly update comprehensive domestic violence policies. A legal development in this area was the enactment of a new law on the Protection of the Family (Law no. 4320, dated January 14, 1998). This Law introduced, for the first time, some protection orders that were completely new to the Turkish legal system. When the pattern of abuse includes acts that are violations of civil and criminal laws, apart from civil and criminal sanctions, the protection orders provided by the law shall also be applied. The protection orders introduced regard victim protection as of the utmost importance. Early intervention and a coordinated response to domestic violence provide the best path to helping victims and the other members of the family to prevent the escalation of a pattern of abuse. Accordingly, the Law speaks of the

⁵ "European Union" refers to a geographical entity as established by the Maastricht Treaty. When the European Union was established, the "European Economic Community" was renamed the "European Community." The European Community constitutes the so-called first pillar of the European Union. Common foreign and security policy is the second pillar and cooperation in justice and home affairs is the third pillar.

prompt issuance of protection orders (non-molestation orders) among which are “stay-away” (keeping parties to an incident out of each other’s sight and sound lines), “no-contact,” “no-liquor,” and “confiscation of weapons.” A margin of discretion is left to enable judges to introduce other measures similar to those cited in the Law. The peace courts, apart from being enabled to render such safety-related decisions upon the complaint of a family member or the application by the public prosecutor, may also rule for maintenance. If the security forces find out that the perpetrator is not complying with the ruled protection orders, an investigation shall be initiated without the need for a complaint by the victim(s). The public prosecutor, upon being informed of the situation, shall file a suit at the peace criminal court. The court shall rule for imprisonment from three to six months even if the violation constitutes another crime at the same time.

Women at Work and the Labor Legislation

2.46 Labor market regulations, whether laid down with economic or with social concerns, have important gendered effects. These may be explicit, as in the exclusion of women from certain occupations, or the provision of maternity leave, or implicit, such as the regulation of working hours, or the conditions of employment for part-time workers.

2.47 Owing to the Republican reforms, women in Turkey are the most liberated women in the Muslim world, and in Turkish professional life women enjoy a level of importance that is impressive not only by the standards of other Islamic countries but also by international standards.

2.48 In Turkey, there are two main categories of paid employment: civil servants and workers. The qualifications of civil servants, procedures governing their appointments, duties and powers, their rights and responsibilities, salaries and allowances, and other matters related to their status are regulated by the Civil Servants Law (No. 657). The Law makes no distinction based on gender as to employment or conditions of work. Civil servants enjoy complete job security. Workers, on the other hand, are covered mainly by the Labor Law (no. 4857). The Law defines the worker as one employed under a labor contract for a fixed or indefinite period in any job for wages (Art. 2). The Law makes no distinction between workers employed by the public or the private sector.

2.49 Under the Constitution (Art. 48-49), everyone has the freedom and the right and duty to work. Article 50 of the Constitution is of a protective character stating that no one shall be required to perform work unsuited to his age, sex, and capacity. It provides that minors, women and persons with physical or mental disabilities shall enjoy special protection with regard to working conditions. International and regional standards such as CEDAW, ILO conventions and recommendations, the Council of Europe’s Revised Social Charter and EC regulations, accept the principle of equality referring to the protection of working women only with regard to pregnancy and birth.

Need for Labor Market Flexibility and Atypical Types of Work

2.50 Statutory law has always played a major role in Turkish labor law with a relatively strong tradition of state interventionism. Statutory law has been used differently, sometimes to provide precise obligatory directives and more often to allow “negotiated legislation” with the consensus of the social partners. Thus, there were “guided” and “market-motivated” innovations introduced by extensive protective legislation and decentralized interaction between the social partners. The differentiation and decentralization of labor patterns were constantly challenging the traditional patterns of the central control of labor relations. The demand for and the drive towards flexibility

required more deregulatory intervention. The trends in statutory law and collective bargaining nevertheless show a significant correlation with economic cycles. The increase in the destandardisation of the labor force and labor relations in many industrialized countries and the growing needs of national and international trade have affected the general evolution of the Turkish labor relations system. Some combination and compromise between the existing system and flexibility appeared to be inevitable and of crucial importance. Especially atypical types of employment needed to be formulated, and provisions on working time needed to become a lot more flexible. In 2001, the Ministry of Labor and Social Security formed a tripartite commission composed of nine university professors, three appointed by the Government, three by the Turkish Confederation of Employers' Association (TISK), and one by each of the three labor confederations (Turk-Is, Hak-Is, Disk). This commission had the task of preparing a new Labor Act. The proposed draft constituted a drive towards flexibility in line with the Community acquires.⁶ The Commission and the legislature did not want to leave the matter to agreements and played a direct role. They provided a degree of protection for atypical employment and looked favorably on the extension and relaxation of certain legal provisions. The new Labor Act was adopted on March 22, 2003. The development of atypical types of work will hopefully facilitate women's penetration into the workforce.⁷ Contractual segregation occurs where men are more likely to have permanent full-time contracts and women to have part-time or temporary contracts. Many women feel unable to conform to the traditional model of full-time work. When the category of part-timers is exclusively or predominantly composed of women, less favorable treatment of part-timers compared to full-timers causes indirect discrimination. Discrimination against part-timers, prevented so far by the decisions of the Court of Appeals, is now prohibited by the new Labor Act (Art. 5, 13). But whether atypical employment decreases gender-based segregation is another important issue of concern. Seeking atypical employment seems to be a necessity rather than a choice for women.

Conditions of Access and Selection

2.51 Under Article 70 of the Constitution, every Turkish citizen has the right to enter the public service. No criteria other than the qualifications for the office concerned shall be taken into consideration for recruitment into the public service. In the private sector, especially in small and medium enterprises, selection was regarded completely as a matter of the employer's prerogative. There was a need for legal regulation to secure equal treatment in the provisions and practices relating to conditions of access and selection, including selection criteria, to jobs or positions in the private sector. There were no legal provisions on the issue of the recruitment of pregnant women and the right of women not to answer a necessarily discriminatory question about the possibility of pregnancy. Progressive Article 5 of the new Labor Act, under the title of "Principle

⁶ New provisions on flexibility and atypical types of employment largely draw on Council Directive 93/104/EC, of 23 November 1993, concerning certain aspects of the organization of working time as amended by Directive 2000/34/EC of June 2000 of the European Parliament and of the Council, Council Directive 97/81/EC of 15 December 1997 concerning the Framework Agreement on part-time working concluded by UNICE, CEEP and the ETUC as amended by Council Directive 98/23/EC of 7 April 1998, and Council Directive 99/70/EC of 28 June 1999 concerning the framework agreement on fixed-term work concluded by ETUC, UNICE and CEEP.

⁷ Flexibility in employment was highly advocated in the United Kingdom with the neo-liberal regime throughout the 1980s. In fact, profound changes on the labor market marked the 1980s in the other European countries as well. The European Community viewed flexibility as a means of increasing employment. The persistence of an employment crisis led to the development of modalities of flexibility and reorganization of working time. Flexible organization of work in a way which fulfils both the wishes of social partners and competition requirements resulted with employment promotion and equal opportunities for men and women.

of equal treatment and prohibition of sex discrimination,” explicitly states that no discrimination can be made on the basis of sex in work relations. The principle of equal treatment means that there shall be no discrimination whatsoever on grounds of sex either directly or indirectly by reference to sex or pregnancy as regards conclusion, content, implementation, and termination of labor contracts. Those occupational activities for which, by reason of their nature or the context in which they are carried out, the sex of the worker constitutes a determining factor are excluded from the coverage of the provision.⁸

Reconciliation of Family and Professional Life

2.52 Inequalities persist across Turkey in women’s disproportionately larger share of responsibilities for household work and the care of children and the elderly, in managing the “double day” difficulties. The pressures of combining paid work and domestic responsibilities are evident. The costs of employment influence women’s employment opportunities. Finance is the prerogative of male kin. Men are encouraged to take up full-time work and women are encouraged to do the caring work. Labor market inequalities made it rational for many women, rather than their male partners, to give up employment to care for children or others. There is the persistence of family support for child rearing. To reconcile family and professional life, everyone should have the right to protection from dismissal for a reason connected with maternity and the right to paid maternity leave and to parental leave following the birth or adoption of a child. Maternity leave, parental leave, pregnancy dismissals, and child-care methods constitute different aspects of the reconciliation of family and professional life.

2.53 In Turkey, the protective provisions on maternity apply to all women workers. The previous Labor Act provided for an obligatory ante-natal rest period of six weeks, and an obligatory post-natal rest period of six weeks (Art. 70). The obligatory ante-natal week of rest was lost in the event of a premature birth. In effect, it could not be added (as is the case with any unused ante-natal leave) to the term of six weeks of post-natal rest. The new Labor Act envisages a maternity leave of 16 weeks (Art. 74).⁹ The eight-week ante-natal rest period may be reduced to three weeks with the request of the woman worker and the approval of the doctor. In such a case, the remaining period is to be added to the eight-week post-natal rest period. These ante-natal and post-natal rest periods may be increased with a medical report on the basis of the woman worker’s health conditions and the peculiarities of the work to be performed. If there is a multiple pregnancy, two more weeks are to be added to the ante-natal leave. The labor contract is suspended during maternity leave. The pregnant workers are entitled to time off, without loss of pay, in order to attend ante-natal examinations. If deemed necessary through a medical report, the pregnant worker concerned will be moved to a lighter job without a reduction in pay. Women workers will be allowed 1.5 hours a day to breastfeed their children below one year of age. It will be up to the woman worker to decide about the time and divisibility of this nursing period that will constitute part of the worked period.

⁸ These new rules now conform to Council Directive (76/207/EEC) of 9 February 1976 on the implementation of the principle of equal treatment for men and women as regards access to employment, vocational training and promotion, and working conditions.

⁹ The Commission proposed a 14-week maternity leave conforming to the international standards. The legislature, with populist concerns and approaches by both political parties represented, went beyond international standards and extended the leave to 16 weeks and added 2 more weeks to the ante-natal leave for multiple pregnancies. It is highly possible that women job seeking in the private sector may be adversely affected by the new rule. Private sector employers will be inclined to recruit male jobseekers rather than women.

2.54 Maternity insurance provides a payment to women workers for the whole duration of maternity leave. This amounts to two-thirds of the worker's daily remuneration (Social Insurances Act, Art. 49). The worker, if she so requests, will be granted an unpaid leave of six months following the post-natal period (Labor Act, Art. 74/last paragraph).

2.55 The Labor Act, like the previous one, restricts the right of an employer to dismiss a pregnant female worker employed under a labor contract of fixed or indefinite duration. A fixed term contract cannot be terminated before the expiration of the specified period without a justified ground clearly indicated in the Labor Act. Dismissal on the basis of pregnancy does not constitute a justified ground and therefore the employer has to wait until the expiration date and may not renew the contract. If a woman worker employed under an indefinite contract is dismissed due to her pregnancy, such a dismissal will be considered to be abusive and the employer will be required to pay special compensation, the so-called bad-faith compensation, amounting to three months' gross pay. She will also be entitled to severance compensation if she has completed at least one year of employment at the concerned workplace. The female worker, however, remains free to terminate the contract and give notice. The employer is entitled to terminate the labor contract, be it for a fixed or an indefinite period, in the case a woman worker who fails to report to work for reasons of health for more than 6 weeks beyond the prescribed notice periods varying from 2 to 8 weeks following her confinement leave of 16 weeks. In such a case termination is deemed to depend on a justified ground; the woman worker will be entitled to severance pay if she has completed at least one year of employment at the concerned workplace. Under Article 5 of the new Labor Act, application of the principle of equal treatment with regard to working conditions and dismissals means that men and women shall be guaranteed the same conditions without discrimination on grounds of sex. To this end, workers who consider themselves wronged by failure to apply to them the principle of equal treatment within the meaning of this article may pursue their claims and demand a compensation amounting to four months' basic wages apart from the other legally provided rights and claims.

2.56 The Law on the Protection Against Dismissal (Job Security Act) of August 2002 that became effective on March 2003¹⁰ added articles to the previous Labor Act specifying valid reasons for contract termination and increasing the safeguards against all types of abusive dismissals for workplaces with 10 or more workers.¹¹ The new Labor Act confined increased job security to workplaces with 30 or more workers (Art. 18). Under the new Labor Act, sex, marital status, family responsibilities, absence from work during maternity leave, pregnancy and confinement,¹² inter alia, shall not constitute valid reasons for employment termination. A woman civil servant has complete protection against dismissals; she may never be subjected to an employment termination on grounds constituting discrimination based on sex.

¹⁰ The legislature postponed its effective date to June 30, 2003 by Act no. 4828 of March 15, 2003. This Act was returned to the legislature by the President of the Republic for reconsideration on March 31, 2003. The legislature preferred to accelerate the enactment of the Labor Act instead of insisting on the unchanged form of Act no. 4828. According to the Constitution, the President of the Republic promulgates the laws adopted by the legislature within 15 days. He may, within the same period, return the adopted law partially or in its entirety to the legislature for further consideration. If the legislature adopts in its unchanged form the law referred back, the President has to promulgate it. If the legislature amends the law that was referred back, the President may again refer the amended law back to the Assembly (Art. 89).

¹¹ Protection Against Dismissal Act envisaged a compensation equaling at least a six-month and at most a one-year wage of the concerned worker for dismissals not based on a valid reason. The new Labor Act decreased it to a four-month to eight-month wage (Art. 21).

¹² "Confinement" was added by the new Labor Act.

2.57 Women journalists are covered by the Press Labor Act.¹³ They are entitled to an obligatory maternity leave to start with the seventh month of pregnancy until the end of the second month following birth. Half of the last wage is to be paid to the journalist by her employer (Press Labor Act, Art. 16).

2.58 Women civil servants, on the other hand, are entitled to an obligatory ante-natal rest period of three months, and an obligatory post-natal rest period of six months and are paid the total amount of their salaries by the concerned public employer (Civil Servants Law, Art. 108). The public employer concerned may give a requesting woman civil servant an unpaid leave of at most twelve months following the post-natal rest period (Art. 108/3).

2.59 Inconsistencies in the existing laws that pertain to the duration and entitlements of the maternity leave increased with the enactment of the new Labor Act and there is now a greater need for harmonization. As regards to the father, currently there is no corresponding leave. A civil-servant-father is entitled to a leave of three days upon the birth of his child (Art. 104/B). For a worker-father, this is an issue left to the individual or to collective labor agreements. Also, at present, there is no leave in the case of adopting a child.

2.60 The ILO Convention no. 183, the Revised Social Charter of the Council of Europe, and the Council Directive 92/85/EEC on the introduction of measures to encourage improvements in the safety and health at work of pregnant workers who have recently given birth or are breastfeeding, have all extended the maternity leave to 14 weeks. Under Article 8/2 of the Council Directive, the maternity leave must include compulsory maternity leave of at least 2 weeks allocated before and/or after confinement in accordance with national legislation and/or practice. In Turkey, the total duration of maternity leave is compulsory.

2.61 In Turkey, a paid parental leave scheme does not exist at present.¹⁴

2.62 Under the Regulation¹⁵ on Conditions of Work for Pregnant or Nursing Workers and Nursing Rooms and Day Nurseries, workplaces employing between 100 and 150 women workers are to establish nursing rooms, while those employing more than 150 women workers have to establish day nurseries consisting of a nursing room and a crèche. The fact that not the total number of workers but the number of women workers in the workplace is considered, points to the norm that it is mainly the women who are held responsible for the rearing of children. As a general rule, the children of working women shall benefit from nursing rooms and day nurseries without any fee or deduction from wages. The children of working men benefit if the mother has died or if parental authority has been given to the father by a court decision. The 1997 Regulation

¹³ Provisions of the Labor Act on increased job security apply also to the women journalists (Art. 116, Press Labor Act, Art. 6).

¹⁴ Council Directive 96/34/EC of 3 June 1996 on the framework agreement on parental leave concluded by UNICE, CEEP and the ETUC as amended and extended by Council Directive 97/75/EC of 15 December 1997 grants men and women workers an individual right to parental leave on the grounds of the birth or adoption of a child to enable them to take care of that child, for at least three months, until a given age up to eight years to be defined by Member States and/or management and labor. Parental leave was first mentioned in the Council Recommendation of 31 March 1992 on childcare (92/241/EEC) under the title of "special leave" (Article 4).

¹⁵ The Council of Ministers may issue regulations governing the mode of implementation of laws or designating matters ordered by law, provided that they do not conflict with existing laws and are examined by the Council of State (high administrative court). Regulations are signed by the President of the Republic and published in the Official Gazette (Const., Art. 115).

on Principles of Education and Functioning of the Pre-School Education Institutions to be Established by the Employers of Workplaces Subject to the Labor Act demanded that those employers under the legal obligation of establishing day nurseries shall also establish pre-school classes. All educational services have to comply with the programs of the Ministry of Education. The 1987 By-Law¹⁶ on Day Nurseries to be Established by Public Employers envisages the establishment of day nurseries for at least 50 children of the 0-6 age group of children of the civil servants following the approval of the concerned minister. Priority is given to the children with both parents working in the same public institution. If the parents are working for different public institutions, the child shall be admitted to the nursery attached to the mother's institution. If there is no such nursery, then the child shall be admitted to the nursery attached to the father's institution. The monthly fee to be paid shall be determined by the Ministry of Finance at the beginning of the fiscal year after consulting with the General Directorate of Social Services and Child Protection Institution. The Ministry of Finance maintains the authority to change the amount of the fee during the year. Toys for the concerned age group and the necessary educational tools shall be provided by the parents. According to the new Labor Act, those provisions of extant regulations and by-laws that do not contradict this law will remain in effect until the issuance of the new ones (Provisional Art. 2). By-laws envisaged to be issued by this law have to be issued within a period of nine months (Art. 118).

Equal Pay

2.63 In Turkey, effect was given to the equal pay principle by the application of Article 26 of the previous Labor Act. Article 5 of the new Labor Act on the principle of equal treatment and prohibition of sex discrimination lays down the principle of "equal pay for equal work or work of equal value."¹⁷ Application of certain protective measures on the basis of sex does not justify payment of a lower wage. There are no exclusions from the equal pay principle that are based, for example, on the size of a company, on reasons linked to the health and safety of workers, on national security, on religion or on benefits under statutory social security schemes. The equal pay principle exists also for the women civil servants without any exception whatsoever.

Prohibited Works

2.64 In general, "protective" provisions designed to ensure that women are not exposed to hazardous physical or moral conditions in the workplace have the unintended effect of restricting women's job opportunities. Repeal of such provisions, with the exception of maternity protection, often plays a significant role in changing attitudes towards "suitable women's work." A periodic review of protective legislation is also required by Article 11/3 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. A special commission to carry out such a periodical review has not been formed so far, but will be formed at the time of the preparation of amendment proposals and law proposals, Turkey's international obligations and especially European Community standards are taken into consideration.

2.65 In Turkey, there are provisions prohibiting access for women to certain jobs (working in coal mines or underground quarries, embanking, digging and excavation of soil) and dangerous work (Labor Act, Art. 72).

¹⁶ The Prime Ministry, the ministries, and public corporate bodies may issue by-laws in order to ensure the application of laws and regulations relating to their particular fields of operation, provided that they are not contrary to these laws and regulations (Const., Art. 124).

¹⁷ This provision conforms to Article 141 (ex Article 119) of the Rome Treaty.

2.66 Under Article 69 of the previous Labor Act, prohibiting the employment of males under the age of 18 and of females irrespective of their age in industrial work during the night, with the exception of work the nature of which required the employment of women, women above 18 years of age could be employed on night shifts in accordance with the Regulation on Employment Conditions for Women Workers Utilized in Night Shifts in Industrial Work. Article 69 of the Labor Act and the Regulation needed to be revised in the light of new understandings and policies. The prohibition of night work for women may also lead to discrimination, as far as access to certain occupations and also pay are concerned. It is clear that, because of the prohibition of night work for women, a collective agreement or employment contract offering supplementary benefits for night work, in this way reserved for men, is indirectly discriminatory. The new Labor Act lifted this prohibition (Article 73).¹⁸

Sexual Harassment in the Workplace

2.67 Sexual harassment constitutes discrimination on the grounds of sex when unwanted conduct takes place with the purpose or effect of violating the dignity of a person and of creating an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating and offensive environment.¹⁹ The expression “sexual harassment” was not used in the previous Labor Act but such conduct was interpreted within the context of “immoral behavior or misconduct.” The new Labor Act refers to sexual harassment as a basis for justified contract terminations and compensation entitlements. Sexual harassment constitutes a valid reason to terminate the labor contract. A worker who has been sexually harassed by the employer, by a fellow worker or by a third person in the workplace may instantly terminate his/her labor contract (Art. 24/II/b, d). Similarly, an employer may instantly lay-off a worker who has sexually harassed the employer, any member of the employer’s family, or a fellow worker (Art. 25/II/b-c).

Social Security Legislation

Social security legislation	Act no.	Adoption date M/D/Y	Coverage
Retirement Fund Act	5434	6/8/1949	civil servants
Social Insurances Act	506	7/17/1964	industrial workers
Tradesmen, Small Artisans and the Other Self-employed Social Security Act	1479 2926 2925	9/2/1971 10/17/1983 10/17/1983	self-employed self-employed in the agriculture
Social Security Act of the Self- employed in the Agriculture Agricultural Workers’ Social Security Act	4447	8/25/1999	agricultural workers industrial workers upon loss of employment
Unemployment Insurance Act			

¹⁸ In its decision of 25 July 1991, the European Court of Justice declared that Article 5 of Directive 76/207/EEC was sufficiently precise to prevent member states from discriminating against women by prohibiting them (but not men) from undertaking night work, even if the prohibition was subject to exceptions.

¹⁹ This definition is given by Council Directive 2000/78/EC of 27 November 2000, establishing a general framework for equal treatment in employment and occupation.

Range of contingencies covered by compulsory social insurances

Sickness Industrial accidents and occupational diseases Maternity Invalidity Old age Death Loss of employment

2.68 As a general rule, the principle of equal treatment exists in the field of state and occupational social security systems. Contributions to and entitlements from social security schemes are the same for men and women and gender neutral terminology is used. Medical care, sickness benefits, maternity benefits, invalidity benefits, old-age benefits, survivors' benefits, employment injury benefits and unemployment benefits are the branches of social security provided by the legislation.

2.69 The social security systems are protective as regards the ages for retirement for women and men, 58 and 60, consecutively as amended in September 1999. Previously, a woman after 20 years of service and a man after 25 years of service could retire. Because the length of service after 18 years of age was considered, a woman could retire at the age of 38 and a man at the age of 43. An important area exempted from the scope of the equality principle in the relevant Community directives is the determination of pension ages; this is still within the discretion of national governments. Equalization of pension ages is provided not for statutory social security schemes but for occupational social security schemes by the Council Directive of 20 December 1996, amending Directive 86/378/EEC, on the implementation of the principle of equal treatment for men and women in occupational social security schemes (96/97/EC). This was the basis for the difference in pension ages determined in September 1999 in Turkey.

2.70 In the case of survivors' benefits, the social security legislation replaced widow's pensions with a pension for the surviving spouse in March 1985. However, preferential treatment exists with regard to the orphans' insurance scheme with the idea of protecting female children. A male child who has not reached the prescribed age (18 for a secondary education student, 20 for a university student 25) is entitled to a pension in respect of the death of either parent. There is no such prescribed age for a female child and she will receive survivors' benefits as long as she does not get married or is employed. An application made to the Constitutional Court claiming the unconstitutionality of the age limits existing only for male children was rejected in October 1996 on the basis that such preferential treatment for female children did not violate Article 10 of the Constitution on equality before the law.

2.71 In Turkey, among the social security laws, the Agricultural Workers Social Security Law, the Tradesmen, Small Artisans and Other Self-Employed Social Security Law, and the Social Security Law on the Self-Employed in Agriculture do not provide for maternity protection. The National Program for the Adoption of the Community Acquis envisages the inclusion of maternity protection in these laws.

2.72 The Social Security Law on the Self-Employed in Agriculture covers only the "head of household." The use of the criterion of "head of household" (or breadwinner) is a classic example of indirect discrimination, given that it applies only to a minority of women. The National Program envisages lifting the phrase that has already been lifted from the Civil Code.

Institutional Arrangements

2.73 As regards the national machinery for women and gender issues, in December 1989 the Family Research Institute and in April 1990 the General Directorate on the Status and Problems of Women were established. A draft organizational law of the Directorate is still before the Assembly for enactment.

2.74 The Directorate General of Women's Status and Problems, despite its small budget and lean staff, is an active and efficient institution preparing policies and programs for the protection and development of women's status and for the resolution of women's problems, and supporting studies and publications.

2.75 In Turkey, there is not an authority apart from the courts with particular responsibility for handling claims relating to equal treatment. In the Turkish legal system, it is the exclusive responsibility of the parties to prove the facts on which their claim rests. The judge is expected to know the law. The rules of evidence are set out in the Civil Procedural Law, the Criminal Procedural Law, and certain specific laws. A judge can only reach a decision on the basis of facts properly presented during the hearing. The judge cannot base a decision on personal knowledge, since to do so would infringe on the principle that a judge may not base a decision on facts other than those presented by the parties. There was a need for special rules on the burden of proof in cases of discrimination based on sex. Article 5 of the new Labor Act draws on the Community Directive 97/80/EC of 15 December 1997 on the burden of proof in cases of discrimination based on sex.²⁰ As a general rule, it shall be up to the worker to prove that there has been a breach of the principle of equal treatment. But when there is a prima facie case of discrimination, that is based upon the introduction of evidence of an apparent discrimination by the worker, it shall be up to the respondent to prove that there has been no breach of the principle of equal treatment.

Conclusion and Recommendations

2.76 Equality between women and men is a fundamental principle of democracy. Policy in the field of equal opportunities is in a transitional phase of renewal. This is true for global and regional standards as well as for Turkey. Turkey is aware of new understandings, approaches, and policies such as equal treatment, positive action, positive discrimination and gender mainstreaming and is trying to upgrade its national standards. The Turkish legislation is at an outstanding point as regards gender equality; the defects and inadequacies mainly correspond to the latest concepts, understandings and approaches. The new Civil Code and the recently enacted Labor Act, both progressive on gender issues, minimized and nearly diminished this defects and inadequacies gap. They are strong signs of political and legal commitment to the principle of sex equality. Turkey's eagerness to become a European Union member triggers and facilitates its efforts to catch up with the latest standards.

2.77 Act no. 4866 of June 4, 2003, amending the Turkish Nationality Act, equalized the acquisition and loss of Turkish nationality for men and women to a large extent. Turkey should now lift its declaration to Article 9 of CEDAW.

2.78 The Constitution provides for gender equality before the law. A new constitutional provision envisaging the equal treatment principle and defining direct and indirect discrimination should be drawn on the basis of international standards, including Article 1 of the CEDAW,

²⁰ See footnote no. 1.

Article 141(4) of the European Community Treaty, and Article 23 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, to serve as a better fundamental principle. Otherwise, equal protection clauses shall apply only to intentional discrimination but shall not reach laws or practices which are on the face of it gender-neutral but which have an adverse effect on women.

2.79 In Turkey, taking into consideration recent developments, there is a visible shift from the policy of protection to equality. This is especially so with regard to the new Civil Code enacted in December 2001. The Code is in compliance with international and regional standards, but, still there are legal provisions in the Constitution, the Labor Act and the Social Security Law which are protective in nature. These provisions, such as Article 50 of the Constitution, prohibitions on working in underground and underwater jobs, different pension ages for women and men, and different durations of entitlement to social security benefits need to be reconsidered in the light of Article 11/3 of the CEDAW. The protective measures need to be limited to pregnancy and birth.

2.80 Flexible and atypical types of work where working women are concentrated needed to be regulated by taking into consideration the idea of preventing indirect discrimination. This was accomplished by the new Labor Act. Working women tend to be concentrated in atypical types of employment. The development of atypical types of work will, it is hoped, facilitate women's penetration into the workforce. But whether atypical employment decreases gender-based segregation is another important issue of concern. Seeking atypical employment seems to be a necessity rather than a choice for women.

2.81 The Agricultural Workers Social Security Law and the Tradesmen, Small Artisans and the Other Self-Employed Social Security Law not providing for maternity protection, and the Social Security Law on the Self-Employed in Agriculture covering only the "head of household," have to be amended in line with the National Program for the Adoption of the Community Acquis.

2.82 Certain provisions such as those pertaining to reduced sentences in "honor killings" and lineage offenses of the Criminal Code need to be reconsidered and revised in the light of developments in gender issues.

2.83 Statements of principle or good intent are enshrined in the Turkish legislation. The attempt to secure genuine equality exists but it will remain elusive if effective implementation does not follow. Unless they are supplemented and supported by other means, such as policies, actions and awareness raising programs, legislative measures on their own may not overcome the "male breadwinner" model. Practical steps to promote the value of women's work, to help women to reconcile family life with employment, to speed up the participation of women in decision-making in both the public and private sectors, and to enforce existing laws are essential for the integration of equal opportunities. Effective legislation is not the end but only the beginning of tackling discrimination.

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3. WOMEN'S EDUCATION

Feride Acar

3.1 Women's education has been a Janus-headed phenomenon in Turkey for a long time. On the one hand, owing to the cumulative effects of a strong political will and a supportive ideological climate, women's entry into all levels and types of education has been a consistent national priority since the establishment of the secular Turkish Republic (1923). On the other hand, a strong patriarchal culture reflected in gender discriminatory traditions and practices (such as son preference, early marriage, and gender-based seclusion and segregation reinforced by Islamic beliefs) as well as scarce economic resources²¹ have acted as barriers to women's education.

3.2 Factors such as persistent regional disparities in socio-cultural as well as economic conditions and very high rural-urban migration rates in the last four decades have further complicated the situation. Thus, despite significant improvements over time, gender equality in education has not been achieved and women, to date, continue to lag behind men by almost all indicators. Adding to the complexity of the phenomenon is the fact that women's education has been conceived almost as a "proxy" for other, often politically and ideologically charged matters in recent Turkish history. This has meant that the content and effectiveness of policies and measures in the realm of women's education were often motivated by the governments' political commitments to such goals as Westernization and modernization. Similarly, these policies and their implementation were criticized and opposed in the society on the basis of alternative political and cultural world-views. The absence of a fundamental consensus — despite strong lip-service to the "principles of national education" — as well as a lack of overall gender-awareness and gender-sensitivity on the part of policymakers, has also accounted for such problems as inconsistencies in policies over time, slowness in the implementation of those decisions and policies that had particular relevance for women's education, and a general reluctance to recognize and implement the need for "special measures" in the area of women's education. In light of these general observations, when one views the current gender-differentiated picture of education in Turkey, several critical paradoxes and bottlenecks emerge. On one side are such positive facts as the overall increase in literacy and school enrollment rates among women over the years as well as their higher success rates at all levels, including entry into the very competitive higher education system; women's impressive presence in traditionally "masculine fields" in higher education; the large percentages of women in academia; the high labor force participation rates of women university graduates; and the institutionalization of coeducation in secondary public schools in a Muslim society.

²¹ It is relevant in this context the already low level of expenditure on education as a proportion of GNP declined from 3.1 percent in 1990 to 2.7 percent in 2000. Similarly, the funds allocated to education in the national budget were reduced from 13.3 percent in 1990 to 7.1 percent in 2000, partly due to the structural adjustment measures. Moreover, it is known that not all budget funds allocated to education are actually spent during the year (inter alia, Tan, 2000:65; Tansel, 2000).

3.3 On the other hand, there are clear problem areas. Continuing gender differences in literacy, in exposure to any kind of education, and in existing school enrollment rates (particularly in the rural areas and the eastern and southeastern regions) reflect severe inequality in the access to education as a basic human right. The tendency of gender inequality to rise with the level of education indicates that women’s access to higher levels of education is even more problematic. The numbers of girl students enrolling in technical-vocational schools—emphasizing traditional home-making skills—remain consistently higher than the enrollment of girl students in vocational-technical education directed to income generating labor force participation. This is another factor in perpetuating the existing inequalities in “life chances” of women and men. The continuing presence, in large numbers, of girls in religious secondary education which, by definition, reinforces gender stereotypes and falls short of developing women’s capacities for market-oriented skills also constitutes a serious drawback. In the area of higher education, women’s concentration in the gender segregated soft disciplines and/or sub-specialties not only perpetuates gender stereotypes but also points to potential disadvantages in women’s earning power.

3.4 This paper discusses gender differences in education (with special emphasis on women’s education) in Turkey, elaborating on the problem areas and bottlenecks with a view to ensuring women’s equal access to education as a human right.

Literacy

3.5 Over the years, while there has been a significant increase in overall literacy as well as women’s literacy in Turkey, illiteracy, particularly in the adult population, has not altogether disappeared from the list of concerns. In 2001, 25 percent of women and 7 percent of men were illiterate and the overall literacy rate for the country was 85 percent (www.redcross.org/services/intl/initiatives/euro/turkey.asp).

3.6 What is more, although the overall increase in female literacy has been impressive and more rapid than that of male literacy over the long run (see Table 3.1), the decline in adult women’s illiteracy rates has not been equally rapid or clear. In fact, in the last decade (1990-2000), reversals and short term inconsistencies in this trend have also been observed (see Table 3.2). Currently, the gap between adult male and female illiteracy continues to be nearly as high as it was in the early years of the last decade.

Table 3.1: Literacy Rates in by Sex, 1935 - 1999

Year	Women	Men
1935	9.8	29.3
1945	16.8	43.7
1955	25.6	55.9
1965	32.8	64.1
1975	50.5	76.2
1985	68.2	86.5
1999	77.4	94.2

Source: Tan, 2000: 34.

Table 3.2: Adult Illiteracy Rates by Sex, 1990-1999

Adult (Age12+) Literacy Rate (%)	1990- 1991	1992- 1993	1994- 1995	1996- 1997	1998- 1999
Male	9.4	7.2	6.6	6.1	5.8
Female	30.2	24.9	22.6	26.1	22.6

Source: SIS, Department of Social Statistics.

3.7 In Turkey, illiteracy increases systematically for both sexes as one moves from younger to older age groups, from urban to rural populations, and from the western to the eastern regions. Turkish data also show that age, rural-urban residence and geographical location variables all affect the literacy of women more than they do that of men. This means that in Turkey, older age, rural residence or an eastern location will account for more female than male illiteracy. Consequently, older, rural women in the eastern and southeastern regions are most likely to be illiterate.

Literacy and Age

3.8 Overall figures for Turkey show that illiteracy of women in the age group 15-19 is 5.2 percent while that of women in the 50-59 age group is 59.2 percent (Tan, 2000: 35). The increase in women's illiteracy rate with age is continuous throughout all age groups. Men's illiteracy, on the other hand, exhibits a noticeable increase only in the "40 and over" age category. One could read this as an indication of the rather persistent nature of female illiteracy despite the strong lip service paid to the issue by both state and civil society agents in Turkey ever since the establishment of the Republic, and reinforced in recent times by state commitments made at the highest international level.²² The slow change in women's illiteracy is clearly indicative of the insufficiency of targeted or effective policies and measures to eradicate this social ill.

3.9 The phenomenon requires urgent attention, particularly because high female illiteracy rates persisting in the younger and middle age groups limits these women's chances of integrating into a modern productive life, and the lack of such a basic capability seriously curtails women's potential for empowerment at both the family and the community level. There is enough worldwide evidence to show the negative impact illiteracy has on the quality of life of women's families and on the life chances of younger generations.

Literacy and Urban/Rural Residence

3.10 Women's illiteracy is also more strongly related to rural residence than men's illiteracy. While 4.5 percent of urban and 10.1 percent of rural men are illiterate, 18.7 percent of urban and 30.4 percent of rural women cannot read and write (Tan, 2000:35). In rural areas, as late as the 1990's, three out of four (75 percent) of the older women (age 44+) were illiterate; this figure for men was 36 percent (GDSPW, 1994: 62- 63).

3.11 While these figures are self-explanatory and point only too clearly to the priority areas, there are further complicating facets of the picture. Although not as obvious at first glance, studies indicate that today there is reason to be concerned about the extent of illiteracy among

²² Turkey made a commitment to the IV World Conference on Women at Beijing (1995) to achieve universal female literacy by the year 2000 but is as yet far from realizing that objective.

women in these cities and towns that receive large numbers of rural migrants. While urban female illiteracy may, in general, be lower than rural female illiteracy, there are niches of urban existence in Turkish cities and metropolitan centers where women's illiteracy and lack of access to education are very real and serious problems (Tan, 2000: 36). In a study conducted on a nationally representative sample of rural migrants in urban areas in Turkey (in 1993), it was found that not only was illiteracy among women in these groups twice as high as among men (27.4 percent versus 12.4 percent) (Kasapoglu, 1993: 76), but that this rate was also well above urban and national female illiteracy figures. To the extent that illiteracy becomes even more limiting and inhibiting for women in their struggle to adapt to modern city life, illiterate migrant women are, by definition, most dependent on others, most unlikely to control their lives and most vulnerable to economic and social risks.

Literacy and Regional Differences

3.12 Even more striking are the regional differences in female illiteracy. The illiteracy rates are highest in the southeastern and eastern regions of the country, and lowest in the Marmara region. As Table 3.3 shows, 44.6 percent of women in the southeast are illiterate; in the Marmara region this figure is 12.5 percent. This distribution points in no uncertain terms to the need for prioritized policies and special measures directed to the regions with higher rates of illiteracy.

3.13 Another facet of gender inequality is women's overwhelming share among the illiterates in the population throughout Turkey, including the Marmara region where illiteracy in general and women's illiteracy in particular are the lowest in the country (see Table 3.3). This picture clearly reflects the widespread gender discrimination in access to literacy, and emphasizes the need for special measures directed to women throughout the country to accelerate change. Without specific goal-oriented policies and special measures that will enhance and accelerate change in existing behavior patterns, women are very unlikely to have equal access to literacy even in relatively developed regions.

Table 3.3: Rates of Female Illiteracy by Region

Region	Illiterate women out of female population (%)	Illiterate women out of illiterate population (both men and women) (%)
Southeast	44.6	76.8
East	37.0	81.7
Black Sea	25.4	79.6
Central	17.2	80.0
Aegean	19.7	80.0
Marmara	12.5	81.8
Mediterranean	20.9	81.0

Source: http://misnt.pub.die.gov.tr/die/plsql/lm_turkiye_tursec.

3.14 Thus, as is often underlined, despite the long-term positive trends, female illiteracy and particularly adult female illiteracy continue to be a major and multifaceted problem.

Primary Education

3.15 Access to primary education, as reflected by graduation rates, also displays a systematic increase over time for both sexes: in 1965 only 16.2 percent of women and 31.1 percent of men had a primary school diploma; these rates went up to 43.1 percent and 49.1 percent, respectively, in 1990 (KSSGM, 2001: 48). Despite the more rapid improvement in women's access to primary education than men's, and despite the commonly held view that in the 1990's near-universal enrollment rates at this level were achieved for both sexes in Turkey, the disparity remains

between girls' and boys' access to primary education. Studies have shown that gender, age, parental education, household income and geographical location are the determinants of educational attainment at the primary and secondary levels (Tansel, 1997).

3.16 In fact, according to the SIS figures, the enrollment ratios for both sexes have been far from indicating positive trends in the last decade. Table 3.4 shows that in this period the ratio of those boys and girls of the appropriate age category who were actually enrolled in primary education declined for both sexes. In the 1990s, these rates dropped from 89.6 percent to 88.3 percent for girls, and from 95.1 percent to 93.1 percent for boys. Thus, not only is it not possible to speak of a clear positive trend in schooling ratios in these years, but also the figures leave much to be desired in terms of the achievement of universal enrollment at the primary level. While the difference between the primary school enrollment ratios of the sexes narrowed between 1992-93 and 1996-97, this came about not because of a faster improvement in girls' enrollment but because of a greater drop in boys' enrollment. However, boys' schooling ratios remained higher than those for girls despite the worsening of the rates for boys.

Table 3.4: Enrollment Rates in Primary and Secondary Education by Sex, 1992

Years	Primary School (%)		Middle School (%)	
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
1992-1993	89 .64	95 .12	50 .32	77 .71
1993-1994	89 .26	93 .17	53 .11	75 .29
1994-1995	88 .62	92 .63	54 .48	76 .03
1995-1996	88 .18	92 .32	53 .87	75 .33
1996-1997	88 .25	93 .13	53 .93	75 .03

Source: State Institute of Statistics, Statistics of National Education-Formal Education, 1997-98, p.87.

3.17 Clearly, women's access to primary education in Turkey is more limited than men's. Analysts have interpreted the fact that 16.7 percent of Turkish women (ages 15-49) have had no formal education to mean that the state has been unable to fulfill its obligation to ensure women equal access to education as stipulated under Article 10 of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the international human rights treaty to which the Turkish state became a party in 1985, and the Turkish Constitution (Tan, 2000: 35).

Primary Schooling and Place of Residence

3.18 Similar to the pattern observed for literacy, women's access to primary education in Turkey also reflects differences with respect to rural-urban location and geographical region. The differences as one moves from the rural to the urban areas, and from the east and southeast to the western regions.

3.19 Table 3.5 reflects the findings of a nationwide survey and underlines the vast disparity in women's access to education among regions of the country in 1990. It shows that while 17 percent of the women in the western regions have had no education, more than half of the women in the southeastern Anatolia region (55.2 percent) were in this group. A similar discrepancy continues to exist. A more recent study has documented that not only do regional differences persist on this score but that a significant proportion of women (ages 15-49) who have had no schooling are also found in metropolitan centers. These figures are of 10.2 percent in Istanbul, 8.1 percent in Izmir, 9.2 percent in Ankara 17.0 percent in Adana, 19.0 percent in Sanliurfa, and 42 percent in Diyarbakir (UNICEF, 2000 report cited in Tan, 2000:36). This situation has been generally attributed to the high rates of migration and population displacements, and in the 1990s to the closing of many primary schools in the eastern and southeastern regions of the country for security reasons as a consequence of terrorist insurgence and armed conflict. Nonetheless, it

means that significant numbers of urban women as well as disproportionate rates of women in the east and southeast have been left out of the education system.

**Table 3.5: Percentage of Women Without Education
by Region**

East	46.4%
North	28%
South	25.2%
Central	20.8%
West	17%
Southeast*	55.2%

(Source: Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, 1998:18.

* These data are from 1990 (www.die.gov.tr/toyak1/bguneydogu/page4.html)

3.20 Policies and special measures directed at these population groups are thus needed to address the “gendered” nature of the problem. Although lack of access to education seems less severe for younger age groups, the problem will simply not go away in any economically and ethically tolerable time perspective and will continue to constitute a major bottleneck in female education that needs to be addressed effectively and without delay.

Obstacles to Primary School Enrollment

3.21 Statistics underline the significant difficulties encountered in Turkey, as late as 1990s, in ensuring women’s enjoyment of their right to education. At the primary level, the reasons for this situation have been analyzed in the literature. They point to such problems and limitations as those stemming from economic inadequacies, cultural norms, religious beliefs, and the structural aspects of national education (Kagıçibasi, 1989:104).

3.22 A recent study based on the 1999 Child Labor Statistics of SIS provides a list of reasons for non-enrollment in Turkey (see Table 3.6). In terms of the non-enrollment of women, “the cost of schooling” emerges as the most frequently cited (26.0 percent) reason in general, and it becomes even more dominant (30.2 percent) in urban areas. In fact, in the urban areas economic factors appear to be more salient for the non-enrollment of both girls and boys, while “lack of interest in school” is the most important reason in rural areas. The reasons for non-enrollment of girls in the rural areas appear to be more varied including “unavailability of proper school,” “household chores,” and “lack of family permission” to go to school. While economic and socio-cultural factors play a greater role in female non-enrollment in general, cost appears to be the main factor in female non-enrollment in urban areas and “family obligations” and “family values” in rural settings.

Table 3.6: Reasons for Non-enrollment Urban/Rural Residence and Sex (%), 1999

Reasons for non-enrollment	TURKEY			URBAN			RURAL		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
High costs of schooling	23.5	19.4	26.0	28.3	25.3	30.2	18.5	12.8	21.9
Lack of interest in school	22.3	23.3	21.7	18.3	19.0	17.8	26.5	28.0	25.4
Unavailability of proper school	13.0	16.7	10.7	13.3	18.4	10.0	12.7	14.9	11.5
Lack of family permission	7.1	4.1	8.9	7.1	2.5	9.8	7.1	5.9	8.0
Household chores	5.8	1.5	8.4	4.1	0.3	6.5	7.5	2.8	10.2
Need to care for younger siblings	2.4	0.5	3.6	1.7	0.9	2.2	3.1	0.0	4.7
Sickness/disability	4.4	6.3	3.2	4.5	5.1	4.1	4.2	7.6	2.5
Need to help the family in economic activity	1.4	2.5	0.7	0.5	1.3	0.0	2.2	3.8	1.2
To learn a skill or trade	0.6	0.8	0.4	0.6	0.9	0.6	0.4	0.7	0.2
Failure to get along with teachers at school	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.6	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.2
Need to work for pay	1.2	2.6	0.3	1.2	2.5	0.4	1.2	2.8	0.2
Other	28.5	35.1	24.5	28.9	34.8	25.5	27.8	35.6	23.4

Source: Sahabettinoglu et al., 2002: 5; Columns do not add up to 100.0 possibly because more than one reason was cited by a respondent

3.23 The existing data indicate that while 76.5 percent of girl children from the lowest socioeconomic status households in Turkey attend school, the corresponding rate for boys from such households is 85.6 percent. In the highest socioeconomic status category, 96.4 percent of both sexes have been found to attend school (GDSPW, 2002:26). It is clear that as one goes down the socio-economic ladder, women's chances of having access to education and staying in school decline. It is significant in this context that assistance policies and measures implemented to support and encourage education should be stepped up, and increased in kind (such as providing books and school supplies to students), and should have a gender perspective. This is particularly relevant for monetary and other support that can be provided to families to promote school enrollment and reduce dropping out. Close monitoring of the basic education system to assess how such supports (as cash handouts or free books and stationery) would be distributed on a gender basis is a necessary first step in the design and implementation of special measures to address the more disadvantaged status of girls vis-à-vis education.

3.24 Another study investigated the relationship between schooling and child labor in Turkey with a view to determining the rural-urban, regional and gender-based variations in this relationship (Tunali, 1996). Evidence from this research points to the fact that "working" children are unlikely to continue their education and that they often drop out of school. It was found that

work at earlier ages (sometimes as early as 6 years) in rural areas interferes with children's access to education, and that girls are clearly disadvantaged in this respect as well. While a gender-based division of labor leads to boys being more often directed to market work and girls to housework, both types of work function as prompters for dropping out of school.

3.25 The education level of the parents, particularly of the mother, emerges as another critical variable in determining the child's chances of access to education. A child's likelihood of staying in school increases with the educational attainment of both parents, particularly with their educational attainment beyond primary and middle school (Tunali, 1996).

3.26 Other research has also indicated that mother-training programs conducted as part of an early enrichment project aimed at enhancing the ability of children from low-income, low-education family backgrounds to benefit from schooling has produced positive results for the development of the child's capabilities. Such programs also empowered women in the family and community contexts, thus having long term implications for socioeconomic development through the enhancement of gender equality (Kagitçibasi, 2001).

Basic Education Reform and Its Aftermath

3.27 In 1997, the Eight-Year Compulsory Basic Education Law (No. 4306) was adopted by the Turkish Grand National Assembly and immediately put into implementation. With the coming into force of this legislation, compulsory education for all was increased from five to eight years, and primary and middle school levels were consolidated into one level conferring a single degree. Under this law, branching into general-academic and different types of vocational-technical education was to take place only after the completion of the eight-year compulsory basic education. Prior to the new law, such branching was possible after five years of elementary education.

3.28 This law was expected to have particularly positive effects on women's education and their consequent empowerment. It was expected that average duration of education would increase among women and that adolescent girls would be kept in the education system longer thereby preventing their early marriage and pregnancy as well as providing them with enhanced opportunities and freedom to make choices of their own. The institutionalization of the eight-year compulsory basic education has also meant that one of the main commitments the Turkish Government made at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing was fulfilled.

3.29 An accurate evaluation of what the change to the eight-year compulsory basic education reform has meant for women's education is difficult to make due to the short period that has elapsed since its enactment. However, there has been some evidence of a higher increase in the enrollment rates of girls in basic education in the years following the reform, as compared to those of boys. Enrollment rates in basic education for boys and girls went up to 99.4 percent and 89.9 percent, respectively, in the school year 1999-2000 (Tan, 2000: 42).

3.30 According to our own calculations, compared to the average primary and middle school (total of eight years) enrollment rates of both sexes in 1996-97, rates increased by 5.5 percent for girls and 4 percent for boys in the school year 1997-98 when the Eight-Year Compulsory Basic Education Reform was put in force (Turkey Statistics Yearbook, 2000: 152).

3.31 A persistent problem in women's education in Turkey has always been the system's loss of female students at the end of compulsory basic education. When such education was five years, higher dropout rates for girls at this level were consistently the case. As shown in Table 3.4, enrollment rates for girls in middle school (6-8 grades) have consistently remained much

lower than that of boys at the same level and that of girls at the primary school level (1-5 years), during much of the last decade.

3.32 In more concrete terms, transition to the non-compulsory secondary level of education (i.e., sixth grade) was always a major bottleneck for female education in Turkey. For instance, in the year 1985-86, while 64.0 percent of boys continued into secondary school (i.e., sixth grade), for girls, this figure was 42.2 percent. By the beginning of the 1990s, 53.2 percent of girls and 72.8 percent of boys were going on to middle school (www.die.gov.tr/CIN/women/status-women.htm, 07/04/2002). As late as 1996-97 (the year preceding the reform) girls constituted 47.4 percent of students enrolled in fifth grade but only 38.32 percent of those in sixth grade. In the year 1999-2000 however, these figures rose to 47.28 percent and 45.59 percent for the two sexes, respectively (Tan, 2000: 43), pointing to the fact that girls' tendency to drop out at this juncture has been reduced by the transition to eight-year compulsory education.

3.33 Table 3.7 illustrates the proportional increase in the enrollment of male and female students in the sixth grade as a function of the Eight-Year Compulsory Education Reform. It can be observed that after the first year of the reform's implementation (1997-98) girls' enrollment in the sixth grade increased in both actual numbers and percentages. This was a significant jump over 1997-98. Also, all of these increased figures for girls are higher than the comparable figures for boys' enrollment in the sixth grade. Such evidence clearly indicates the positive effect of the eight-year compulsory basic education on female enrollment rates at the perennial bottleneck of female enrollment in Turkey (i.e., the sixth grade level). A particularly encouraging outcome of the reform has been that while girls' enrollment in urban areas has recorded a 30 percent increase, in the rural areas this figure has been 161.7 percent.

3.34 It is nonetheless necessary to conduct further research into how (through what specific means and measures this particular impact of the reform on female education can be explained. Also an investigation of how eight-year compulsory basic education has influenced female school enrollment rates at levels other than the sixth grade (i.e., whether or not extended basic education has led to girls dropping out at lower or higher grades) needs to be undertaken in order to accurately assess the full impact of the reform.

Table 3.7: Number and Proportion of Sixth Grade Students by Sex, 1996-2000 and Enrollment Increase Rates over the Academic year, 1997-98

		1996-1997	1997-1998	1998-1999	1999-2000
Female students	# and (share) of female students in 6 th grade	357,412 (38.32%)	343,489 (39.66%)	506,637 (43.75%)	580,543 (45.59%)
	rate of enrollment increase over 97-98	Not applicable	Not applicable	(47.50%)	(69.01%)
Male students	# and (share) of male students in 6 th grade	575,238 (61.68%)	522,504 (60.34%)	620,760 (56.25%)	693,360 (54.41%)
	rate of enrollment increase over 97-98	Not applicable	Not applicable	(18.8%)	(32.7%)

Source: Ministry of National Education, 1999:49; KSSGM, 2001:55; Tan, 2000:43-calculated.

3.35 It was also expected that the new law, by ensuring that girl children would stay in basic education longer, would enhance their chances of exercising personal choices with respect to continuing their education and/or to the type of secondary school they would attend. This facet is particularly important in the Turkish context. In the earlier system of Five-Year Compulsory Education, primary schooling was followed by a choice of secondary education in either general-academic or vocational-technical areas. In general, female participation rates in general-academic secondary education have always exceeded, and are still higher, than female participation rates in vocational-technical secondary education in Turkey. Currently, despite some critical changes in the structure and curricula of vocational-technical schools over time, the bulk of this type of education for girls has remained confined to areas that enhance traditional female roles.

3.36 A particularly significant dimension of this issue has been religious education. In the Turkish national education system, the Imam-Hatip schools, which provide religious training alongside regular secondary education curricula, are classified under the general category of technical-vocational education. In the years prior to the Eight-Year Compulsory Education Reform, the proportion of girls in these religious schools (starting at sixth grade) had increased from 19 percent in 1981-82 to 27 percent in 1991-92 and had reached 41 percent in 1996-97 (Tan, 2000: 48-calculated). To the extent that religion-weighted education reinforces traditional female roles and falls short of training girls and young women with skills necessary for income generating activities, the increasing female enrollment in religious secondary education had come to generate a negative force in attempts to alter traditional gender roles and to empower women.

3.37 The Eight-Year Compulsory Basic Education Reform also enhanced measures such as transported education (implemented since 1991-92) and the capacities of boarding schools in rural areas and disadvantaged regions inter alia to minimize gender inequalities in these areas. The number of Regional Boarding Primary Schools and Boarding Primary Schools was increased from 153 (before the Reform) to 513 in 2000-01, with female students (KSSGM, 2002:29) constituting 28.3 percent of the student body in the former and 41.9 percent in the latter. These figures again indicate that efforts to increase female access to primary education in the poorest and most disadvantaged regions and sectors need to be stepped up.

3.38 Transported primary education, on the other hand, provides free bussing to students from small and geographically scattered rural settlements to primary education schools in selected centers. In the 1999-2000 school year, 45.4 percent of those who benefited from this service were girls (KSSGM, 2002:29). Observers have pointed, inter alia to the need to provide meals to students (Arabaci, 1999: 21) who are transported to schools as a major area where improvements are needed. That notwithstanding, further extension of this service is expected to have a positive impact on access to primary education for all students in the remote and scarcely populated areas (Karagözoglu, 1999:13; Arabaci, 1999:24). However, long-term research is also needed to assess the impact of this model on the older (12-14 years) female children's access to education, since both the eight-year compulsory education and transportation to school can be expected to function as a deterrent to traditional and conservative families to send their daughters in this age group to school.

Secondary Education

3.39 By 2001-2002, boys constituted 59 percent and girls 41 percent of those enrolled in secondary education in Turkey (see Table 3.8). Recent statistics reflect a consistent increase in girl students' participation in secondary education, alongside of the fact that female participation rates have still not caught up with male participation rates.

3.40 The two main areas of secondary education, general-academic and vocational-technical education, continue to characterize the existing system. Since the 1997-98 school year, secondary education has started at the ninth grade and is carried out in three-year lycées. Education is not compulsory at this level and, like primary education, can be carried out in public or private schools. Secondary education undertaken in the general lycées constitutes the backbone of academic training leading to university entrance, is coeducational in public schools, and has the largest contingent of students enrolled.

Table 3.8: Secondary School Enrollment by Sex (Numbers and Shares), 1992-2002

	Women	Men
1992-1993	671,908 (38.54%)	1,071,563 (61.46%)
1996-1997	857,888 (40.12%)	1,280,410 (59.88%)
1999-2000	847,527 (41.97%)	1,171,974 (58.03%)
2001-2002	1,171,251 (41.01%)	1,684,600 (58.99%)

Sources: SIS, Statistics of National Education 1997; 3; National Education Numerical Data, 2000, p. 8; 2002, p.146- calculated.

3.41 In Turkey, sex distribution of students at the secondary education level exhibits noticeable differences on the basis of the type of education. While female students' enrollment rate in secondary education has been increasing over time and reached 42.0 percent in 1999-2000, noticeable differences exist between the general-academic and vocational-technical areas. In 1999-2000, the shares of female enrollment were 45.2 percent in general-academic lycées and 37.5 percent in technical-vocational lycées. To put it differently, while a gender balance has not been achieved in either type of secondary education, female enrollment in general lycées fares better than elsewhere. This fact has positive implications for the potential for girl students to pursue higher education, and, in fact, partly explains the relatively high percentages of women among university students in Turkey. Yet it also points to one of the prominent bottlenecks in female education at the secondary level. The lower participation of girls in vocational-technical education clearly has negative effects on the wage earning capacities of women.²³ It is nonetheless also true that within the general-academic area of secondary education, female students percentages in fine arts lycées (70.7 percent) is highest and in science lycées, it is lowest (30.6 percent) (Tan, 2000: 46).

3.42 On the other hand, vocational-technical education still reflects a clear gender-based differentiation which is largely due to the structural nature of this type of education in Turkey. The very names ("Boys' Technical Education" and "Girls' Technical Education") of these schools continue to clearly denote sex-specific specializations that are based on gender stereotypes and cultural biases. While it has been possible since 1975 to admit students of the opposite sex to what are still called girls' and/or boys' vocational lycées, this measure has had a minimal impact on breaking down gender barriers in occupations. Currently, 87.3 percent of students in Girls' Technical Education Lycées and only 10.3 percent of those in Boys' Technical

²³ Studies indicate that vocational high-school education yields higher wages as compared to general high-school education when neither is followed by higher education. While these results cannot be statistically compared on the basis of sex, owing to women's overall poor wages, the general trend is obvious. Similarly, unemployment rates among vocational high-school graduates are lower than those of academic high-school graduates. (Tansel ve Güngör, 2000).

Education Lycées are female. Some observers have nonetheless interpreted this as an indication of the change in society's perception of the gender-defined nature of occupations regardless of the strong signal sent by the continuing gender-based structure of the technical and vocational education system (Tan, 2000: 47). The need to move away from sex-typing of occupations, and particularly to disassociate female vocational education from training to become a "homemaker," is an urgent requirement.

3.43 Gender-based differentiation in vocational-technical education is also observable in schools that are classified under this umbrella and do not have sex-specified names. Among these, "vocational lycées for health occupations" (nursing, paramedical occupation, etc.) are overwhelmingly female dominated (86.9 percent), and the girl students' percentage in "special education lycées" is the lowest (28.4 percent). It is noticeable that in vocational lycées that train for occupations in the commerce and tourism sectors, girl students constitute nearly half (48.5 percent) of all those enrolled (Tan, 2000: 47).

3.44 In much of the 1990s in Turkey, women's participation in vocational-technical education appears to have increased at a rate far surpassing the female increase in general lycées. From 1993-94 to 1996-97, these rates of increase were 4.0 percent for general lycées, and 29.9 percent for vocational-technical education. It is clear that much of this increase in vocational-technical education was due to the rapidly increasing rates of girl students in religious education.

3.45 As has been touched upon, religious education, which is classified under vocational-technical education in Turkey, has over the years come to reflect an unusual concentration of girls. Currently girl students in Imam-Hatip Lycées constitute 50.3 percent of all students. This percentage is very significant because it denotes that religious secondary education is the only level and type of education in Turkey in which female participation rates have not only caught up with those of males but have surpassed them. In fact, some studies have found that in the years preceding the compulsory basic education reform, informal negative "quotas" for girls were being implemented in religious schools in order to ensure that these schools remain as two-sex institutions (Acar and Ayata, 2002:94). It is also documented that the share of religious education within vocational-technical education had increased over the period preceding the Reform, and the share of boys in vocational technical education going into religious schools had dropped, resulting in higher shares of girls in this type of education (Tan, 2000: 98). In fact, the increase in the overall enrollment in Imam-Hatip Schools in this period was due to the increase in the numbers of girl students.

3.46 These facts need to be interpreted as the "feminization of religious education" in Turkey in the 1990s. Its impact on women's empowerment in general and women's roles in the public sphere in particular, needs to be viewed against the background of secularism and modernization in the Turkish Republic. "Feminization of religious education" in Turkey undoubtedly has implications for the "Islamization" of women. In a country where such fundamental political choices of the state as reforms of secularization, modernization and Westernization have been strongly tried to the emancipation and liberation of women from discriminatory traditions and stereotypical gender roles the Islamic education of women with its implications of gender-based segregation and seclusion as well as exclusive emphasis on women's family roles and private-sphere bound identities (see inter alia, Acar, Ayata, and Varoglu, 1999:114,117)) causes much concern and opposition. It is interesting in this context that in the academic year 1999-2000, three years after the implementation of the Eight-Year Compulsory Education Reform, while overall enrollment in the Imam Hatip Lycées recorded a 30 percent decline and male students' enrollments dropped by 41.1 percent, girls' enrollment declined by only 14.2 percent (Tan, 2000: 49), indicating a continuing gender-based preference for religious education. In view of the fact

that religious secondary school education in reality offers no real income generating possibilities for women, girl students' preference or channeling into such vocational schools remains as a concern for female education in Turkey.

Teaching Staff and Teaching Materials in Primary and Secondary Education

3.47 Trends and characteristics similar to those for the student bodies also describe the teaching staffs in the Turkish education system. Women constitute almost all of the pre-school teachers but their percentages decline as one goes to the higher levels of education. Women also constitute almost half of the teachers in urban schools (48.3 percent), but are less frequently found in rural schools (33.2 percent) (Tan, 2000: 60).

3.48 Regional distributions also support the well-known discrepancies. Women's lowest representation among teachers is found in the southeast, the east and the Black Sea regions, and women teachers are most frequent in the Marmara and Aegean regions (see Table 3.9).

Table 3.9: Percentages of Female Teachers in Primary and Secondary Education by Region, 1999

Region	Primary Education	Secondary Education
Central Anatolia	48.09	42.50
Marmara	50.86	46.25
Aegean	49.55	44.61
Mediterranean	44.41	36.59
Eastern Anatolia	32.74	31.29
Southeastern Anatolia	32.09	30.68
Black Sea	35.37	33.41

Source: Tan, 2000: 61 based on Ministry of Education Statistics, 2000: 101, 133.

3.49 The lower proportion of female teachers in these regions has far-reaching present and future implications with regard to female enrollment and gender equality. The presence of female teachers can be an effective tool to combat conservative values and traditions, to offset families' unwillingness to send girls to school, and to provide role models for girl children. Therefore, the need to increase female teachers in rural areas in general and in the east and southeast regions in particular is critical.

3.50 Another gender-related problem in Turkish education pertains to the content of education. Despite its international commitments in terms of CEDAW and the BPA, Turkish national education has lagged significantly behind in terms of implementing measures for the gender sensitization of educators, and the training of teachers and school administrators in women's human rights. It has also not embarked successfully on a process of cleansing books and teaching materials from gender biases that perpetuate discriminatory traditional role models and images.

3.51 In fact, the gender-neutral messages that emphasized the equality of the sexes and promoted non-traditional, public-sphere-oriented and independent role concepts for women which were included in books and class materials during the early part of Republican history have from the 1950s on gradually been replaced by messages and pictures depicting women and men in traditional stereotypical gender roles. A family-dependent female identity had particularly been

emphasized in the second half of twentieth century (Gümüşoğlu, 1998: 101-128; 2001:29). Such curricular content as well as gender biased and segregationist extracurricular practices²⁴ continue to exist in elementary and secondary education through teacher behaviors and community-school interactions. These practices have been found to be particularly reinforced in the “hidden curriculum” of religious education institutions (Acar, Ayata and Varoğlu, 1999:117,123). Since in order to promote gender equality and to combat gender disparities in education, the content and medium of education are as critical as access, qualitative bottlenecks in elementary and secondary education in Turkey also need to be seriously addressed. A comprehensive gender review of all school books and teaching materials used in elementary and secondary education should be taken up as a high priority measure in the national education system.

Higher Education

3.52 Admission to higher education in Turkey is on the basis of a nationally competitive examination in which women applicants’ success rate has in recent years equaled and even surpassed that of men. Available data show that while the percentage of women who were successful in the entrance examination has been rising over time, the number of women admitted to higher education has not caught up with men. In 2001, 42.7 percent of successful applicants were women (and 57.3 percent were men) (www.osym.gov.tr/sayisal/2001tablolar/tablo2.html; Tan, 2000:50-calculated). In terms of enrollment in higher education, currently (2001-2002) 41.8 percent of students in higher education were female (see Table 3.10). Enrollment data reflect a consistent increase in women’s share over the recent years, except in 2000-2001 when the university entrance examination’s structure was changed. Furthermore, female students (2001-2002) make up 42.4 percent of new admissions and 42.6 percent of graduates in all higher education programs (Tan, 2000: 52; Student Selection and Placement Center, Higher Education Statistics, 2002:3).

3.53 Gender inequality in terms of enrollment in higher education institutions is more pronounced in the provincial universities, where the share of female students (37.7 percent) compares unfavorably with that in universities in the major metropolitan areas (42.4 percent) (Tan, 2000: 63). Statistics also indicate that female students’ presence in two-year higher-education institutions (39.2 percent) is less than their presence in four-year institutions (42.4 percent) (National Education Numerical Data, 2000:211; 2002:244).

Table 3.10: Share in Higher Educational Institutions* by Sex, 1990

	Women %	Men %
1990-1991	32 .84	67 .16
1999-2000	40 .65	59 .35
2000-2001	39 .20	60 .80
2001-2002	41 .84	58 .16

* including two-year and four-year undergraduate and graduate programs

Source: National Education Numerical Data, 2000:210-211; 2002:235; KSSGM, 2001: 59- calculated.

²⁴ Studies have shown that despite formal coeducation, owing to seating arrangements female and male students are actually separated in classrooms. Gender discriminatory attitudes and behavior patterns are perpetuated by making female students use different places for out-of-class activities (Acar, Ayata and Varoğlu, 1999: 107-117)) and subjecting them to strict rules and controls to ensure “gender-appropriate” and “desexualized” attire (Arat, 1994: 71).

3.54 In terms of gender inequality, all of these figures may be read as pointing out that women's participation in higher education in Turkey is less problematic than in other levels of education. Yet, on the other side of the coin, statistics also show that the higher education enrollment rate of women in Turkey is only 15.2 percent; this ratio is 26.5 percent for men. These figures do not only show that higher education is a rare commodity in Turkey, but also demonstrate the highly unequal access that women have to such education. Very few people have higher education, and twice as many of them are men.

3.55 However, the above data also show that for women who can get through the obstacle-ridden course of basic and secondary education, access to higher education is comparatively less problematic. In fact, it indicates the presence of social, structural and institutional mechanisms that function to keep females out of the education system, that discriminate seriously against females in the lower and middle levels of education, yet that offer a remarkably "equal" medium of existence to those who have successfully gone past the earlier hurdles. This situation is reflected in the fact that, since the establishment of the Republic, women's presence in higher education has increased at a rate 2.5 times higher than that of their presence in elementary education (Tan, 2000: 50).

3.56 Higher education for women is also very positively related to female labor force participation in the Turkish context. The labor force participation rate of women with higher education has been noted as 69.2 percent (KSSGM, 2001:79), while the corresponding rates are 39.4 percent for technical and vocational lycée graduates and 30.8 percent for general lycée graduates.

3.57 With respect to women's participation in different disciplines in higher education, Turkish data have shown since the early years of the Republic that women students are present in all disciplines, including those that are conventionally perceived as masculine areas, such as technical sciences. However, women have all along constituted larger percentages of students in conventionally feminine areas (Acar, 1994: 162-163). Technical sciences (engineering) and agriculture have the lowest participation rates for women. Over the years, women students' proportions have increased or remained stable in all areas except technical sciences (engineering) and agriculture (and forestry). Currently, women have highest presences in the languages and literature, art and health (including nursing) disciplines, and their presence has almost caught up with that of men in mathematics and basic sciences, applied social sciences (including teacher training/education), and social sciences (KSSGM, 2001:60).

3.58 These facts also indicate that while women may constitute impressive percentages (bordering on equality) for students in some unconventional disciplines, sex-stereotyping of fields and professions, as well as women's greater association with the low pay low prestige fields, remain realities in higher education in Turkey.

3.59 Another dimension that may merit attention is the trend observed with private (foundation) universities. Although the private universities constitute a small fraction of the total student body, their number (22 in 2002) has increased rapidly during the last decade. While the sex-distribution of students in private universities is not significantly different from that in public universities, female faculty members (except for full professors) constitute larger percentages of academic staffs in these universities (Tan, 2000: 63). Similarly, both female faculty and female students make up larger percentages in metropolitan as opposed to provincial universities.

3.60 The participation of women in academia has traditionally been quite high in Turkey.²⁵ Today, 35.9 percent of academic staff is female. A pattern of gender-based specialization areas parallel to the one found among students also prevails among faculty members. Also, female faculty's percentages at different levels of the academic career reflect a gender-based stratification, with more women being in the lower echelons of academia. Women's percentages decline as the academic rank rises, with women constituting 34.4 percent of instructors, 29.1 percent of assistant professors, 30.6 percent of associate professors, and 24.8 percent of full professors (KSSGM, 2001:61). More striking is the fact that women constitute more than half of the language instructors (56.5 percent), 43.1 percent of specialists, and 39.2 percent of research assistants which are "pseudo-academic" positions of an auxiliary nature. This picture has not changed very much in the last two decades and the trend observed in private universities appears to further validate it. A parallel gender-based stratification, with women faculty being less well represented among academic administrators such as faculty deans and university presidents also prevails (Acar, 1991: 160, Günlük-Senesen, 1996:212).

Non-Formal Education

3.61 This type of education is carried out through training courses organized by the Ministry of Education, other ministries and private establishments. While a part of such education carried out by the Ministry of Education is integrated with formal education programs (e.g., METGE Project) in general, non-formal education covers occupational training programs directed to non-school age populations for skills acquisition, as well as courses designed to enhance individuals' capacities and social development. Non-formal education in Turkey is thus critical as a support, if not a viable alternative, for women whose access to formal education even at the compulsory level has not been assured. However, despite the variety of public and private institutions that provide non-formal education, the total numbers enrolled in these institutions are unimpressive, and women are found mostly in such subjects as fashion, embroidery, knitting, and handicrafts.

3.62 Currently, figures show that 62 percent of those enrolled in public non-formal education and 30 percent of those in private courses are women (Tan, 2000: 57). However, private non-formal education caters to a significantly larger population (60.69 percent in 1996-97), and the number of men among those enrolled is three times higher than the number of women, indicating once again that women's access to paid education services is distinctly limited. It is also noticeable that Koran courses constitute the third largest component (5.44 percent) of non-formal education and that women's enrollment in these courses is much higher than that of men (67.2 percent in 1997-98) (SIS, Statistics of National Education, Non-Formal Education, 1997:1-calculated).

3.63 Public Education Centers (Halk Egitim Merkezleri) offer the largest variety of courses in non-formal education. For instance, in 1996-97, 80 percent of those enrolled in any non-formal education course were enrolled in courses offered by the Public Education Centers. (SIS, Statistics of National Education, Non-Formal Education, 1997:1).

3.64 Table 3.11 provides a breakdown of the enrollment rates in courses offered by these centers by subject and sex over recent years. As can be observed, women's enrollment rates in non-formal education – including literacy training – have been declining while those of men have been increasing. This situation needs to be evaluated against the background of continuing female

²⁵ For a detailed description of the trends and characteristics of women's participation in academia in Turkey, see Acar, 1991: 147-171; Acar, 1994: 160-167 and Günlük-Senesen, 1996:209-224).

illiteracy and inadequate access to training for income-generating, and market-oriented skills by women.

Table 3.11: Numbers and Rates of Enrollment in Public Education Center Programs by Sex, 1997-2001

Type of course	1997		1999		2001	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Vocational	574,237	97,791	505,688	131,770	526,341	163,880
Social-cultural	123,621	62,015	148,171	72,519	136,716	88,485
Literacy	48,069	35,119	38,253	64,643	36,253	60,684
Percentage of participants	79.2	20.8	72.0	28.0	68.7	31.3

(Sources: Ministry of National Education, 1999:68; National Education Numerical Data, 2000: 179; KSSGM, 2001:56.

Recommendations

- An analysis of the national education system from a gender perspective is a basic prerequisite. Policies and specific measures based on such analysis need to be designed and implemented for all levels of education.
- Specific targeted policies and measures directed to the bottlenecks in women's education are needed to eradicate gender disparities in access to education. In this context,
 - younger and middle-aged illiterate women,
 - illiterate women in urban migrant communities,
 - illiterate rural women in the southeast and east
 need to be prioritized. Local community support for adult female literacy needs to be mobilized by securing the cooperation of local authorities and community leaders. The experience of NGO projects incorporating literacy and rights training into courses and programs for income generating activities needs to be evaluated carefully.
- Schooling for all girls, needs to be ensured through special measures that promote their enrollment and discourage their dropping out. Parents and families, particularly in rural areas, in the east and southeast, and in urban migrant communities, need to be targeted for such measures. In this context, the design and implementation of policies that are based on ensuring families' cooperation in sending girl children to school should be prioritized. Concrete incentives to secure such cooperation need to be creatively designed with needs and preferences of different groups and communities in mind.
- The adoption of an underlying philosophy of special temporary measures that prioritize girls in low socioeconomic groups is strongly recommended.
- Ongoing monetary and other school aid programs to families should be closely monitored to see how such support is distributed gender wise. The implementation of further new measures that specifically target families with school-age daughters is required. In this context, gender-prioritized financial support to urban poor families with school-age daughters is needed. In addition to financial support, measures to alter traditional attitudes directed at parents and families to encourage them to send girls to school and keep them there assume central importance for rural areas and for the east and southeast regions.
- Comprehensive research is in order to assess the gender-differentiated impact of eight-year compulsory education fully on school enrollment and dropout rates at all levels of primary education.
- Efforts to encourage girls' enrollment at Regional Boarding Schools in the east and southeast should be stepped up. This aim hinges on active cooperation among ministries, local authorities, NGOs, and community leaders.

- Publicizing the success stories and role models that have emerged from local communities should be emphasized to provide realistic and “close to home” examples.
- The content of programs offered in vocational-technical education should be altered so that they stop providing blatantly gender-stereotypical education for girls and boys. In this context, the sex-defined names of schools should be changed. Measures and policies to accelerate curriculum changes in girls’ vocational-technical schools from subjects reinforcing the “homemaker” role to those providing marketable skills are urgently needed. The incorporation of new technologies into the curricula of girls’ vocational-technical education should be prioritized in order to address the gender disparity in the access to unconventional fields that offer better occupational possibilities.
- Alternatives to religious education, which reinforces stereotypical roles and offers very little in terms of income generating skills to women, need to be developed to increase the choices and life chances of girls.
- The recruitment of women teachers, particularly in east, southeast, and Black Sea regions, is important as a means of providing role models for girls and school environments that are more compatible with the demands of traditional parents. Increasing the number of female teachers in rural and less developed areas can also be a factor for women-friendly schools in which parent-school relationships would be carried more through mothers. Gender based quotas and other special temporary measures, such as numerical targets, calendars, and incentive schemes, should be developed and utilized to ensure more female teachers in these areas.
- Training of all teaching personnel, particularly those in rural areas, the east and southeast, and low-income urban neighborhoods, in gender-sensitivity and women’s human rights should be conducted through in-service training. Appropriate material should be incorporated into the curricula of courses and programs of education faculties.
- A review of all educational materials from a gender perspective under the guidelines of BPA in order to cleanse textbooks and educational materials of gender-discriminatory references, gender-biased messages (verbal or pictorial), and approaches that render women invisible, should be completed urgently.
- Employment and promotion criteria for academic personnel should be reviewed from a gender perspective with a view to ensuring women’s proportional representation in all fields and ranks of academia. To this end, programs and measures to promote women faculty’s presence in technical fields, and to ensure that they do not face gender-discriminatory conditions and criteria in promotions and appointments, need to be put in effect, particularly in provincial universities.
- Special temporary measures to increase women students percentages in higher education, and particularly in technical sciences and other disciplines where they are underrepresented, should be implemented to combat the existing gender imbalance. Measures such as quotas in favor of the underrepresented sex in admissions to university programs, scholarship and stipend schemes, dormitory and other accommodation schemes exclusively for women, and special schemes to ensure women students’ higher rates of entry into provincial universities, should be considered.
- Steps are needed to better integrate non-formal education with formal education to enable women who have not completed formal education to use non-formal education services to make up missing credits and deficiencies. Also, creative solutions that combine work with education to reduce non-enrollment of girls in formal education, particularly in poor urban areas, should be developed. Until universal enrollment in compulsory education is achieved, an education policy compatible with the reality of child labor (at home and in the market) in poor areas should make use of the potential of non-formal education.

- Public non-formal education should be restructured to equip women with marketable skills as well as personal capabilities to improve their quality of life. Literacy training should be incorporated into such courses rather than standing alone.
- Mass media campaigns and NGO advocacy, as well as incentive-based and reward-based achievement schemes, should be supported by the private sector for universal literacy, and universal enrollment of girls should be augmented.

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4. GENDER ISSUES IN HEALTH

Ayşe Akin

4.1 Turkey is among the world's most populous 20 countries. The country has a highly heterogeneous social and cultural fabric. There are sharp contrasts between population groups. The modern and the traditional exist simultaneously within society. Despite the successful modernization process, much of the social life in the country is characterized by patriarchal relationships which are reflected in the position of women. Women in Turkey live in a highly complex social and cultural structure which affects their social status directly and their health indirectly (Balkan, 1995; Aslan and Üner, 2001; Franz, 1994; GDSPW, 1999).

4.2 Despite significant achievements in the literacy and educational attainment of both women and men since the establishment of the Republic, considerable regional and urban-rural differences in these areas continue to exist. These differences compounded by gender differences constitute key factors affecting the utilization of health care services by population groups.

Health Care System in Turkey

4.3 The Ministry of Health is officially responsible for designing and implementing nationwide health policies and providing health care services. In addition to the MoH, other public and private sector institutions such as the Social Insurance Institution (SSK), universities, and NGOs contribute to providing health care services.

4.4 At the central level, the MoH is responsible for the implementation of curative and preventive health care services throughout the country within the principles of primary health care, which was established in 1961. At the provincial level, the health care system is the responsibility of Health Directorates, under the supervision of the governor. In this system, "health houses" are located at the grassroots level (village level), are staffed by a midwife, and serve a population of 2,500 to 3,000. The "health center" is the main unit of the primary health care system, and has a health team including a physician, nurse, midwife, health officer, technician and driver and serves a population of 5,000 to 10,000 in the rural areas. In the urban areas, the number of staff in these units increases and they serve a larger population. Health centers offer integrated, multipurpose Primary Health Care (PHC) services. In addition, there are also Mother and Child Health (MCH) and Family Planning (FP) Centers, and Tuberculosis Dispensaries offering health care services.

4.5 This network of health facilities is responsible for providing PHC services to everyone including MCH and family planning and public health education services. These PHC units are supported by hospitals at the secondary and tertiary levels: the number of hospitals is over 1,000 (Ministry of Health, 1999).

4.6 The number health care facilities in the country is quite adequate compared to other developing countries. There are over 5,000 health centers, over 10,000 health houses, and more than 400 MCH-FP Centers.

4.7 The human resources in the health sector, including physicians, nurses and midwives are also quite adequate in number (Ministry of Health, 1999; Akin and Özvaris, 1999; Akin, 2001; Ministry of Health, 1996), although their regional and settlement-based distribution remains problematic.

4.8 According to the existing laws, men and women in Turkey are supposed to receive equal health care services for their general health. However, since the promulgation of the “Law on General Health” in 1930, the health care of pregnant women, mothers during delivery and the post partum period, and children has been protected by separate legal provisions. The protection of mother’s and children’s health is also secured under Article 41 of the Constitution.

4.9 National statistics indicate differences between the health status of women and men in Turkey. They also indicate that the health status of women is poorer than that of men and there is a need to study the underlying psycho-social causes of this situation (Ministry of Health, 1993).

4.10 Table 4.1 reflects the eight major causes of death by sex in Turkey.

Table 4.1: Causes of Death by Sex

Cause of death	Female	Male
Heart diseases	40.08	38.79
Ill-defined reasons	13.99	10.17
Neoplasms of lymphatics	7.78	11.70
Cerebro vascular diseases	8.29	6.67
Perinatal mortality	4.42	4.50
Birth injury,difficult labor	3.14	3.00
Pneumonia	2.52	2.08
Enteritis	1.27	1.01
All other diseases and accidents	18.51	2 2.08

Source: SIS (1995).

4.11 Table 4.2 points the distribution of malignancies according to sex. The table shows that, except for breast cancer, men are more likely to develop malignancies than women.

Table 4.2: Malignancies According to Sex

Type of malignancy	Female % of total	Male % of total
Respiratory System	11	89
Alimentary “	36	64
Urogenital “	49	51
Breast	95	5
Skin	39	61
Lymphatic	27	63
Mouth-pharynx	27	73
Bone	41	59
Others	44	56

Source: Türk Tabipler Birliği (2001).

4.12 With respect to access to health care services, data indicate that in early childhood boys are taken to physicians more often than girls; the contact rates between physicians and patients are equalized with respect to sex in school age and elderly groups. Nationwide surveys of the Ministry of Health also show that, in general, women use physician services more than men, with the difference reaching its peak in women in reproductive age groups. Similarly, university graduates use physician services more than lower education groups and women with higher education are the most frequent users of these services. Women are also hospitalized more than men.

4.13 In contrast, data on self-perceived health status by sex, in Table 4.3, indicate that more women than men consider themselves in poor health.

Table 4.3: Self Perceived Health Status by Sex: (Row percentages)

	Sex	Poor	Fair	Good	Excellent (n)
Male	4.2	14.91	67.2	13.7	12747
Female	6.4	17.8	64.8	11.0	14383
Total:	5.3	16.4	65.9	12.3	100.

Source: SIS (1995).

4.14 Women are also more likely to suffer from chronic diseases (Table 4.4) and to stay in bed (20 percent) than men (14 percent).

Table 4.4: Presence of a Chronic Disease by Sex (Row Percentages)

Sex	Yes	No	(n)
Male	6.1	93.9	12771
Female	7.4	92.6	14382
Total	6.8	93.2	100.

Source: SIS (1995).

4.15 Disability rates are also higher among women (20.9 percent) than men (14.6 percent).

4.16 A general overview of health related variables also shows that smoking among women (24.3 percent) is much lower than among men (62.8 percent). Women are less likely to commit suicide than men. The crude suicide rate is 1.53 percent (0000) for females and 2.4 percent (0000) for males. However, when the causes of suicide are examined, it is observed that for women family and marriage related causes as well as illness and emotional distress appear as major

reasons. For men, educational failure and economic and business problems are the main causes of suicide (SIS, 1995).

4.17 Analysis of the latest Turkish Demographic Health Survey (TDHS –1998) has been carried out in order to highlight the changes as well as the important aspects of the provision of health care services and other related factors in Turkey (Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, 1999; Akin, 2002). The following information, deemed relevant for women, is obtained from this analysis.

4.18 In Turkey, 26.9 percent of married women are in either a first or second degree consanguineous marriage. One out of every three mothers (29 percent) states that she experienced an unwanted pregnancy.

4.19 Pregnancies that occur in the age categories below 20 or 35 and over, and birth intervals of less than 2 years, are considered as high-risk pregnancies. The Turkish nationwide study (TDHS 1998) showed that pregnancies under the age of 20 were seen equally commonly (14.6 percent) in all regions of the country, but were more frequent in rural areas. Such pregnancies were less frequently observed in women who were graduates of secondary school or higher. Pregnancies in that age category “35 and over” were more prevalent in the eastern part (11.1 percent) and in rural settlements (9.2 percent) and in mothers who did not speak Turkish (19.7 percent). Only 5.4 percent of mothers who graduated from secondary school were pregnant in the 35 and over age category. Similar trends were found for the pregnancies at short intervals.

Maternal Mortality

4.20 The major health risks faced by women, which are entirely different from those of men are the risks related to “reproduction”.

4.21 Although nationwide data on maternal mortality are not available in Turkey, there are several local epidemiological studies and some large scale surveys on maternal deaths which indicate that the magnitude of the problem is quite high (Akin et al., 2001).

4.22 According to research carried out in 1997-98 in 615 hospitals in 53 provinces of Turkey investigating the causes of maternal deaths: 5 percent of total female deaths in the age group 12-55 are maternal deaths (Akin et al., 2000) This proportion is less than 1 percent in developed countries (Akin et al., 2001; WHO, 2001).

4.23 The rate of maternal mortality in this survey was found to be 49.2 per 100,000 live births (LBs) in Turkey (14) which is less than 10 in developed countries (Akin et al., 2001, WHO, 2001).

4.24 According to the estimates developed by the WHO, UNICEF, UNFPA model, the maternal mortality ratio for Turkey (1995) was stated as 55 in 100,000 live births, the lower estimate being 18 and the upper estimate being 160 deaths in 100,000 LBs. The lifetime risk of maternal death in Turkey was stated as 1 in 570: this figure is 1 in 5,000 or over in developed countries (WHO, 2001).

4.25 In Turkey, hemorrhage was the first and toxemia was the second most prevalent final cause of maternal deaths (Akin, Dogan and Mihçioğur, 2000).

4.26 According to this study at least two – thirds of maternal deaths were preventable. In 31 percent of the deaths there was a lack of health care services.

4.27 Another very striking finding of the survey mentioned above (Akin, Dogan and Mihçioğur, 2000) was the deaths caused by uterine rupture. Maternal deaths due to this cause are not seen in developed countries. In this survey 3.7 percent of the deaths were due to uterine rupture. Even this finding alone shows the quality of the obstetric services offered or the magnitude of the problem caused by not utilizing these services.

4.28 Obstetric care, which includes antenatal care, safe delivery and postnatal care, if provided with high quality, prevents maternal and newborn morbidities as well as mortalities.

Utilization of Antenatal Care (ANC) Services

4.29 According to the Özvaris and Akin (2002) analysis of Turkish Demographic Health Survey (TDHS-1998) results, 68 percent of mothers in Turkey have received ANC from health personnel at least once. This figure indicates a 7.9 percent increase in coverage when compared with the results of an earlier TDHS 1993 (Ministry of Health et al., 1994; Akin and Bertan, 1996). However, in 1998 on average one in three pregnant women was still not receiving ANC, which is unacceptable from a medical point of view.

4.30 In the 1998 survey, it was found that 86.5 percent of pregnant women in the western parts of Turkey received ANC whereas this figure was only 38.3 percent in the eastern regions, including the southeast.

4.31 The place of residence also affected receiving ANC. The percentage of mothers living in urban areas and receiving adequate ANC is higher (38 percent) than that for mothers living in rural areas (17 percent). In rural areas, 49 percent of mothers had never received ANC. The likelihood of a mother receiving ANC increased markedly with the increase in her education.

4.32 As has been frequently emphasized during the last decades, women's socioeconomic status is the most important factor determining women's knowledge, attitude and behavior regarding health and their utilization of health services.

4.33 Some selected variables which are indicators for the status of women were examined in studies to observe whether these affected women's likelihood of receiving ANC. It was found that ANC was correlated with such variables as having a civil marriage, whether or not a bride price was paid, the employment status of women, women's income generating capacity, the type of work women did, women's intra-family decision-making power. It was found that women who did not have a civil marriage and were not involved in generating income, and women for whom a bride price was paid, received less ANC.

Safe Delivery

4.34 Deliveries under healthy conditions and assisted by health personnel are considered as "safe". Between 1993 and 1998, the incidence of unsafe delivery decreased from 24.0 percent to 18.5 percent in Turkey which is a 22.9 percent decline. Similarly, when the results of the 1998 TDHS are compared with the results of the 1993 TDHS (Akin and Özvaris, 2002; Akin and Bertan, 1996) the prevalence of deliveries in a health institution increased from 59.5 percent to 73 percent (i.e., a 22.7 percent increase). However, the prevalence of safe delivery was still higher in the western areas (98 percent) of the country than in the eastern areas (53.2 percent). It was also higher in urban areas (89 percent) than in rural settings (68 percent).

4.35 Studies also indicate that the prevalence of deliveries in healthy conditions varies also with the couples' level of education. Similar results were found in the 1993 and 1998 surveys; the

prevalence of safe delivery increases with the increase in level of education of both the wives and the husbands. For instance, almost all the mothers who are graduates of secondary school and above delivered in healthy conditions.

4.36 One in four women (26 percent) who have not delivered in a health institution stated that she had difficulties in accessing the services. Ten percent of the mothers expressed distrust in health personnel or health institutions, 11 percent stated sudden delivery, 3.3 percent stated custom and tradition, and 17.4 percent stated no reason (Akin and Özvaris, 2002).

4.37 In Turkey, especially in rural areas, owing to social pressures, traditions, and economic dependence, women often cannot go to the health institutions alone. Women have to be accompanied to the health centers or hospitals by their husband or by an older relative.

4.38 According to the law on “Socialization of the Health Care Services” (No. 224) which was adopted in 1961 and is still in force, the provision of domiciliary obstetrical care was required in order to improve women’s ability to access the services. However, owing to the inefficiency of health management in the country, this type of service was gradually discontinued. Nowadays women are expected to come to the Primary Health Care (PHC) units to receive these services. PHC units at the first level provide only “diagnosis and treatment services” rather than comprehensive primary health care services. The preventive capacity of these services is therefore inadequate (Ministry of Health, 1999; Biliker, 2001).

4.39 Owing to their socioeconomic independence, men are more able than women to seek health care beyond the PHC units and to go to the secondary or even tertiary levels as well as to use private clinics (Toros and Öztekin, 1996).

Reproductive Health (RH) Services and Fertility Regulation

4.40 Between 1923 and 1965 a pronatalist population policy was followed in Turkey. In 1965 the state adopted an antinatalist population policy and promulgated the first Population Planning Law (No 557).

4.41 This law legalized the provision of information, education and communication (IEC) and clinical services for temporary contraceptive methods. Surgical contraceptives for men and women and induced abortion on medical grounds were legalized. The first antinatalist law (No 557) was repealed in 1983 and a more liberal antinatalist piece of legislation was adopted with the coming into force of the current Population Planning Law (No. 2827). In addition to temporary contraceptive methods, surgical methods for men (vasectomy) and for women (tubal ligation) were legalized on request. Trained non-physicians (nurse – midwives) were authorized to insert intra-uterine devices (IUDs). Induced abortion up to 10 weeks was legalized on request. Trained general practitioners (GPs) were authorized to terminate pregnancies under conditions specified by the law.

4.42 The impact of this law and measures taken for its implementation have been observed in the ensuing years. In the TDHS-1998, knowledge of family planning among couples was found to be universal. Ninety-nine percent of married reproductive age women and 98 percent of husbands reported having knowledge of family planning. Almost two-thirds (63.9 percent) of married couples were contraceptive users.

4.43 Although the proportion of modern contraceptive method use has been increasing steadily, the number of traditional method users is still significantly high (Table 4.5). The IUD appears to be the most popular modern method, with an increase in use from 14 percent in 1988

to almost 20 percent in 1998 (GDSPW, 1999; Ilkkaracan, 1998; SIS, 1997). However, the most common method used for family planning is still “withdrawal” (Turkish Demographic and Health Survey 1998).

Table 4.5: Trends in Current Contraceptive Use in Turkey, 1988, 1993, 1998

Contraceptive method	PHS-88	DHS-93	DHS-98
Any method	63.5	62.6	63.9
Any modern method	31.0	34.5	37.7
IUD	14.0	18.8	19.8
Condom	7.2	6.6	8.2
The pill	6.2	4.9	4.4
Female sterilization	1.7	2.9	4.2
Diaphragm/Foam/Jelly	1.8	1.2	0.6
Injectables	0.1	0.1	0.5
Male sterilization	0.1	0.0	0.0
Any traditional method	32.3	28.1	25.5
Withdrawal	25.7	26.2	24.4
Periodic abstinence	3.5	1.0	1.1
Other methods	3.1	0.9	0.6
Not currently using	36.6	37.4	36.1

Sources: (Turkish Population and Health Survey, 1987; Turkish Demographic and Health Survey, 1994; Akin and Bertan, 1996).

4.44 When analyzed on the basis of gender, the most common method of contraception for women is IUD and for men it is “withdrawal.”

4.45 The following findings from TDHS-1998 are significant from a gender perspective. According to these data, one in every three couples (33.7 percent) practicing family planning uses methods such as the condom, “withdrawal,” and periodic abstinence, which require men’s cooperation. This means that 53 percent of all those couples who use some kind of contraceptive method involve men sharing the responsibility. However, among those, the proportion of couples who use effective methods is very low, with condom use being 8.2 percent and vasectomy almost nonexistent. The most common method which involves men is coitus interruptus (withdrawal) (25.5 percent) a method where the failure rate is rather high (Hacettepe University Institute of Populations Studies, 1999; Akin, 2002). It is also noticeable that while the use of tubal ligation has doubled in ten years no parallel trend was observed for vasectomy.

4.46 The attitudes of the health personnel as well as the general public play an important role in explaining these trends. Namely, among both groups the belief is quite prevalent that as women suffer more from the health consequences of excessive fertility, fertility regulation methods should be used by women rather than men. This explains the policies in which women are targeted more for IEC in family planning methods and measures where clinical services focuses on women.

4.47 The TDHS 1998 also shows that 10 percent of married women do not use any family planning method, although they wish to limit births. In addition to this group, 25.5 percent of married women use less effective traditional methods. Thus the unmet need for family planning can be estimated to be around 35 percent. This is a fairly high figure and indicates either a lack of knowledge or lack of services related to family planning (Enünlü and Akin, 2002; Dogan and Akin, 2002).

4.48 During the last decade these traditional attitudes have started to change. Although they are still very few in number and scope, in some pilot projects, IEC activities organized for the male population on family planning and those in which couples are counseled together have been carried out. Specific recommendations on this issue were included in “The National Plan of Action on Women’s Health and Family Planning” which was prepared on the basis of the principles of the ICPD – Cairo (Ministry of Health, 1996). Yet these national guidelines were not widely disseminated and were not publicized throughout the country, and their implementation was not effectively carried out, owing to inefficiency in health system management.

4.49 Nonetheless, some slight changes in men’s role in reproduction are being observed in Turkey. These changes are partly due to the changing status and attitudes of women. Gradually women have started to realize that the responsibilities related to fertility should be shared by the spouses. These changes occur mostly in urban – metropolitan areas among educated groups especially in the western parts of the country. In the rural areas and in the eastern regions traditional attitudes and practices are still preserved (Ministry of Health et al., 1994; Akin, 1999).

4.50 Although the reproductive needs of men and women are equally important, the reproductive health needs of women are greater than those of men. While the health care services in Turkey recognize gender-specific needs, they do so in a rather narrow sense (i.e., the reproductive health services are designed mainly for reproductive age (15-49) married women. Only these women are targeted for service provision as the name for these services, ‘Mother-Child Health and Family Planning (MCH-FP) clearly denotes. A life-style approach considering both men and women together for the provision of reproductive health is, to a large extent, absent.

4.51 Reproductive health was defined at the ICPD Programme of Action, as follows:

Reproductive health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity, in all matters relating to the reproductive system and its functions and processes. Reproductive health, therefore, implies that people are able to have a satisfying and safe sex life and that they have the capability to reproduce and the freedom to decide it, when and how often to do so. Implicit in this last condition are the right of men and women to be informed and to have access to safe, effective, affordable and acceptable methods of family planning of their choice, as well as other methods of their choice for the regulation of fertility which are not against the law, and the right of access to appropriate health care services that will enable women to go safely through pregnancy and childbirth and provide couples with the best chance of having a healthy infant. (ICPD Programme of Action, para. 7.2)

4.52 In line with the above definition of reproductive health, reproductive health care is defined as the constellation of methods, techniques and services that contribute to reproductive health and well-being by preventing and solving reproductive health problems. It also includes sexual health, the purpose of which is the enhancement of life and personal relations, and not merely counseling and care related to reproduction and sexually transmitted diseases (Akin, 1994; WHO, 1999; WHO, 1998).

4.53 Reproductive health is not just the absence of disease or infirmity of the reproductive system, or of its processes. It refers to a spectrum of conditions, events and processes throughout life, ranging from healthy sexual development, comfort and closeness and the joys of

childbearing, to abuse, disease and death. Perhaps more than with any other health condition, the social, psychological and physiological factors are interrelated in reproductive health.

4.54 Thus, a comprehensive approach to reproductive health necessitates analysis and then response to the needs of women and men in their sexual relationships and reproduction. Consequently, a holistic view of women lives and their needs is essential for such an approach. This demands that reproductive health care policy should not only be based on the biomedical model, which tends to look at individuals out of context, and is often insufficient in its analysis of the causes of ill-health, but should move beyond this to take into account and respond to the many faceted life-cycle needs of women and men (WHO, 1999).

4.55 In Turkey, while the Population Planning Law (No. 2827), legalizes induced abortion up to 10 weeks on request, by-laws based on this law require the consent of the married couples (signature of both husband and wife) for induced abortion. If an unmarried pregnant woman over the legal age requests termination of her pregnancy up to 10 weeks, only her consent is enough.

4.56 At the time of the promulgation of the current Population Planning Law (No. 282) the major concern regarding the legalization of induced abortion was that legalization might increase the induced abortion rate and contribute to practicing abortion as a family planning method. According to the results of nationwide, studies neither of these results came about. After legalization, the rates of induced abortion first increased, due mostly to better reporting, but after the 1990s the rates started to decrease and the downward trend is still continuing (Table 4.6) (Akin and Enünlü, 2002). The factors effective in this declining trend are; the introduction of post abortion contraception and the giving of priority to the family planning services in the country.

Table 4.6: Induced Abortion Rates and Proportions Turkey, 1983-1998*

Surveys	Induced Abortion		
	Per 100 pregnancy	Per 100 women	Per 100 live birth
1983 – TDHS	12,1	2,8	15,4
1988 – TDHS	23,6	5,5	35,1
1993 – TDHS	18,0 (1,3)**	3,1 (0,2)	26,0 (2,3)
1998 – TDHS	15,7 (1,9)	2,5 (0,2)	20,9 (2,3)

* Figures in each column refer to the average of the preceding 5 years.

** The figures in parentheses show the standard errors of induced abortion rates. They are calculated for 1993 and 1998.

4.57 The health effect of the legalization of induced abortion was very significant in Turkey. The Manual Vacuum Extraction (Karman Aspiration) (MVA), which had already been introduced, was made available after legalization (Özaydin, 1998). Before legalization the share of induced abortion in overall maternal deaths was quite high. Although we do not have exact figures, informal observation indicates that death due to illegal, self-induced abortion was commonplace. After the law maternal deaths due to induced abortion almost disappeared (Akin et al., 2001; Akin, Dogan and Mihçioğur, 2000).

4.58 The cost of induced abortion for individuals and families significantly decreased following the legislation and the resultant availability of such services at the public institutions. Similarly, the financial burden of complications from self-induced, clandestine and unsafe induced abortions on the health care system disappeared to a large extent.

4.59 Current data indicate that only one-third of the pregnancy terminations take place at the public health care institutions; the rest taking place in private clinics and being performed by obstetrics and gynecology specialists.

4.60 Although the necessary regulatory changes were made to provide abortion services at the MCH/FP centers where Obgyn and trained GPs are found, the implementation of that regulation has been limited, mainly because of the unwillingness of Obgyn specialists to provide these services at the centers.

4.61 As a general policy, Turkey follows the recommendation of the ICPD: "Abortion should not be considered as a family planning method but safe abortion services should be provided as needed."

4.62 One of the major problems with induced abortion is the inadequate rate of contraception use immediately after abortion, which puts women at repeated abortion risk. This situation is mainly due to the tendency of preferring to wait until the first menstruation to provide or use contraception (Akin, 1999; Akin and Enünlü, 2002).

4.63 Although induced abortion has been legal in Turkey, owing to various reasons, some of which have been mentioned, the unmet need for abortion services is still high. According to the further analysis of the TDHS 1998 the following facts are important and should be considered in the future intervention programs.

- Compared to Eastern Anatolia, where the induced abortion rate is the lowest, the likelihood of termination of a pregnancy through induced abortion is 2.7 times greater in Western Anatolia; 2.1 times greater in Southern and Central Anatolia; and 1.8 times greater in Northern Anatolia.
- Having an induced abortion increases linearly with the increase in the level of education of both the woman and the husband.
- The induced abortion risk increases with the increase in the age of the woman. Also, the higher the age of marriage of the woman is, the lower is the induced abortion risk.
- The higher the number of previous pregnancies, the greater is the risk of the induced abortion. The induced abortion risk for women with at least one live birth is 2.8 times greater than for women with no live birth.
- The risk of induced abortion is 2.9 times greater for women with previous induced abortions.
- The induced abortion risk is 2.9 times greater for women who become pregnant due to contraceptive failure or when pregnancies occurred within one month of discontinuing contraception.

4.64 These findings indicate those women who are under a high risk for induced abortion, should be targeted in counseling as well as being provided with clinical services to reduce the number of induced abortions and decrease the risks.

4.65 Analysis of the timing of induced abortions is also enlightening. Sixty-six percent of the induced abortions during the preceding five-year period of the survey were within the first month of the pregnancy, and 25 percent were within the second month. These figures point to the positive side of induced abortion services for the early termination of unwanted pregnancies.

4.66 However data also indicate that 9 percent of the induced abortions (1 out of 10) were for pregnancies of more than 10 weeks (exceeding the legal time limit). This indicates problems of accessibility of the services.

4.67 Induced abortions later than 10 weeks are higher

- among women living in Eastern and Southern Anatolia compared to women living in other regions
- among rural women compared to urban women
- among women with a lower level of education compared to women with higher education
- among nonusers of contraception compared to users (Akin and Enünlü, 2002).

Teenage Pregnancy

4.68 Lack of information constitutes a major problem for the analysis of teenage pregnancy. In Turkey, most fertility related data have been collected on married women. Therefore, our knowledge is based on nationwide studies which consider the married adolescent age group (10-19) (Sezgin and Akin, 1998; DPT, 1996; Vicdan, 1993). However, it is a general observation that due to urbanization and rapid social change and the effects of the social environment including the media, conservative reproductive and sexual attitudes and practices are changing gradually among unmarried youth as well.

4.69 According to the TDHS-1998, at the time of the survey 15.5 percent of the women aged 15-19 were married and 2.3 percent of those had married at the age of 15. Also, 5 percent of married men aged 25-64 had their first sexual intercourse at the age of 15 and 30.8 percent at 18. In that survey, this question was only asked only of men.

4.70 The prevalence of adolescent pregnancies was 15 percent of the total births to women aged 15-49 according to the TDHS-1998. The frequency of adolescent pregnancies, which carry high risks in terms of the mother's and infant's health, was higher in rural areas. The number of adolescent births decreased with the increase in the level of the mother's education.

4.71 The findings of this survey also indicated that 64 percent of women in the age group 15-19 received ANC. This means that one out of three pregnant adolescents did not receive any ANC. Although they carry a high risk, 18.5 percent of adolescent deliveries took place in unhealthy conditions and the occurrence of complications during the pregnancy and births as well as in the post partum period was high (Akin and Özvaris, 2002).

4.72 Studies also indicate that the adolescent age group uses modern contraceptive methods less than the older age groups (Dogan and Akin, 2002).

4.73 According to the various small scale research studies on unmarried adolescents, their knowledge of reproductive/sexual health (RH/SH) including reproductive physiology and contraceptive methods has been found rather poor in general, almost equally in boys and girls (Özvaris et al., 1995; Sezgin and Akin, 1998; Vicdan, 1993).

HIV/AIDS and Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs)

4.74 In Turkey, sexually transmitted illnesses (STDs) and HIV/AIDS are thought to be transmitted through unprotected heterosexual intercourse. The incidence and prevalence of HIV infection in Turkey is not known accurately, though by June 2000, 1,067 HIV/AIDS cases in total had been reported. Illegal prostitutes are thought to perhaps be “a major core group for the transmission of HIV infection and other STDs” (Özarmagan and Bingham, 2001).

4.75 The state regulates brothels where women are obliged to be registered and checked for STIs. According to official reports, there are 450 registered sex workers in Istanbul, a city with approximately 12 million inhabitants (Özarmagan and Bingham, 2001).

4.76 It is common knowledge that many Turkish and foreign sex workers are working illegally in Turkey. Though condom usage is infrequent, registered sex workers are more likely to be in a position to insist on condom use, whereas illegal prostitutes are not.

4.77 While the prevalence of syphilis has been found to increase, the overall prevalence of STIs such as gonorrhea, chlamydia and other infections is not known. It is also found that the general population is poorly informed on the subject (Sahin, 1998). The Ministry of Health (MoH) reported a total of 3,237 cases of syphilis by 1998, the prevalence rate being 5.0 per 100,000 population (Biliker, 2001).

4.78 According to the Ministry of Health’s report two-thirds of the HIV/AIDS (+) cases are male. Most of the cases are heterosexuals and two-thirds of the cases are in the age group 25-29 (Ministry of Health, 1999; Sahin, 1998).

4.79 Nationwide, IEC activities are increasing regarding HIV/AIDS. Schools and media emphasize prevention and non-discrimination. TDHS-1998 results indicate that 84 percent of all 15-49 age group women and 93 percent of their husbands have heard of HIV/AIDS. Two-thirds of women and three-fourths of husbands stated that HIV/AIDS was a fatal disease. Less information on STDs was reported. While television, newspapers, friends, and relatives were the most common sources of information, health workers were stated by only 3 percent of women or their husbands as providers of information on the subject. Younger, urban, and educated women were more knowledgeable about HIV/AIDS. It is noteworthy that although HIV/AIDS was widely heard of, knowledge on prevention was poor (Ministry of Health, 1999; Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, 1999).

4.80 In Turkey, the transmission of STIs to married women usually occurs through their husbands. Although polygamy is legally prohibited in the country, there is some remaining practice, and multiple sexual partners for men are often socially tolerated. Therefore, the wives of these men are under high risk for STIs. Infertility, ectopic pregnancy, chronic pelvic pain, etc., are severe health outcomes of this situation for women.

4.81 In Turkey, programs have been initiated to improve the status of women, which is a crucial determinant of their reproductive and sexual health. The General Directorate on the Status and Problems of Women (GDSPW) established in 1990, has collaborated with the relevant government agencies and NGOs to carry out advocacy activities and to modify the existing legislation, which leads to discriminatory practices against women. Similarly, the Social Structure and Women Statistics Department of the State Statistical Institute, established in 1993, makes gender-specific statistics available in the country.

4.82 Nonetheless, gender inequalities continue to be apparent in areas related to reproduction and sexual issues in Turkish society. The following are some examples of the relevant differences in the behavior and treatment of the sexes.

- Male dominance in decision making on issues related to fertility regulations is very common.
- Sexual health-related issues are still taboo in the society. Sexual problems are not expressed openly even to the professionals. Anything related to sexuality is usually considered as a very private subject and people are too shy to talk about it.
- The RH programs should include sexual health issues, but due to cultural and traditional values and attitudes, the national strategic plans and programs on sexual health are too weak.
- The cultural values /traditional beliefs and attitudes towards sexuality are very different in the different social strata in the country. They are more conservative and inhibiting in the less educated groups and in rural areas and the eastern regions.
- Gender issues related to sexual health affect women and their health in a more negative way than men. Starting from childhood, young people (including adolescents) and adults are treated very differently in many social events according to their expected gender roles in the society. This is more prominent for subjects related to sexuality. For instance, boys can go out with girlfriends and have sexual relations, but girls cannot, and they have to be virgins until they marry. Forced and early marriages and their potential health threatening impact are much more relevant for girls, especially in rural areas.
- The knowledge, education and training of health personnel regarding sexuality is deficient. They are not able to provide adequate IEC and counselling services for their clients, male or female. At the PHC level, these services are almost nonexistent.
- Educational materials on reproductive and sexual health for the public as well as for health personnel are quite scarce and are poor in quality.
- Reproductive and sexual health issues are not taken up in the formal education curriculum .The teachers are not trained as trainers in RH/SH.
- Sexuality and the sexual health of adolescents and young people of both sexes are ignored to a large extent. Male participation, as well as the targeting of men in educational programs in RH/ SH, are inadequate.

4.83 The above realities regarding gender and health which are significant for the reproductive and sexual health of both sexes should be considered in the development of intervention programs in the country.

Recommendations

Health care system and ante-natal services

- A routine recording and reporting system for the events related to reproductive health should be established and closely monitored by the health authorities in order to evaluate the implemented programs as well as the health outcomes, with a view to modifying, if necessary, the services accordingly.
- The underlying reasons for the accessibility and utilization of obstetrical services should be examined and monitored closely. According to the existing evidence, the eastern and rural areas of Turkey should have priority in obstetrical service provisions. Women with low social status, especially with low education or no education, and with high risk pregnancies, should be more focused in the provision of obstetrical services.

- Advocacy activities in preventing obstetrical morbidity and mortality should be increased to prevent unwanted pregnancies as well as high risk pregnancies.
- Every effort should be made to empower women in Turkey by raising their educational level and status to increase the utilization of the health care services.
- Different health needs of men and women should be taken into consideration in the planning and the provision of health care services.
- Further need assessment type research should be carried out to find out the health needs and expectations of women and men from the health care services.
- The PHC services should be organized, based on the results of needs assessment, and Health Care Reforms should be implemented.
- Better management of the existing health care system and the services should be attained.

Reproductive health services

- In Turkey, better and more comprehensive RH services for both sexes, with a life cycle approach, are needed. Effective health service interventions are already well-defined, and they include: family planning, safe abortion, cervical cancer screening, ante-natal care, delivery by trained and skilled birth attendants, emergency obstetric interventions, and Sexually Transmitted Infections (STI) counseling, prevention and treatment. All of these interventions should be integrated parts of the RH services provided at the PHC level and supported by the secondary hospital level.
- The recording and reporting system for the events related to RH should be improved and monitored by the health authorities in order to evaluate the implemented programs, as well as the health outcomes, and, if necessary, to modify the services accordingly.
- IEC programs on RH (including FP) should target adolescents boys and girls and adult men as well as women.
- New methods of fertility regulation should be introduced to ensure method mix, and further research should be carried out to investigate the fertility determinants and develop appropriate intervention strategies, to minimize the unmet need in fertility regulation.
- In the future it is very likely that there will be financial constraints to accessing adequate contraceptive commodities, as their free donations were terminated in 1999 and their costs are not covered by any insurance scheme: thus, some applicable and affordable solutions should be introduced in the country to maintain adequate contraceptive supplies especially for people of low economic status. Failure to take appropriate measures in this area may soon lead to serious changes in the demographic as well as the health profile of the country owing to these problems.
- As male involvement in practicing FP methods is relatively high in Turkey men should be better informed about RH/FP and encouraged to use modern, effective contraceptive methods, particularly condoms (and the vasectomy) rather than withdrawal.
- Vasectomy services (IEC and clinical) should be available at the primary and secondary level health facilities.

Induced abortion

- In order to minimize the unmet needs in abortion services new methods should be introduced in national programs, such as medical abortion using mifepristone and misoprostol. Acceptability studies on these methods have been completed and the final report on the research, which indicates quite favorable results, has been submitted to the MoH (Akin and Koçoglu, 2002).

- To avoid unwanted pregnancies and reduce the number of induced abortions and especially to avoid repeated abortions, contraceptive methods should be widely available and accessible.
- Induced abortion services should be provided routinely at the primary care units (such as MCH/FP centers) as well as FP units in the hospitals. For this purpose, the required infrastructure and human power should be secured (Ministry of Health, 1995). The quality of the clinical services for RH including FP and pregnancy terminations should be improved.
- Immediate post abortion contraception (IEC and clinical services) should be a routine practice of health care providers. Health personnel should be educated on the subject and their practices should be closely supervised.
- The issue of induced abortion should be seen as a component of comprehensive RH. Therefore, it should be dealt with within a holistic approach rather than in isolation.
- For the intervention programs, the results of the nationwide studies should be considered and interventions should be evidence-based.
- IEC activities for men and women and also for adolescents should be strengthened.
- Undergraduate and postgraduate training programs for health personnel as well as appropriate technologies of induced abortion should be reexamined and updated.

Teenage pregnancy

- The nationwide Demographic and Health Surveys should include the samples from unmarried women and men starting from the age of 10.
- The existing data on adolescents and young ages should be reanalyzed, and based on the findings, the appropriate intervention strategies should be developed.
- More qualitative research such as Focus Group Discussions and In-depth Interviews with the young age groups should be carried out to find out their needs.
- RH/SH care services (mainly IEC but, if necessary, clinical services) should be provided as an integral part of the comprehensive RH services at the primary level, but health care providers should be trained in how to provide the RH/SH services to this specific group, ensuring confidentiality.

HIV/STDs

- STIs including HIV/AIDS have very severe health outcomes. Although they are socially sensitive issues, a confidential recording-reporting system should be established.
- So far, in public IEC campaigns HIV/AIDS was mentioned and emphasized in isolation which is an incorrect strategy. Strategies to control STDs should be more comprehensive and should cover all STIs and consider prevention as well as screening, early diagnosis and treatment.
- Confidentiality in all steps of the services for STD control must be secured.
- Public IEC campaigns should target male and female populations at all ages, and messages should be consistent and continuous.

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5. WOMEN'S LABOR AND SOCIAL SECURITY

Yildiz Ecevit

Trends in Women's and Men's Labor Market Participation

5.1 There has been a steady decline in female labor force participation in Turkey, owing mainly to substantial changes in agriculture, resulting in rural-urban migration and the withdrawal of women from traditional agricultural activities in which they formerly engaged. Women's decline in participation in the labor force has been greater than men's decline since the mid-1950s. Female labor force participation was 72 percent in 1955 and declined to 26 percent in 2000. The decline in male labor force participation was from 95 percent to 74 percent in the same period (Tables 5.1 and 5.2). During the last decade, a number of studies have pointed to this decline and the strikingly low rates of labor force participation and have analyzed its consequences for both men and women (World Bank, 1993; Özbay, 1991 and 1994; Özar 1994; Ecevit 1998 and 2000; Tansel 2001). According to Özar (1994:28), transformation in the labor market resulted in different trends for women and men. While men were largely able to compensate for the fall in agricultural employment by taking up non-agricultural activities, "women had to leave the market 'voluntarily.'" Özbay (1994: 8) also emphasized the increase in the difference in economic activity rates of men and women and explained the rapid decline in women's labor force participation by women's inability to switch their occupations from rural to urban. Instead, she argued that they became housewives or engaged in unregistered informal jobs when they moved to urban centers.²⁶

5.2 Although the decline in the female labor force in the last 40 years in Turkey is important, its causes are more important. Structural agricultural changes and urban migration have traditionally and rightly been considered as the main reasons for this decline. However, despite the slowing rate of migration and a female population that has lived in cities long enough to be integrated into the labor market, female labor force participation rates continue to decline. Such a trend demands further analysis and questions whether shifts in agriculture are the only factor. Moreover, this current trend is particularly important when Turkey is compared with other countries. Women's economic activity rates increased in almost all regions of the world, except in Southern Africa, Central Asia, Eastern Europe and Oceania, in the period between 1980 and 1997 (United Nations, 2000:110). Even in Northern African countries, where women's participation rate is the lowest in the world, it increased from 21 to 29 percent in 1997²⁷. In Turkey, however, women's participation rate was 42.7 percent in 1980 and decreased to 26 percent in 2000, well below the level of almost all the countries mentioned above. The fact that only one-fourth of

²⁶ Some of the studies based on field research in the late 1990s indicate an increase in labor force participation by migrant women in cities such as Mersin and Istanbul, although most of them work in informal sector activities. (Ilkcaracan 1998; Ecevit et al., 1999)

²⁷ Women's participation in the labor force increased in Latin America and the Caribbean from 29 to 45 per cent. In Eastern and Southeastern Asia, it increased from 56 to 60 per cent and 59 to 62 percent respectively; and in the developed regions of Western Europe and outside Europe, from 42 to 49 percent and 47 to 56 percent, respectively (United Nations, 2000: 110).

women participate in the labor market is an alarming issue that needs to be scrutinized. It is clearly an indication of a massive withdrawal of women from economic life. If this decline persists, it will generate far-reaching losses, not only for women but also for the economy and society in general.

5.3 Tansel (2001: 4) has investigated the long-term relationship between female labor force participation and the level of economic development, with a specific emphasis on a U-shaped hypothesis of female labor force participation. She directs attention to the “extremely low” participation ratios of urban women by international standards in the past decade. By using time-series data, she argues that there has been a sharp decline in female labor force participation in recent years. However, the results of the Household Labor Force Surveys from the State Institute of Statistics (SIS) show that the rate of this decline has slowed down and it is likely that there will be an upturn in the coming decades (Tansel, 2001: 19). According to Tansel’s analysis, a high rate of economic growth and an increased level of education among women would improve women’s participation in the labor market. Tunali (1997, 16, 17), by focusing on urban women’s participation rates, also suggests that “urban women are at or near the bottom of the U-shaped labor force profile” and “a turn-around in urban female labor participation is likely, even imminent.” He presents as evidence the strong link between education and labor-force participation in women’s early productive period (between the ages of 20 and 44), together with the steady pace of improvement in educational attainment and the likely impact of declining fertility rates. Studies that attempt to explain the decline in the female labor force have often considered supply factors as inhibiting elements. The factors that have been influential in this process have been explored with a particular focus on the socio-demographic characteristics of women’s labor, including their opportunities for human capital acquisition, gender division of labor, and the relationship between women and their families and society at large (Kasnakoglu and Dayioglu, 1996; Tunali, 1997; Özar and Senesen 1998; Ilkkaracan, 1998; Bulutay and Dumanli, 2000; Dedeoglu, 2000). However, there are other studies that incorporate the demand side factors into the discussion, namely, changes in the economic structure and employment generating capacities of the economic sectors (Ecevit, 1995; Ansal, 1996; Ecevit, 1998; Demirel, 1999; Özar, 2000; Ecevit, Tan and Üsür 2000). Focusing on demand factors, while not underestimating the role of supply factors, would enhance our understanding of mechanisms that prevent women from full participation in economic life.

Gender Differences in Terms of Economic Sectors

5.4 Despite the restructuring of the Turkish economy over the past 20 years, which has brought a reduction in the rural labor force, a considerable number of women are still employed in agriculture. In 2000, 60 percent of women compared to 27 percent of men were working in this field. For the same year, only 14 percent of women were employed in industry and 26 percent in the service sector (Table 5.3). This high percentage share of agriculture within female employment also persists despite a large movement of rural populations to cities. This is because a majority of urban women are housewives; whereas, nearly all rural women work outside the home in agriculture.

5.5 The distribution of male employment at the national level is more even and does not show signs of concentration: 27 percent work in agriculture; 29 percent in industry and 44 percent in services. Although agriculture continues to be the largest sector in terms of employment in general, and especially for women, its domination has declined significantly in the last four decades. Service sector employment has grown rather rapidly and become the largest employing sector for men and the second largest employing sector for women, after agriculture, in 2000. The decline of agriculture and the growth of the service sector are common for developing societies such as Turkey. The highest percentage share of women’s labor force distribution in cities

belongs to the service sector (61.0 percent); it is followed by industry (28 percent) and agricultural tasks (11 percent). Although the percentage distribution of urban male labor force in cities is similar (60 percent) for the service sector, its ratio increases to 37.2 percent for industry and is only 2.6 percent for agricultural tasks (Table 5.3).

5.6 In the case of urban women's employment, the low level of women's participation in industry and the high level of their participation in services are indicative of a high demand at present for women's labor in the latter sector. This also points to a similar potential for the future. In the last ten years, the share of women working within the urban service sector has increased consistently. About one-third (33.5 percent) of all women working in cities in 1989 were employed in industry and 52 percent in the services sector. The decrease in the corresponding percentages in industry from 33.5 to 26.3 percent and the increase in services from 52 percent to 62 percent in 2000 can be explained in at least two ways (Table 5.3).

5.7 First, the expansion in industry following the export-led industrialization strategy did not create as many jobs for women as expected. Efforts have been made to answer the frequently asked question of whether there has been a feminization in industry in favor of women, with the spread of export-led industrialization in developing countries (Standing, 1989; Çagatay and Özler, 1995) and in Turkey (Çagatay and Berik, 1991; Özler, 2000). Çagatay and Berik argue that the shift to export-led growth has been achieved without an accompanying (or subsequent) feminization of employment. Yet they are cautious in their generalizations since at the time of their research export-led industrialization had just started in Turkey. They suggest that "female employment growth associated with export-led industrialization may be occurring outside of large enterprises, particularly in homes under home-working arrangements." They also think that "the lack of feminization of employment could be due to the resistance of gender-typing of industries ...and it may change in response to changes in incentive structures or social policies associated with export-led industrialization" (Çagatay and Berik 1991: 170).

5.8 Investigating the relationship between export orientation and women's share of employment in the Turkish manufacturing sector during the mid 1980s, Özler discovered that women showed some employment gains relative to men in large plants in the manufacturing sector. However, she also comments that although there were plants with a high proportion of female employees, in these large establishments investment in machinery and equipment leads to a decline in the proportion of female laborers. Her finding supports the argument that the "employment gain of women following trade liberalization might be reversed as a consequence of technological developing" (Özler, 2000:1246). It is clear that without having studies at the industry level complemented by plant level studies, it is hard to reach firm conclusions regarding the feminization of labor in industry.

5.9 The second important point regarding women's low participation in industry and increased participation in services is the rapid growth of the service sector and the creation of a greater number of jobs for women there, than in the industrial sector. In that sense, at least in urban centers, the service sector is the most promising in terms of women's future employment. One reason for this increase might be the expansion of jobs that are considered suitable for women in various sub-branches of the sector. In 2000, women comprised 34 percent of all employees in finance, insurance, real estate and business services, and 31 percent of employees in community, social and personal services in urban areas (SIS, 2001: 228).

5.10 Particularly in the banking sector, the structure of employment changed considerably in the post-1980 era, resulting in an increase in women's share from 35 percent in 1980 to 38 percent in 1996 (Özar et.al. 2000:45). When compared with public banks, this increase is more

prominent in private banks. Based on these findings and their more detailed studies on banking, Günlük-Senesen and Özar conclude that “this trend suggests that the banking sector is experiencing a ‘feminization of the workforce.’”(Günlük-Senesen and Özar, 2000:253).

Employment Status

5.11 The employment status of women and men also differs markedly. The most significant characteristic of the working status of women is the high ratio of unpaid family workers. Although the share of this group within the female labor force has decreased steadily from 88 percent in the 1960s to 51 percent in 2000, it is still high when compared to women in other employment categories. This originates mainly from the fact that almost all women working in agriculture are considered unpaid family workers whereas all rural heads of households (men) are considered self-employed. The portion of women working as unpaid family workers radically drops to 10 percent in cities.

5.12 Regarding urban employment, most women (77.3 percent) work either in regular employment (68.6 percent) or in casual employment (8.7 percent); nearly 10 percent work as unpaid family workers and the remaining 12.7 percent are self-employed or employers. (Table 5.4) There are a few important points regarding the urban employment status for men as well. While only 27.3 percent of men are self-employed (17.7 percent) or employers (9.6 percent), the remaining 73 percent work as employees. In the latter group, 56.2 percent are waged or salaried; 13.1 percent are casual workers and only 3.4 percent are unpaid family workers. There is a similarity to female employment in employee status: the highest percentages of men (69.3 percent) work as regular employees (waged and salaried). However, while 27.3 percent of men are self-employed or employers, only 12.7 percent of women have this employment status. In addition, the number of men working as unpaid family workers in cities is almost one-third of the number of women working under a similar status.

Private and Public Sector Employment

5.13 The employment status of men and women working in regular (waged and salaried) jobs in terms of the public and private sectors reveals that one-third of women (33 percent) and almost one-fourth (24 percent) of men work in the public sector.

5.14 On the other hand, only 23 percent of all those regular workers in the public sector (out of 2.3 million workers) are women, and this percentage is even smaller (16 percent) for women working in the private sector (8.4 million employees work in the private sector). Men dominate regular employment in both public sector (77 percent) and private sector (84 percent) jobs.

5.15 Comparing the public and private sectors in terms of job opportunities for men and women may shed some light on employment policies in the post-1980 era in Turkey. Kasnakoglu and Dikbayir’s study reveals that public sector jobs in manufacturing are becoming less accessible for women. Examining the two women-intensive sub-sectors of the manufacturing industry, namely, food and textiles, over the period 1983-93, the authors conclude that first, although there has been a steady increase in production in the private sector in these industries, the female share slightly decreases in large establishments. Women are generally employed in small establishments employing 10-24 workers in the textile and food industries. Second, decreases in women’s employment in the textile and food sectors are higher in the public sector than in the private sector, owing to the government’s negative attitude toward women’s employment in a period of privatization and high unemployment throughout the economy (Kasnakoglu and Dikbayir, 1995).

5.16 The authors indicate one exceptional case to such a trend in women's employment in industry. In the chemicals industry, women were well represented in the period 1983-90 in both the private and the public sectors. They argue that this is not a temporary situation but a persistent trend in the public sector and also in the private establishments employing at least 25 workers.

Informal versus Formal Sector Employment

5.17 The most important characteristic of the labor market in Turkey is its flexibility. This refers to the de-regulation and erosion of the power and effectiveness of organized labor and protective legislation. Increased calls for flexibility in the post-1980 era have been accompanied by a parallel growth in the informal sector, although estimates of its growth vary according to definitions.

5.18 Since the 1980s, the continuous economic crisis in Turkey has inflamed the informalization process of the economy, specifically in the labor market, resulting in the very slow expansion of the formal sector, and thus generating a sharp increase in informal sector employment. The use of marginal labor in the manufacturing sector constituted 46 percent of the total labor force in 1999 (Köse and Öncü, 2000:83). The share of the informal labor force in the private manufacturing industry is 53 percent in Turkey (Köse and Yeldan, 1998). This increase can be linked to greater reliance on market-led development and increased de-regulation in the last two decades²⁸. Manufacturing firms prefer flexible work arrangements in order to compete in the world market. The introduction of new and flexible type of work organizations such as part-time and temporary jobs, the sub-contracting of certain activities previously carried out within the firms to smaller firms, and the adoption of union-avoidance are the strategies used by employers in order to survive in a very competitive market. Employers resort to these strategies in order to cut down labor costs by using a flexible labor force and paying them lower wages. Within this context it is clear that expansion in informal employment is a response to the needs and changes in the formal sector. The two sectors complement each other in the process of the decentralization of the formal sector and the increasing use of subcontracting in production (Ecevit, 1998:60).

5.19 The informal sector is also expanding due to the prevailing high unemployment rates (Table 5.5) and the increased demand for jobs stemming from decreasing urban household incomes, especially among the lower groups on the income distribution scale.

5.20 Some of the common features of informal sector employment are lack of protection, limited provision or absence of social security benefits, and insufficient income (Lordoglu and Özar, 1998). Wages are even lower than the legal minimum levels in Turkey (Köse and Öncü, 2000:83). Area studies conducted in the second half of the 1990s in Istanbul point to the expansion of the informal sector and an increased number of people engaged in informal activities (Aksoy, 1998; Lordoglu and Özar, 1998). The problems of unregistered workers in the informal sector are revealed in these studies. Among these problems, the lack of social security demands the utmost attention. A new, well designed and independent (not articulated with the existing system) social security system which takes into account the specific features of informal

²⁸ The present study considers informal sector activities to include all economic activities that are carried out outside of the formal, institutionalized economic structure. In general, work in the informal sector is far less secure than work in the formal sector and it generally pays less than the minimum wage. See Charmes (2000:3) for the international definition of the informal sector adopted by the 15th International Conference of Labor Statisticians 1993. For a more detailed discussion on the nature of the informal sector in Turkey, see Tunali (2000: 38-39) and for further information on its changing characteristics, see Senyapili (2000: 103-105).

work is proposed as a solution to the problems regarding social security (Lordoglu and Özar, 1998:19).

5.21 Faced with occupational segregation, unemployment (Table 5.5) and underemployment, women in Turkey are increasingly taking part in activities within the informal sector²⁹. Women's participation in the informal sector has been shown to be related to the need to maximize the total family income. Research conducted in a district of Ankara, Mamak, in 1990 (Demir, 1993: 73) reveals that women contribute to the family income by knitting and sewing (piece-working), and by working as domestic workers and child minders. The same research also shows that two-thirds of the women sampled commenced working in the informal sector in the 1980s. This trend has intensified, especially since the 1990s. In another research project carried out in Ankara (Kalaycioglu and Rittersberger-Tiliç, 2001: 88), women working as domestic workers, child minders and office cleaners declared overwhelmingly that they chose to work in the informal sector mainly because they had not found any other employment in the formal sector and that they or their families were under economic hardship.

5.22 Case studies conducted with migrant women in Ankara, Istanbul, Izmir and Mersin in 1999 revealed the magnitude of informal employment among these women. The most important factor influencing women's decisions to take informal sector jobs is the husbands' lack of employment or failure to have regular jobs and sufficient incomes in their families. Women have to take responsibility for the survival of their families by taking casual jobs outside the home or undertaking home working and pieces of work at home. The jobs women take up in the informal sector varied, depending upon the different level of development of the sectors in the above-mentioned cities. Women worked in export-led industries, such as clothing and textiles (Istanbul) and dried fruit and packaging (Izmir). Women predominantly worked in storage houses and in clothing workshops in the free trade zone in Mersin (Ecevit et al. 1999).

5.23 The limited access to even casual jobs, resources, products, markets, credit, and infrastructure poses serious problems for those working in the informal sector. For this reason, while measures are being taken to increase employment opportunities and improve working conditions in the informal sector, progressive regulation and integration of this sector into the national economy is necessary.

Gender Differences in Benefits and Earnings

5.24 Wages in the private sector are generally low for both men and women. The reasons are not gender specific. First, there is a declining number of organized workers. Even if they are unionized, their bargaining power is weak, mainly due to high rates of unemployment and a shrinking number of industrial and service sector jobs. Unemployment not only weakens the bargaining power of those currently employed, but also discourages those who would seek high salaried jobs. Whether or not the employed sector is formal or informal is another factor. People working in the formal sector, and covered by some form of social security, earn higher wages than those working in the informal sector who are not covered. Male workers who have social

²⁹ The ratio of women employed outside of the formal sector in cities increased from 6.3 percent in 1990 to 10 percent in 2000 (SIS, 1990: 147; SIS, 2000: 264). The ratio of male informal sector employment to all male urban employment is 15.7 percent, higher than similar ratios for women. (The proportion of men in cities engaged in informal activities constitutes 32.5 percent of all those who are self-employed or are employers. In contrast, 64 percent of all self-employed and women employers work in the informal sector in cities. (SIS, 2001). It should, however, be noted that data collected by the State Institute of Statistics is not sufficient to explore the actual profile of the female labor force in the informal sector.

security coverage earn twice as much as those who are not covered, and with some caveats this is also true for women (Tansel, 1999a: 22).

5.25 Informal sector wages are predominantly determined by market conditions and are often below legal levels. Köse and Öncü (1998) calculated that wages in the informal sector were 80 percent below legal minimum wages at the time of their studies; this percentage had risen gradually from 70 percent in 1995.

5.26 In general, the wages of working women are lower than those of men in Turkey and this difference, although it changes with respect to educational level, occupation and position at work, remains a general principle.

5.27 It has been substantiated by macro and micro studies that women receive lower wages than men. Two of the studies that disclose gender inequalities at the national level belong to the State Institute of Statistics. The 1987 Household Income and Consumption Questionnaire and the 1994 Income Distribution Research provide male and female wage differences in terms of basic variables such as educational level, age, economic activity, occupation, job status, and size of enterprise. The studies of social scientists using these data sources have made further analyses and have investigated the causes of these income inequalities (Tansel, 1996; Dayioglu and Kasnakoglu, 1997; Özcan and Özcan, 1999; Esim, 2000).

5.28 According to the 1987 Household Income and Consumption Questionnaire, the difference between male and female hourly wages is 40 percent, meaning that women on average receive only 60 percent of what men earn. There is a positive relationship between education and wages; while female elementary school graduates receive 42 percent of the hourly wages of male graduates, this ratio increases as the level of education increases. Furthermore, it has been determined that a university diploma increases the chance of employment of women by 50 percent (Tansel, 2000: 11). For both women and men, benefits received from being educated in vocational high schools are found to be higher than those from a general high school education (Tansel, 2000: 33)

5.29 In addition, according to findings based on a statistical analysis by Dayioglu and Kasnakoglu (1997: 346), there is a 304 percent positive difference, in terms of the benefits of education, between the elementary and the secondary school education of girls and only 117 percent for boys.

5.30 The magnitude of this positive contribution of education to increases in wages in absolute and relative (wage discrepancy) terms differs in public and private sector jobs. A 1994 study enables an analysis to be made in terms of public and private sectors. For example, in 1994, while the monthly income of female university graduates in the public sector was 76 percent of that of male graduates; it was 68 percent in the private sector (Table 5.6). Wage differences by gender also exist in various occupations: the women in agricultural and related jobs earned 23 percent of a man's wage in the same employment in the public sector and 40 percent of a man's wage in the private sector. These two percentages are reversed for the female industrial workers in non-agricultural jobs: while the monthly wages of women workers in industry in the public sector reaches to 80 percent of those of men, it is only 50 percent in the private sector. The incomes of women working in high-income professions are also high, with female top managers receiving almost the same wages as men in the public sector (96 percent) and having relatively close wages (80 percent) in the private sector.

5.31 Those who try to explain female -male wage inequality give emphasis to explanations that consider human capital as the main cause. This simply means that women's levels of education, skill and experience, as their human capital, continue to remain lower than those of men. This is thus the widely accepted view of why women are paid less than men. However, factors other than simple human capital exist that cause these income differences. For instance, Dayioglu and Kasnakoglu used the "market discrimination" concept when explaining the male -female wage difference.

5.32 Market discrimination is a situation in which differences in payment are observed between men and women having the same education, experience and occupational and job position. Under these conditions, if male wages are higher than female wages, then discrimination against women exists. The analysis of the authors indicates that 64 to 100 percent of the income differences originate from discrimination in the labor market. They indicate that this percentage of discrimination excludes any discrimination found outside of the labor market. If the discrimination that women encounter during phases of education and work experience, considerably decreasing their employment chances, is taken into account, the authors claim that the extent of discrimination found in their research would be even higher.

5.33 The origins of the causes of market discrimination are important, since they are related to mechanisms that separate female labor from male labor and attach a secondary status to the former. The first of these mechanisms is the patriarchal ideology and the social positioning of men and women within the context of this ideology. Values and norms that attribute the breadwinner role to men and that support the idea that men should earn more than women result in a situation in which women are paid less than men, in some cases even for the same work. The understanding that a man is considered the head of the household whereas a woman must be dependent on a man (husband or father) who is responsible for taking care of her legitimizes low wage payments made to women. Unfortunately, this legitimization is not only made by employers, but by the larger society as well. The evaluation of female earnings as only supplementary income to the family budget should also be noted. Furthermore, the difficulties of being employed in "male jobs" and the high demand of women for "women's jobs" also contribute to the low payments given to women. The labor-intensive nature of the jobs in which women are occupied is an additional factor that contributes to low wages for women. These characteristics of the female labor market have intensified under competition at the international level and flexible working conditions. The more flexible the working conditions are, the less the wages are due to the fact that jobs with flexibility lack legal and protective regulations.

5.34 Employers favor a reduction in legal regulations concerning work life and the establishment of contract-based relations. Under conditions where there is no unionization, minimized legal regulations and established contract-based relations, women will not only work for less than men, but wage differences in the same work place among women will also be inevitable.

Enforcement of Laws

5.35 Different treatment of women and men and direct discrimination are not observed in the public sector and discriminatory practices are seldom based on gender. Civil Servants Law No 657 makes no distinction based on gender as to employment and conditions of work, and legal standards are strictly enforced in public enterprises. There are, however, examples of indirect discrimination in this sector, concerning recruitment to certain jobs, competition for available positions, professional promotion and professional training, (Kardam and Toksöz, 1999: 307-308; Acar, Ayata and Varoglu, 1999: 81,82).

5.36 Labor Law No 1475³⁰ regulates work relations and in general prohibits gender discrimination. However, in practice, women encounter discrimination in one form or another during their working lives. Women and men employees are often treated differently and problems exist regarding the enforcement of laws in the private sector. In the survey conducted by Toksöz and Erdogdu (1988: 94), the gender discriminatory practices mentioned by women workers were as follows: in recruitment (46.6 percent), in promotions (45.8 percent), in lay-offs (32.2 percent), in registering for on-the-job training (20.3 percent) and in wages (11 percent). It is important to note that the women who were interviewed were unionized and working in formal sector establishments. Elsewhere there is further evidence of discrimination against women and violations of women workers' rights (Eyüboğlu, Özar and Tanriöver, 2000: 125,126; Demirel et al., 1999: 255; Özdamar, 2000: 56, 103,116).

5.37 An important reason why gender discrimination laws are not effectively enforced in Turkey is related to the absence of new mechanisms that would protect workers' rights and provide gender equality. In the last few decades, many countries have enacted not only legislative but also institutional and economic policies to eliminate gender inequality and discrimination³¹.

5.38 Since such specific institutions, mechanisms and policies do not exist in Turkey, employers find numerous ways of circumventing the laws enacted to ensure gender equality and to prevent gender discrimination in the workplace.

5.39 Turkey ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1985. This convention defines discrimination against women as: "any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedom in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field." (Article 1). Nevertheless, owing to various reasons, many discriminatory practices still prevail in the country.

5.40 Firstly, laws and regulations continue to contain some articles that lay the groundwork for gender discrimination, and even in situations where the law is not discriminatory, gender

³⁰ Labor Law No 1475 was in force when this chapter was written. The possible changes that would occur after the enactment of the new Labor Law in June 2003 are thus not included here. It is likely that the new labor law would result in losses in terms of working conditions and wages compared with the marginal gains. It has been almost ten years since the Turkish Confederation of Employer Associations argued that there is a need for a decrease in the protective legislation against firing, for an easing in the conditions of hiring and for regulations about non-standard employment patterns (Türkiye İşveren Sendikaları Konfederasyonu, 1994). It seems that with the enactment of the new Labor Law, all these needs emphasized by the employers will be met in the near future.

³¹ Among such measures are the following: In Norway the Gender Equality Ombudsman ensures that the Gender Equality Act is implemented. This act states that employees must receive equal pay for work of equal value. In Denmark, the Gender Equality Council is responsible for the implementation of relevant legislation (Ombud 1997: 4). In 1998, the Ministry of Labor in Argentina established the Tripartite Commission for Equal Treatment and Opportunities for Men and Women in the workplace. Through this commission the government, the private sector and labor unions are able to establish mechanisms that promote equal opportunities (United Nations, 2001: 123). In Poland, the Law on Equal Opportunity for Women and Men guarantees equal opportunity for women and men in all fields of social life and stipulates the obligation of public authorities to insure the proper implementation of this principle (INSTRAW, 2000: 116).

Several countries have also adopted legislation to prevent abusive behavior against women in the labor market. Sweden, for example, amended its Equal Opportunities Act in 1998 to increase obligations of employers to prevent sexual harassment in the workplace.

segregated market conditions, traditions, etc., result in discrimination. For instance, Article 26 of the Labor Law prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex in wage determination and states that discrimination cannot be made between men and women workers performing jobs of the same nature and working with equal efficiency. This principle is also valid for women civil servants. Yet as pointed out earlier, there are major deficiencies in its implementation (TRPMDGSPW, 1997: 103).

5.41 The reproductive and maternal functions of women are protected by law and maternity leave is available to all women employees. Women civil servants are entitled to have paid antenatal leave for six weeks as well as paid post-natal leave for six weeks (Article 108 of the Civil Servants Law). Women workers, on the other hand, are entitled to have antenatal and post-natal paid leave for six weeks. Women civil servants can also have unpaid leave for up to 12 months. Husbands of both groups, however, are not entitled to any leave. The exclusion of men from this right can be regarded as a form of gender discrimination because it reinforces stereotypical gender roles and women's exclusive responsibility for the maternity function. Either parent should have the possibility of obtaining leave immediately following the maternity leave.

5.42 Some laws, such as those that prohibit women's night work in industry, although introduced to protect women, indirectly contribute to their confinement to traditional and low paying occupations. This protective legislation also functions as a reason for employers to discriminate against female workers (Ecevit, 1992:35). Similarly, according to Article 13 of the Labor Law, employers have an absolute right to dismiss workers for any reason whatsoever. Although theoretically men and women are affected by the existence of this law equally, women are more often subjected to discriminative dismissal, especially in cases where they want to use their post-natal maternity leave. In some workplaces, women are afraid of being laid off and therefore do not use maternity leave (TEKSIF, 1976:19; Tümerdem, 1989:4). The statistics from the Social Security Organization reveal that 24 percent of women workers do not use their antenatal leave and 19 percent do not use their post-natal leave (TRPMDGSPW, 1997: 73).

5.43 If a woman quits her job within the first year of marriage and gives her marriage as a reason for resignation, she is entitled to severance pay. On first glance this provision, which was an amendment to Article 14 in the Labor Law in 1983 (Çagdas Hukukçular Derneği, 1996:67), might be interpreted as protecting women who cannot easily get their husband's consent. Yet it reinforces the idea of women's proper place being in the home and reproduces the patriarchal ideology against women's work outside this domain.

5.44 Second, Turkey has still not ratified a considerable number of ILO conventions. Furthermore, among some of the 36 conventions that Turkey has ratified to date, problems continue with regard to their implementation (Süral, 2000: 143). ILO Convention No. 103 (Maternity Protection) has been revised, and Convention No. 156 (Workers with Family Responsibilities) has not yet been ratified by Turkey. Turkey has thus made limited progress in ratifying and implementing international labor conventions.

5.45 Apart from reasons related to the legal framework, there are other social and economic reasons that cause gender discrimination. This is obvious in the case of wage and salary differentials between women and men. Since the 1980s, there has been a greater reliance on market-led development and increased deregulation and free market flexibility in the Turkish economy. As a result, existing gender inequalities have been intensified with respect to types and conditions of work, wages and social security. This has particularly affected those who work in informal sector jobs. Women in cities (mostly rural migrants) are often working in enterprises where Labor Law standards are not strictly enforced. Furthermore, various myths and stereotypes

jeopardize women's position in the labor market. Employer beliefs, preferences and prejudices against women play an important role in the implementation of rules and regulations with respect to gender equality (Eyüboğlu, Özar and Tanriöver, 2000: 125). In the case of unemployment, for example, the dismissal of women before men is justified by seeing women as secondary workers and having primary responsibility for domestic work. An important reason that this occurs is related to the low ratio of unionized women³² and the absence of powerful unions that would protect their rights.

Effects of Gender Division of Labor on Labor Market Choices

5.46 Despite considerable changes in the last few decades, there are deep underlying cultural beliefs about gender roles which remain institutionalized. These beliefs are especially strong among people living in rural areas and migrants to the cities who continue to preserve many of their traditional attitudes. Gender division of labor in the household is still strongly structured according to the expectations of the stereotypical roles of men and women (Özbay, 1982: 211). The head of the household and the main breadwinner is expected to be a man, who is responsible for representing the family in the public domain (Imamoglu, 1998:58-59). Thus, being involved in domestic tasks and undertaking intra-family responsibilities are still considered of secondary importance for men. Women, on the other hand, are considered homemakers who should take care of domestic duties, and childcare and be responsible for the well being of other family members, including the elderly (Acar, 1993).

5.47 Gender roles, specifically gender division of labor in the household, affect women's and men's labor market choices in different ways. The breadwinner role forces men to earn an income, regardless of the conditions and the qualities of the job that they perform. This responsibility is a straightjacket for men, leaving no choices when the issue at stake is earning a living and providing for their families. Men who cannot accomplish the breadwinner role expected of them feel guilty and useless. This stress is even greater in times when there is a shortage of jobs in the labor market. Under these conditions, many men are forced to take jobs that are not rewarding in terms of pay, status and job satisfaction. Many others seek jobs in the informal labor market with even worse conditions when their need for a job is very strong.

5.48 Women on the other hand are not expected to be employed, unless there is an urgent need for additional income. They are dependents, expected to be content with what the men provide (Özbay, 1982: 215). If they work, their earnings are considered extra, additional income to the family budget. This attitude towards women's work outside the home has serious implications in terms of their employment and limits their equal involvement with men in the labor market.

5.49 First, women are not provided with equal opportunities in education and employment. Despite clear signs that indicate a trend towards positive changes regarding women's confinement to the home and investment in girls' education,³³ the period and the type of education received by girls often continue to be determined by their anticipated future roles as mothers and wives.

³² Although the ratio of unionized women workers to all women workers increased from 39 percent in 1995 to 47 percent in 2000, the ratio of unionized women worker to all unionized workers is very low and this ratio marginally increased from 6 percent in 1995 to 12 percent in 2000 (TCB KSSGM, 2001: 90).

³³ Research conducted on women working in the clothing industry in Istanbul reveals that the objection to women's employment outside the home has been gradually decreasing in most parts of the *gecekondu* areas. Furthermore, working mothers want their daughters to be educated and they do not make a distinction between their sons and their daughters in this respect (Eraydin, 1999:122, 128).

5.50 Girls and women are often deprived of vocational training opportunities outside of formal educational institutions. Furthermore, usually when women are given these opportunities, they are trained for “women’s work”. Vocational courses are often geared towards household activities rather than income-generating ones. Women are also discouraged from seeking training in a number of occupations that are considered “male” occupations. When they look for a job, they are expected to find one that will not conflict with their main responsibilities at home, as wives, mothers and caregivers. For the most part, employers do not offer certain jobs to women on the grounds that they are not suitable for them. These are jobs that may require longer working hours, night work, or traveling since it is believed that these responsibilities would interfere with childrearing or are not appropriate for women.

5.51 The gender division of labor at home not only restricts women’s entrance into the labor market but also causes discrimination against women based on their reproductive roles. Most employers are reluctant to employ married women, arguing that they will terminate their working life when they have children (Ecevit, 1991). They thus prefer the employment of single and young women.³⁴ There have been cases where written statements confirming that a prospective woman worker will not have children while employed in the workplace have been demanded. Furthermore, there is another concern that is not voiced openly. Employers think that female employees, when they have children, will demand their legal maternity rights, which makes them more costly.

5.52 Working women have different degrees of opportunities in terms of human capital acquisition on their jobs, depending on their occupational status and the type of work establishment. If they work in white-collar jobs and do some kind of administrative or office work, they are likely to be enrolled in on-the-job training programs; this is especially true for women working in the banking sector. Public institutions and ministries organize regular seminar-like courses for their employees and encourage them, regardless of their sex, to participate in these courses to develop their skills or to acquire new ones. Especially important in this context is the increasing number of computer literacy courses. Women in private sector industrial establishments however, seem to be less likely to enjoy on-the-job training opportunities for two main reasons. First, these training programs are costly and are not considered profitable because employers expect that women will marry or have children and will leave the workplace after a short time. In other words, employers are less willing to invest in their female employees. Furthermore, since employers are reluctant to give on-the-job training for fear that trained employees, having developed their skills, may choose other more rewarding work places and quit their present jobs (Eraydin, 1999:126). Women are even less likely to benefit from such training.

Childcare

5.53 In general, childcare services provided by public and private institutions are insufficient. Despite the fact that there are 9 million children in the 0-6 age group in Turkey, policy measures have not been taken and there has not been a considerable effort to increase the number of day care facilities.

5.54 Crèches and day care centers run by state institutions are classified in three groups. In the first group there are 621 centers operated by the Ministry of Education for children between ages

³⁴ The highest labor force participation of women in urban Turkey is among women in the 20-24 age group. More than half of the women workers in the textile industry in Istanbul are young (53.5 percent below age 25) and single (51.3 percent) (Eraydin, 1999).

4 and 6³⁵. In the second group there are crèches and day care centers run by Social Services and the Child Protection Institution. As of 2002, there are 13 of these facilities and according to information from officials this number has decreased from 30 in the last 10 years. The reason for this gradual decrease has been attributed to the deteriorating physical conditions of these centers and a reduction in expenditure on social services and social support. The third group consists of centers opened up by public institutions for their employees. The number of these institutions and the number of children cared for are unknown despite the efforts of Social Services and the Child Protection Institution to compile this information.

5.55 There are also private crèches and day care centers, the majority of which are located in big cities. Currently there are 1,146 childcare centers of this type, with a capacity of 49 791 children throughout the country. These centers are opened with the permission of Social Services and the Child Protection Institution³⁶.

5.56 According to regulations issued based on Turkish Labor Law, workplaces employing between 100 and 150 female workers must establish nursing rooms, and those employing more than 150 must have crèches. However, employers do not feel obliged to comply with these regulations. The measures taken in this regard are rarely sufficient, and employers easily circumvent the regulations by restricting the number of women employees below the defined minimum (TRPMDGSPW, 1997: 104). Consequently, the number of workplaces that have established nursing rooms and crèches for the care of children between 0 and 6 years of age are very limited and almost no reliable data exists about the extent of these services. Thus, the problem with the current legislation is that it does not genuinely protect women but rather paternalistically reinforces prejudices about the quality of women's labor. Because of persistent arguments that protective legislation causes women's labor to become more expensive and burdensome, employers may be reluctant to employ women. Even when they are apparently willing to employ women, employers often do not provide the necessary conditions for the protection of women and their children.

5.57 Childcare and the rearing of children are duties that are essentially expected to be performed by women. This expectation compels women to carry out all the tasks related to children themselves, whether the women work outside of the home or not. Furthermore, the shortage of appropriate childcare facilities more directly affects women's lives. Men do not quit their jobs because of childcare responsibilities or change their workplaces if childcare services are not available. Even men who are divorced or widowed do not feel obliged to take on the entire responsibility of their children.

5.58 Women, on the other hand, make all their decisions regarding when they will work and where they will work, according to the arrangements that they have made for childcare. Women who intend to work are affected by the general shortage of childcare facilities in two ways. First, they are discouraged from taking paid employment outside the home; many women who want to work are unable to do so because of the lack of facilities. Second, if they decide to work, they look for workplaces where they can have access to day-care facilities for their children.

³⁵ Information gathered from the Ministry of Education by the author.

³⁶ The author obtained the data from the Social Services and the Child Protection Institution offices of the State Ministry.

5.59 Solving problems regarding childcare is particularly difficult for women who work in private sector enterprises, either in industry or services. Facilities for child care at workplaces are rare and few employers are willing to take on this financial burden. Toksöz and Erdogdu's (1998: 126) survey reveals that female workers ranked the problem of lack of crèches in the workplace at the top of their list when they were asked the most important problems that needed to be addressed in collective bargaining agreements.

5.60 Apart from the question of shortages, there are other problems regarding child care within the vicinity of industrial establishments. The physical conditions of the nursing rooms and crèches are usually not suitable for young children. Women also find it difficult to take their children to their workplaces if they do shift work. Starting work at different hours adversely affects children's health, as well as that of their mothers.

5.61 The above discussion suggests that regulations regarding maternity leave, childcare in the workplace and other support for women workers are not being effectively implemented. Furthermore, these regulations which seem to be in favor of women may have outcomes that restrict women's employment chances.

5.62 It is often suggested that compared to their counterparts in European countries, working women in Turkey can more readily find other women to look after their children, since child minders and domestic servants cost less. This is partly true in the case of educated and professional women who can afford to hire this kind of help (Ecevit, Hosgör and Tokluoglu 2002). According to the 1988 Population and Health Survey, the largest group of women who hire child minders for their children are high school and university graduates (T.C.B KSSGM: 71). An early study done by Özbay in 1975 also showed that women university graduates usually send their children to childcare centers or employ a child minder (Özbay, 1994:12). However, less educated women who are employed in low status office jobs or work as laborers do not earn enough to provide for this type of paid help. The majority of women in the latter group rely on their female relatives, especially their own mothers or mothers-in-law for child care (Özbay, 1994: 12; Eraydin, 1999: 133).

5.63 While it is a fact that even women in the most educated groups may also rely on their mothers and their close kin, such support has implications that may be problematic. First, help taken from female relatives may increase women's dependency on the patriarchal family structure and leave no room for young couples to have nuclear, independent and autonomous families. The service provided by these older women grants them a certain kind of power and allows them to exercise control over young working mothers. Second, the assertion that this kind of help is always available for most working women results in employers' reluctance to provide childcare services at the workplace. Despite these implications, a majority of working mothers continue to rely heavily on their female relatives for the care of their children. Grandmothers, sisters and aunts are the most preferred child minders in this respect. In most working class families, older children, especially girls, are the second most important source for the care of youngsters. Özbay (1994:22) found that among primary school graduates, adult women relatives were not common as helpers in childcare. Rather, older female children at home are relied upon to take care of the younger ones. No statistical evidence, however, can be provided to reveal the extent of labor performed by girl children in family childcare. However, girls are engaged heavily in the main tasks of domestic work (looking after siblings, cooking, cleaning, doing the laundry, gathering firewood or fetching water) (Tunali, 1996:117). This labor of girls might be regarded as a contribution to their families by providing time for other members of the household, as long as it does not jeopardize their education. However, when it does compromise their education, it can be a real hindrance to their development. Boys, on the other hand, are not expected to take

responsibility for childcare, nor do they participate in domestic chores. However, they outnumber girls in market work, which can also negatively affect their schooling. Children who engage in market work on average come from larger households having lower than average incomes. Although the motives of parents who engage their children in domestic work and market work may be different, both result in negatively affecting children's schooling. School attainment of boys and girls has been found to be strongly related to household permanent income and the parents' education (Tansel, 1999b: 16). In the light of this finding, it can be concluded that an increase in household income and in the parents' level of education would contribute positively to the families' decisions about their children's schooling.

Gender-differentiated Consequences of Unemployment and Economic Hardship

5.64 It is argued that structural adjustment policies greatly weaken the purchasing power of low-income urban families. Economic pressures force family members, and especially women, who were not working previously, to seek employment outside of the family (Çagatay and Özler, 1995:1885). However, female unemployment emerges because of characteristics of the female labor supplied to the market or because women do not readily accept the conditions offered to them. More important than this however, is the lack of demand for female labor in economic sectors in general. Since 1989, the unemployment rates for women have always been higher than those for men and most of the time they have been twice as high (Ecevit, 2000:148-149). Unemployed women constituted 25 percent to 34 percent of the total unemployed population during the last decade and unemployment remains one of the most serious obstacles hindering women's entry into the labor market.

5.65 The second aspect of unemployment is that it is observed to be intensive among youth, especially among young women between the ages of 15 and 19. Furthermore, the ratio of young female urban unemployment is higher than male unemployment in the last few years. A positive relationship between an increased level of education and women's employment has been documented by research (Ecevit, 1998:55) and verified by national statistics (Tables 5.7 and 5.8). Nevertheless, the improvements achieved in women's education were not effective in decreasing high female unemployment. Forty-four percent of unemployed women seeking employment in cities in 1999 were either graduates of high school or its equivalent. The ratio of men at the same educational level who were seeking employment to all unemployed men was only 24 percent. In the 20-24 age group, the group with the highest unemployment, the ratio of unemployed women graduates or its equivalent to all unemployed women in the same age group increases to 56 percent. The percentage for men of the same age and educational level is only 39. The unemployment ratios of both men and women who are university graduates are significantly less when compared to high school graduates (Ecevit, 2000:150). There is an important difference between unemployed men and women seeking employment in cities for the first time. Sixty percent of the unemployed women in contrast to only 28 percent of the unemployed men were seeking jobs for the first time. This high percentage is related to the increased economic pressures felt by households.

5.66 Women are trying to protect their families from poverty by working in formal and informal jobs. Although wages earned by women are usually considered a small addition to the family budget, this additional income is more than an insignificant contribution. In fact, the average contribution of women to the family budget is around 40 percent (Eraydin, 1999: 129). In another research project conducted in Ankara, similar results were found: in the families where women were gainfully employed, a tendency towards upward mobility was observed (ODTÜ,2000: 84).

5.67 In families that are under the pressure of poverty, women want to work in stable employment outside of the home. If such employment is not possible, they nonetheless work at domestic cleaning, child minding or home-working in order to overcome economic difficulties and thus become members of the informal sector.

5.68 This entrance into the informal sector has intensified, especially since 1985. In recent research carried out in Ankara, women working as domestic servants, child minders and office cleaners declared overwhelmingly that they chose working in the informal sector because they had not found any other employment in the formal sector and they or their families were experiencing economic hardship (Kalaycioglu and Rittersberger-Tiliç, 2001: 88). These women indicated that they are working in these jobs in order to overcome the difficulties faced by their families and are planning on not working when the difficulties are overcome (ibid: 156).

5.69 The informal sector is essential to the economic survival of most women workers, particularly to poor women who work in home-based industries (ODTÜ, 2000: 85). Although some men use the home as their domain of production, their number is quite low when compared to women. According to SIS statistics, 78 percent of people working primarily at home are women. This percentage increases to 85 for urban areas and decreases to 64 for rural areas (SIS, 2000: 89). The ratio of women doing work at home has increased 48 percent from 1990 to 2000 (SIS, 1990: 146; SIS, 2001: 93). Such a significant rise can be interpreted as the result of an increased need for activities that will bring in additional income. The literature suggests that women, when they cannot find employment outside the home but are desperate to earn an income, accept informal sector jobs to ease the tension created by economic hardships. Çinar (1994: 373) uses the findings of her research on home-workers to give three reasons why so many women are engaged in home-working. The first is to increase the household income. The second is the fact that their lower educational training reduces their employment chances in the formal market. Being married and responsible for childcare and household chores are also barriers against working outside the home. Çinar's research reveals that working at home is a last resort, not a preference, since many of the women interviewed in her research had previously sought jobs in the formal sector. Kümbetoglu (1996: 232) discloses the conditions of women doing home-working in Istanbul and states that the money they earn from knitting pullovers, embroidering, assembling electrical parts, and doing small trade is especially important when the household income is below the minimum wage. For some families, the money they earn from these activities constitutes one-third of the household income.

5.70 Economic hardships, diminishing social welfare services and unemployment cause families to establish certain survival strategies (see Box 5.1 below). Among these strategies women seek employment outside the home, do home-working (paid work at home), establish new solidarity networks for childcare (child-minding) and seek work outside of the registered economy. Men, on the other hand, usually try to increase the household income by seeking additional jobs when faced with economic hardship. Furthermore, retired men under economic hardship are willing to start working again. In research conducted in Ankara, it was found that one-third of the retired heads of households would consider returning to work because of economic hardship (ODTÜ, 2000: 75)

Box 5.1: Organizing Home-based Workers in Turkey

Home based workers in Turkey, as in other countries, are invisible and vulnerable for many reasons: little data exist regarding the extent and economic impact of home-based work; the home-based workers do not define what they do as “work”; national and international labor protections (social security, retirement, unemployment insurance) are absent or inadequate; the nature of their work is isolating requiring long and undefined working hours; they are almost powerless to negotiate a fair price for their products (Karsli, 1992; White, 1994; Çinar, 1994; Kümbetoglu, 1996; Esim, 2000).

A working group called named “Women Home Based Workers” was formed in 2000 to organize home-based workers and collect information about the nature and range of their activities, their working conditions and different types of employment arrangements.³⁷ It also aims to make women home workers visible and to draw the attention of government agencies, policymakers, and the general public (ICRW, 2000). The group, which was formed immediately after an international workshop coordinated by ICRW in Istanbul, consists of home based working women, and their advocates who are professional women and representatives of women’s NGOs.

For the last three years, the group has held a series of meetings with women home-based workers in several neighborhoods in Istanbul and has organized workshops in Istanbul, Ankara, Mugla, Van and Sivas Provinces. These meetings and workshops provided an opportunity for women home-based workers to get to know each other and to speak about their experiences. The meetings also have shown that there is evidence of solidarity and networks among women home-based workers. Recognition of the need for collective work resulted in the establishment of the first cooperative initiated by home-based workers in Avcilar-Istanbul in 2002. The Mugla group started a mapping study through which contacts have been established between the new workers and the senior workers. They started to sell their products in an open market in Mugla. Some women representatives of regional groups in Turkey went to India to observe the experiences of SEWA and later shared their observations with other women in Turkey (Ev Eksenli Çalışan Kadınlar Grubu, 2001; Ev Eksenli Çalışan Kadınlar Grubu, 2002).

The group also translated a brief note about the ILO Convention on Homework into Turkish so that home-based workers in Turkey would know what the convention is about and hence could take part in the future campaigns for the application of the Convention. The group has prepared two bulletins in Turkish and has written articles which have been published in the Home-Net, the newsletter of the internationally organized group of home-based workers.

The activities of the group in the last two years have not only increased communication and cooperative work among home-based women workers, but also have provided ample evidence pertaining to the prevalence of home-based work in all regions of Turkey. Currently the group is working to strengthen the network among home based workers both nationally and internationally.

³⁷ Types of work done at home by the home-based workers are varied in Turkey: weaving carpets and rugs; producing shoes; garments; T-shirts; doing needlework and embroidery; producing and arranging artificial flowers; bead work; making shoe boxes, brooms; jewels; textiles; knitting; food processing; patchwork making; tailoring; making sheets and pillow-cases; lavender bags; spinning and weaving (HomeNet,1999: 9).

5.71 In order to help families adapt to the intensification of economic hardship in metropolitan life, the number of family members working for paid employment has increased. Research conducted on textile workers by Eraydin (1999: 129) indicated that 87 percent of the families had more than one member working outside of the home.

Social Security Benefits

5.72 Social Security services are provided by three different institutions: the Public Servants Retirement Fund (PSRF), the Social Insurance Institution (SII) and Bag-Kur (Social Insurance for the Self-Employed).

5.73 In Turkey, more than half (54 percent) of all people who work for pay are not covered by any of these institutions. Furthermore, when male and female coverage percentages are compared, it becomes evident that women are in a more disadvantaged position. While less than half (40 percent) of working men are not covered by any one of these programs, the majority of working women (80 percent) do not enjoy the benefits offered by these institutions (TCBKSSGM, 1998: 58).

5.74 Significant discrepancies also exist between men and women in terms of their type of social security coverage. While only 11 percent of working women are covered by SII, 89 percent of working men are protected by this institution. The ratio of working women to men covered by PSRF is little higher (30 percent), since all public servants are required to be included in this system. Moreover, female involvement in Bag-Kur coverage is the lowest, making up only 9 percent of all Bag-Kur recipients (DBKSSGM, 2001: 90).

5.75 The laws of SII and Bag-Kur continue to reinforce the reproduction and perpetuation of the role of men in society as breadwinners and heads of households. According to SII Law, a worker can be responsible not only for his/her immediate family, but also for his/her close kin. The worker's parents, spouse and children can use the services provided by SII as dependents if they are not covered in their own right. While such coverage is essential in a society where women's participation in paid employment is as low as in Turkey, it is also counterproductive, since it helps perpetuate dependence on men.

5.76 Bag-Kur's agricultural pension scheme, on the other hand, primarily covers men, only allowing women to subscribe to the program as "head of household" in the case of male absence. The voluntary pension scheme offered to housewives by Bag-Kur is rarely used, since most housewives do not have the personal income required for premium payments and remain at the mercy of their husbands for money.

5.77 Sixty-three percent of working women in nonagricultural occupations, who are not covered by any of the social security schemes, work in informal sector activities. Thus, working in the informal sector has detrimental effects, not only because of low wages but also because there are no social security benefits and guarantees.

5.78 Social insurance coverage shows extensive variation among geographical regions. In the western regions of Turkey, since a considerable proportion of employment is realized in the organized sectors, overall insurance coverage is over 60 percent. In contrast, in the eastern provinces, where a considerable portion of the population is employed in the informal sector and in small-scale agriculture, this coverage falls to 30 percent (Ministry of Health, 1995: 65).

5.79 Urban poverty is closely related to social security coverage in employment. The information obtained from interviews of 300 households in research conducted on four relatively

poor districts (Mamak, Sincan, Yenimahalle, Altindag) of Ankara indicated that approximately one-third of the heads of households and more than half (57 percent) of working women were not covered by any social security scheme (ODTÜ, 2000: 34).

5.80 As mentioned above, current statistics reveal that the percentages of social security coverage in general, and in terms of sex, geographical region, and type of occupation, are far from being satisfactory. However, insufficient coverage is not the only problem with regard to social security. Other problems exist, particularly with SII and Bag-Kur. Since premiums are paid by workers and employers, social security institutions are experiencing budget deficits, resulting in their financial positions gradually worsening. In the last decade social security institutions were forced to use their equity capital for the payment of pensions to retired employees. The ratio of their financial deficit to the GNP increased from 1 percent in 1994 to 4 percent by 1999. The impossibility of the continuation of such a financial deficit has been established by a study conducted by ILO in coordination with the Undersecretary of Treasury. A social security reform law was drafted in 1999, working towards institutions that are more effective. Unemployment insurance was one of the provisions of this law. In the recent past, a small recovery has been observed in the financial structures of these institutions; the above-mentioned financial deficit of 4 percent was reduced to 2.6 percent in 2000. Improvements in the productivity and the effectiveness of these establishments through institutional restructuring are being planned as the second phase of this reform.

Recommendations

General

5.81 There is a growing body of evidence that increased employment would give women greater autonomy and status, would broaden their life options, and would strengthen their self-esteem, thereby eventually enhancing their influence within and outside of the household. Women's work outside of the home can be a primary avenue of their empowerment. When women have economic independence, they will be able to take firmer stands against their oppression in families. Yet considering the very low labor force participation rates of women in Turkey, one might argue that presently very few women have the chance to improve their status through employment.

5.82 As this report shows, the steady decline in the overall labor force participation rates of women is a phenomenon to which utmost attention must be paid. Although this decline can partly be justified with demographics (e.g.: the high ratio of young female population) and social change (e.g. rural to urban migration), as well as with intra-familial factors (such as women's domestic role and caring responsibilities), there are still other economic reasons that are responsible for women's low rate of labor force participation and women's unemployment. Why is the demand for women's labor too low and what could be done to increase this demand? This is the most important question to be answered and dealt with by the policymakers in the near future. Is industry not developing sufficiently to absorb the supply of women's labor, which has been increasing steadily? Do the characteristics of women's human capital not correspond to the requirements of industry and the services? Which branches of these sectors have the potential to utilize women's labor? The answers to these and similar questions would contribute to the design of policies to create employment for women. Those factors limiting the demand for women's labor should be clearly identified and eliminated by specific measures and policies.

5.83 In that sense, a national plan and policies to promote women's integration into the labor market is necessary. These policies should take into account all possible factors that prevent women from gaining employment and should especially focus on the changes in the economic

policies and mechanisms that inhibit women's participation in the labor market. Action should be taken to address the problems hampering the full participation of women in economic activities. The persistent economic crises and recessions that Turkey has been experiencing in the last two decades have had devastating and ongoing consequences for the country owing to its effects on employment, to the increasing informalization of a great number of activities, and the increasing marginalization of the working population. The current pattern of women's participation is mainly in labor-intensive industrial branches and in lower level and unskilled jobs. The restructuring of the industry sector is leading to the closure of many industries, reducing employment drastically. The privatization of public establishments and the decline in public services creates the same effect. In terms of women's employment, different sectors need different strategies (policies). Women should be supported in order to regain their lost ground in industry, while maintaining and enhancing their position in the services. For this, policies should aim to enhance the participation of women in education with the emphasis on industrial training, technical and business training, and entrepreneurial skills.

5.84 Although gender equality is a goal in itself, it is also a means for social and economic change and development. Gender-aware economic policies that promote gender equality contribute positively to socioeconomic change. These policies are essential and should promote equal access to socioeconomic resources, education and job training for women.

Ensuring Women's Equality through International Conventions

5.85 International conventions and rules provide a comprehensive framework for ensuring women's equal participation in the labor market. The ratification of the relevant ILO Conventions that Turkey has not yet approved (especially those numbered 103, 140, 156, 157 and 168) thus demands urgent attention. Furthermore, adoption of additional legislation to enforce international conventions and the revision of national laws in conformity with these conventions is also necessary.

Elimination of Occupational Segregation and All Forms of Employment Discrimination

5.86 Deficiency in enforcement and implementation, as well as failure to recognize forms of gender discrimination to which women are especially subject, remains an important problem that needs to be solved. Re-designing regulatory mechanisms and legal frameworks is central to the elimination of discrimination on the grounds of gender. There is a great need for enacting and enforcing laws and measures to eliminate discrimination against female employees concerning access to and conditions of employment, training, promotion, maternity leave and social security. More specifically, laws that prohibit employers from discriminating against women, such as an Employment Opportunity Law, a Labor Standards Law and a Child Care and Family Care Law should be enacted. To prevent abusive behavior towards women, anti-harassment policies should be developed and legislation such as a Sexual Harassment Act that would protect women in the workplace should be adopted.

5.87 Existing protective legislation also needs to be re-evaluated. Since female workers are more likely to be violated than male workers, new laws, regulations and special measures are necessary to prevent discrimination against women and to protect their rights in the workplace. However, such laws may also limit women's employment opportunities and might become an obstacle for women's recruitment in non-traditional jobs and for their career development owing to their presumed reproductive roles. Examining the gender related employment effects of these laws and ensuring that such legislation would not cause discrimination against women should be considered an important issue within this context.

Education and Training

5.88 Being equipped with less human capital causes women to accept unfavorable working conditions and pushes them to work in the informal sector. Better access for women to all levels of education should be ensured. The government should enforce school enrollment of girls and should equip women with appropriate education to prepare them for the needs of the economic sector and enable them to cope with the ongoing changes in the labor market. Increased education and training for women in non-traditional areas is also important. Training in vocational and technical skills could help to enhance the employability of women who are unable to obtain jobs due to their weak human capital.

Promoting Equal Opportunity

5.89 The creation of governmental mechanisms is necessary to promote equal treatment and opportunities for men and women. An Equal Treatment and Opportunity Commission (or gender equality council) should be established to put forward measures to promote gender equality in various areas, including work life, and to ensure that neither women nor men are subject to unjust and unequal treatment in the workplace. This commission could also take a leading role in creating affirmative action and equal opportunity policies and programs. More preferably, a new Gender Equality Act could be enacted with the accompanying mechanisms (such as an ombudsman) for the promotion and enforcement of the Act.

Harmonization of Work and Family Responsibilities for Women and Men

5.90 Social protection policies and programs should consider the needs of female employees as an integral element of a well-functioning society. The right of maternal and paternal leave provisions should be socially protected and treated as a fundamental right that should be defended as a responsibility of the entire society. In this respect, the creation of a flexible system of sharing maternity leave for both parents and the adoption of comprehensive policies regarding childcare would improve the relationship between parents' work and home life and family care leave. In this context, enacting family-enabling policies that would include family leave and sick leave for the care of family members would support women greatly who otherwise have great difficulty in reconciling their family and work roles.

5.91 Since having primary responsibility for domestic chores and the care of children reduces women's ability to participate fully in the labor market, policies should encourage employers to help workers to meet their family obligations, among other ways, through the provision of workplace crèches and sponsored daycare programs. In this respect, employers should take into account children of both male and female employees when counting the number of employees with children in order to open up crèches. According to the present Labor Law, an employer must open up a crèche in his/her workplace only if the number of female employees exceeds 300. Setting up public childcare services would also encourage and enable many women to seek paid employment, since private childcare establishments are expensive and deter them from seeking employment outside of the home. In this respect, not only the central government but also local governments can support working couples by setting up day care centers for children.

Social Security Coverage

5.92 Current statistics reveal the fact that the percentages of social security coverage in general, and in terms of sex, geographical region, and type of occupation, are far from being satisfactory. Since the social security system is linked primarily to having a formal-sector job, it fails to reach people working outside this sector, and having atypical jobs. Social insurance

policies that extend coverage to part-time, informal sector and home workers should be enacted. Coverage of workers in the informal sector is particularly important since most unprotected workers, of whom 51 percent are women, work in this sector.

Promoting Research and Improving Statistics

5.93 It is important to promote research and gender analysis with respect to revealing and improving the understanding of economic disparities between men and women in order to enable governments to design fairer and more gender sensitive economic policies. Research is also needed to identify the barriers to economic empowerment that women face. Special research projects should be funded for identifying barriers to education, training and employment.

5.94 Significant underreporting and underestimation of women's economic activities, as well as problems related to gaps in data and to methodological ambiguities are issues to which specific attention should be paid. Inadequate basic female labor force data, the absence of employment data broken down by detailed occupational categories and inadequate unemployment statistics are some of the problems that need to be addressed. The development of sensitive indicators to measure and describe the actual supply of female labor is necessary for an understanding of the structural location of women in the labor market system. Modifications should be made in data collection systems at the level of the census and other surveys. The limitations of the current concepts and methods need to be overcome and action should be taken with regard to the measurement and understanding of the status of women and men in the labor markets.

Promoting Women's Non-Governmental Organizations

5.95 Although women's non-governmental organizations are not considered a part of the national framework for the promotion of gender equality, they nevertheless have put great effort into increasing women's capacity to participate in the labor market. Among these efforts, literacy courses and vocational training courses are worth mentioning. They also support entrepreneurship among women and concern themselves with the problems of women working in unregistered informal sector jobs. Their efforts to empower women should be recognized and they should be given incentives to further promote their activities relating to gender equality in the workplace.

Table 5.1: Changes in the Ratios of Economic Activity by Gender

Years	Ratios of Economic Activity	
	Women	Men
1955	72.02	95.34
1960	65.35	93.60
1965	56.62	91.83
1970	50.25	79.46
1975	47.28	80.87
1980	45.77	79.76
1985	43.61	78.26
1990	42.76	78.22
1995	30.5	77.3
2000	26.0	73.9

Source: 1955-1990 data compiled from Population Censuses (SIS, 1994: 2)
1995-2000 taken from HLFS (SIS, 2001: 8-9)

Table 5.2: Trends in Labor Force Participation by Gender

Years	Women	Men
1991	34.3	80.9
1992	32.7	80.0
1993	25.9	78.2
1994	32.1	78.3
1995	30.5	77.3
1996	29.6	76.9
1997	29.5	76.0
1998	27.5	75.4
1999	31.5	76.2
2000	26.0	73.9

Source: SIS, 2001/II: 8-9)

Table 5.3: Distribution of Employed People According to Economic Sectors

Turkey / Urban / Rural / 1989, 1994, 2000)

Economic Sectors	1989						1994						2000					
	Turkey		Urban		Rural		Turkey		Urban		Rural		Turkey		Urban		Rural	
	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M
Agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing, Industry	77.6	35.2	13.8	3.8	92.8	64.8	73.9	35.1	13.8	3.9	92.6	67.8	59.9	26.9	10.9	2.67	88.9	61.1
Mining	8.3	26.3	31.2	40.6	2.9	12.9	10.5	27.2	31.5	41.0	3.9	12.7	13.9	28.8	28.0	37.2	5.4	16.8
Manufacturing	0.1	1.6	0.3	1.5	0.1	1.6	0.0	1.4	0.1	1.6	0.0	1.1	0.1	0.4	0.2	0.4	0.0	0.4
Electricity, gas and water.	7.9	16.7	29.7	27.7	2.7	6.2	10.0	17.5	29.5	28.3	3.9	6.2	13.2	18.5	26.3	26.6	5.3	6.9
Construction.	0.1	0.4	0.3	0.7	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.7	0.5	0.9	0.0	0.5	0.1	0.5	0.3	0.7	0.0	0.3
Services	0.2	7.6	1.0	10.6	0.0	4.8	0.3	7.6	1.3	10.2	0.0	4.9	0.5	9.4	1.2	9.5	0.1	9.2
Wholesale and retail trade, restaurants and hotels.	14.0	38.5	55.0	55.6	4.3	22.3	15.6	37.7	54.7	55.2	3.5	19.4	25.8	43.9	60.8	59.7	4.6	21.6
Transportation, comm. and storage	2.8	14.7	11.3	23.2	0.7	6.7	3.6	15.0	12.8	23.2	0.7	6.4	6.8	22.0	16.3	30.7	0.9	9.8
Finance, insurance, real estate and business services	0.5	6.2	2.2	8.0	0.2	4.5	0.7	5.5	2.9	7.5	0.1	3.3	0.9	5.7	2.4	7.5	0.1	3.2
Community, social and Personal services	1.6	2.6	7.4	4.2	0.2	1.0	2.1	2.4	7.8	3.8	0.4	1.0	4.1	2.9	9.7	4.5	0.7	0.6
Total	9.1	15.1	34.2	20.3	3.2	10.1	9.2	14.9	31.3	20.7	2.3	8.8	14.0	13.3	32.4	17.0	2.9	8.0
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: SIS/HLFS,1999 April, 16-33
SIS/HLFS, 2001/II, 227, 228, 229

Table 5.4: Distribution of Employed People According to Employment Status (Turkey, Urban, Rural/1989, 1994, 2000)

Employment Status	1989						1994						2000					
	Turkey		Urban		Rural		Turkey		Urban		Rural		Turkey		Urban		Rural	
	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M
Regular Employee	15.2	37.5	66.5	57.3	4.2	19.6	19.1	37.5	64.2	56.6	5.5	16.6	30.5	40.0	68.6	56.2	7.3	17.1
Casual Employee	2.9	7.4	6.8	8.2	2.0	6.6	3.3	8.3	6.4	9.6	2.4	7.0	5.4	13.4	8.7	13.1	3.5	13.7
Employer	0.2	4.7	1.0	8.1	0.0	1.7	0.2	8.1	1.0	12.6	0.0	3.1	0.8	6.6	1.8	9.6	0.2	2.2
Self Employed	7.0	34.3	9.7	21.3	6.5	45.8	10.2	31.4	13.0	16.8	9.3	47.4	12.9	29.5	10.9	17.7	14.1	46.2
Unpaid Family Worker	74.4	15.8	15.7	4.8	87.0	25.7	66.9	14.4	15.2	4.2	82.5	25.6	50.4	10.6	10.1	3.4	74.9	20.7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: SIS/HLFS, April:32, 102,172
SIS/HLFS, April:24, 82, 140
SIS/HLFS, April: 2000/II: 233,234,235

**Table 5.5: Unemployment Ratios for Women and Men
(Turkey/ Urban/ Rural: 1989- 2000)**

Year	Turkey		Urban		Rural	
	Women	Men	Women	<i>Men</i>	Women	Men
1991	6.7	8.2	21.4	10.7	1.7	5.5
1992	7.5	8.8	20.3	10.9	2.6	6.4
1993	8.4	8.5	21.2	10.2	2.8	6.5
1994	7.2	9.3	20.1	11.5	1.7	6.6
1995	6.7	8.2	16.4	9.6	2.4	6.5
1996	5.8	7.2	14.3	8.5	1.9	5.6
1997	6.2	6.3	14.8	8.3	2.1	3.8
1998	7.0	6.9	15.7	9.0	2.3	4.1
1999	7.2	8.2	17.0	11.0	2.2	4.3
2000	6.6	6.6	13.1	7.9	1.9	4.7

Source: SIS/HLFS (2001) p. 9, 11, 13

**Table 5.6: Average Female Wages as Percentages of Male Wages
(According to the Results of 1994 Income Distribution Research)
(Salaried, Waged and Casual Workers in their Usual Job, 12+ age)**

	Public	Private
	Women's Percentage as the Percentage of Men	Women's Percentage as the Percentage of Men
Educational Status		
Illiterate	81.0	40.0
Primary School (dropouts +graduates)	72.0	46.0
General (Secondary + High School Graduates)	69.5	60.0
Vocational (Secondary + High School Graduates)	63.8	76.0
University and Above Graduates	76.3	67.6
Occupation		
Scientific and Technical Workers	85.6	66.0
Administrative, Executive and Managerial Workers	95.6	84.0
Clerical and Related Workers	77.0	65.0
Sales Workers	43.0	58.0
Service Workers	68.0	68.0
Agricultural, Animal Husbandry and Forestry Workers, Fishermen and Hunters	23.0	40.0
Non-Agricultural Production Workers	80.0	51.0
Sector		
Agriculture	39.0	39.0
Mining	85.0	56.6
Manufacturing Industry	71.6	49.0
Electricity, Gas and Water	61.6	--
Construction	91.0	73.0
Wholesale and Retail Trade, Restaurants and Hotels	84.0	74.0
Transportation, Communication and Storage	66.4	-
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate and Business Services	81.0	77.0
Community, Social and Personal Services	82.0	61.0
Size of Establishment		
Less than 2	74.0	61.0
2-4	81.0	66.0
5-9	81.0	46.0
10-19	76.5	64.0
20+	80.0	47.0

Source: Prepared from Table 5.5 of Specialized Commission Report on Women (DPT, 2000)

**Table 5.7: Labor Force Participation by Gender and Educational Status
(Turkey / Urban / Rural / 1989, 1994, 2000)**

EDUC. STATUS	1989						1994						2000					
	Turkey		Urban		Rural		Turkey		Urban		Rural		Turkey		Urban		Rural	
	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	E	K	E
Illiterate	36.1	69.0	7.9	59.2	52.6	73.6	32.0	61.9	6.7	50.9	46.8	67.7	25.8	56.3	6.5	40.7	42.5	57.2
Literate without any diploma	33.2	68.2	9.9	59.7	54.1	74.0	23.9	55.5	8.1	49.7	41.3	60.1	24.1	58.4	9.0	35.1	35.6	55.1
Primary school	37.2	80.4	13.7	75.9	59.9	84.8	32.9	76.3	12.6	71.4	55.1	81.6	25.3	82.7	12.0	67.2	52.9	79.0
Junior high school	18.7	59.4	14.5	57.5	29.1	62.6	15.0	53.7	12.0	52.9	25.5	55.5	16.7	62.2	14.6	53.5	30.3	62.4
Vocational junior high school	28.7	46.7	24.9	48.3	40.6	42.0	13.2	34.9	12.5	35.0	14.8	34.7	12.8	55.6	7.8	25.0	-	54.1
High school	43.5	76.8	39.3	73.7	58.8	84.4	36.2	75.1	33.2	72.8	52.4	82.2	29.4	68.1	29.1	67.9	50.4	80.2
Vocational high school	43.5	84.0	42.6	82.7	47.9	87.2	46.0	80.8	43.4	78.7	69.2	88.5	43.1	78.8	41.2	76.2	66.8	85.3
Universities and other high edu. institutions	81.8	90.0	79.7	87.6	90.8	96.6	80.9	87.9	79.3	87.3	90.8	91.4	71.8	74.7	70.5	83.7	77.7	90.5
Total	36.6	76.0	16.5	71.9	55.6	80.2	31.9	71.2	15.9	67.7	50.4	75.8	27.4	68.3	18.4	64.3	47.6	73.7

Source: SIS/HLFS, 1989/April: 24, 94, 164.
SIS/HLFS, 1994/April: 16, 74, 132.
SIS/HLFS, 1999 April: 40, 98, 156.
SIS/HLFS, 2000/II : 218.219.220

**Table 5.8: Distribution of Employed People by Education Status
(Turkey, Urban, Rural /1989,1994, 2000)**

EDUCATIONAL STATUS	1989						1994						2000					
	Turkey		Urban		Rural		Turkey		Urban		Rural		Turkey		Urban		Rural	
	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	K	E
Illiterate	31.6	9.1	11.5	5.1	37.2	13.0	22.6	5.5	6.5	2.9	28.6	8.5	21.5	4.2	5.6	1.8	31.2	7.6
Literate without any diploma	8.2	9.0	5.2	6.6	9.0	11.3	6.8	5.7	4.5	4.2	7.6	7.4	4.6	3.6	2.3	2.0	6.0	5.9
Primary school	46.1	57.9	37.9	55.9	48.5	59.8	53.4	6.1	39.9	55.2	58.4	68.3	45.4	55.1	30.0	48.4	54.8	64.7
Junior high school	2.7	7.9	6.7	9.7	1.5	6.3	3.1	19.1	7.3	11.4	1.5	6.4	4.2	11.1	7.3	13.2	2.4	9.0
Vocational junior high school	0.4	0.4	1.2	0.6	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.2
High school	5.1	6.2	16.6	8.7	1.9	3.9	6.5	9.3	18.9	12.6	1.9	5.4	8.3	11.0	18.5	14.3	2.0	6.2
Vocational high school	1.7	3.6	6.6	5.0	0.4	2.2	2.0	3.3	6.3	4.6	0.4	1.6	4.7	6.1	10.0	8.1	1.5	3.2
University and other higher edu. institutions	3.8	5.4	13.8	7.9	1.0	3.0	5.0	5.1	15.6	8.2	1.1	1.6	10.9	8.1	26.0	11.7	1.7	3.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: SIS/HLFS, 1989 April: 24, 94, 164; SIS/HLFS, 1994 April: 16, 74, 132; SIS,HLFS, 2000/II:219

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6. WOMEN'S MICROENTERPRISE ACTIVITY

Dilek Cindoglu

6.1 This chapter reviews women's microenterprise activities in Turkey. In the first part, the general trend in women's employment and work is discussed with reference to microenterprises in Turkey. In the second part, the existing literature on entrepreneurship in Turkey and its limitations to explain the current situation are summarized. This is followed by profiles of women entrepreneurs in general, and microenterprise owners in particular. The paper also discusses factors enhancing and limiting women's microenterprise activities and underlines the formal and informal mechanisms that are at work here. Finally, it provides a set of recommendations directed towards the enhancement of women's microeconomic entrepreneurship activities in Turkey with a view to poverty alleviation as well as to women's empowerment.

Women's Employment and Women Entrepreneurs in Turkey

6.2 Small and microenterprise initiatives have been perceived in many countries as remedies for structural changes in the marketplace, in both the developed and the underdeveloped world, and as buffer mechanisms to control poverty and social unrest. In the globalizing world economy, women SMEs are perceived to have a significant role, and governments increasingly see women entrepreneurs as an untapped source of business and job creation (OECD, 2001). Therefore, women's self-employment and entrepreneurship are becoming more important worldwide as a means of gender equality/empowerment and of alleviating the ills of poverty and skewed income distributions in the society. The subject is attracting increasing attention from national and transnational organizations which spend more and more resources on promoting women's entrepreneurship.

6.3 Recent OECD statistics show that about 28 per cent of all entrepreneurs in the member countries are women (OECD, 2001), while the corresponding number is estimated to be only 15 per cent in Turkey (KSSGM, 2001). Turkish women continue to participate in the national workforce largely as unpaid household/agriculture sector workers or wage earners in typically lower paying jobs. This gender gap persists over time. The distribution of employed women and men by status at work did not change in the last decade, and the overwhelming majority of women (67 per cent) work as unpaid family workers, to date (Özar, 2002). Various other studies have shown that women are employed in the labor-intensive sectors of the economy in general, and they are concentrated in low-return, labor-intensive tasks (Esim, 2001).

Table 6.1: Employment Status by Gender in Turkey(Percentages), 1960

Year	Gender	Employee	Employer	Self-Employed	Unpaid family worker
1960	Women	4.9	0.1	6.9	88.1
	Men	30.2	2.1	46.0	21.7
1970	Women	10.2	0.2	6.6	82.9
	Men	38.4	1.0	39.2	21.3
1980	Women	13.9	0.1	4.8	81.3
	Men	44.7	1.5	33.9	19.9
1990	Women	17.7	0.2	7.3	74.8
	Men	50.1	2.0	30.7	17.3

Source: DIE, Census Data, in KSSGM, 2001.

6.4 The statistics indicate that the majority of women (74.8 per cent) worked as unpaid family laborers in 1990 in Turkey. During a span of 30 years, while the percentage of self-employed women remained somewhat stable, the proportion of women employers doubled (11 per cent in 1960 to 23 per cent in 1990). Despite the trends toward more women getting paid for their labor, and more women becoming self-employed or employers, these proportions still compare very unfavorably with men.

6.5 Small and medium industrial enterprises, which play a crucial role in the economic life and social fabric of Turkish society, are typically ridden with problems which include difficulties in accessing institutional credits (the share of SMEs in bank credits is about 4 per cent); inability to make use of state incentives; use of low level technology; inability to keep up with technical and commercial development at home or abroad; shortages of skilled manpower; and inability to keep up with competition in face of the Customs Union (www.kosgeb.gov.tr). In addition to these problems common to all SMEs, there are numerous obstacles to women becoming self-employed or entrepreneurs/employers. These obstacles range from traditional values (to keep women's role confined to the family context) to lack of access to institutional support mechanisms such as technical training, financing, and formal support networks.

6.6 This chapter is an attempt to paint the state-of-affairs regarding women entrepreneurship in Turkey, together with the salient trends in the development of the sector (with special emphasis on microenterprises), the problems women encounter, and recommendations to promote women entrepreneurship in the country. The emphasis is on urban (non-agricultural) sectors, as the Akder chapter is specifically devoted to the rural context.

The Research Base on Women in Turkey

6.7 Regardless of the recent efforts by KSSGM (Kadının Statüsü ve Sorunları Genel Müdürlüğü, the Directorate General on the Status and the Problems of Women) and DIE (Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, the State Institute of Statistics) to compile women's employment statistics, the SME sector is still very hard to deal with. First of all, a portion of these establishments are not registered – either to escape the heavy tax burdens or simply because the scale of the operation is not worth the paperwork. KOSGEB (Küçük ve Orta Ölçekli Sanayi Geliştirme ve Destekleme İdaresi Başkanlığı, Small and Medium Industry Development Organization) is a major source of data and statistics on SME activity in the manufacturing sector; however, gender-specific information is lacking for the most part in KOSGEB publications. The gender-sensitive database on the non-manufacturing sectors is even scantier. This is a major setback for gender studies, since women's entrepreneurship in the non-agricultural sectors tends to be concentrated more in retail and services sectors than in manufacturing.

6.8 There is also another category of work that needs to be taken into account in this context, namely, home-based work. Çinar (1988, 1994) and Türkün-Erendil (2002) discuss the different dimensions of this type of work which may or may not be connected to the larger production processes. Even though it is not possible to consider all home-based work as entrepreneurial activity, this type of work often also shares some features of entrepreneurial activities.

6.9 Home-based work in Turkey is mostly performed by women and children; is similar to women's microenterprises, because, due to its nature, it is also hard to keep account of; may be similar to microenterprise activity, overtaxing for women when accompanied by domestic responsibilities; and has the potential to empower women (Türkün-Erendil, 2002). Also, home-based production may have the potential to turn into independent production and marketing units in the long term.

6.10 TESK (Türkiye Esnaf ve Sanatkarlar Konfederasyonu, the Confederation of Turkish Craftsmen and Tradesmen) statistics show that only 2.3 million tradesmen and craftsmen are registered; yet it is believed that the real number is around 4 million. One TESK report estimates that women make up about 1.8 per cent of all TESK members (www.tesk.org.tr).

6.11 Under these circumstances, it is very hard to conduct systematic research on women's micro and small enterprises. While comprehensive research or an integrated database encompassing all types of women entrepreneurs in Turkey is not available, there are numerous studies revealing, albeit partially, information about Turkish women entrepreneurs. There are several field studies on Turkish women's micro and small enterprise activities. One research study in particular compares women and men as owners of small and microenterprises (DAI, 1995; KSSGM, 2001), for which the author of this chapter worked as one of the consultants. This comprehensive research project is based on 705 interviews in seven provinces around Turkey (Istanbul, Ankara, Gaziantep, Urfa, Çorum, Denizli and Mugla) and its findings are reported in three different publications (DAI, 1995, Esim, 2000, 2001, and Sahin 1997). Ecevit (1993) proposed a theoretical framework and Çelebi (1993, 1994) produced the earliest fieldwork with more limited samples. There is a more recent study (e.g., Ufuk, 2000) conducted on limited samples as well. As there is little standardization in the definitions, samples, statistics/measures, and methodology employed by different studies on women entrepreneurs in Turkey, one must exercise extra caution in bringing the various research findings together to see the larger picture.

Trends in Women Entrepreneurship in Turkey

6.12 The proportion of women entrepreneurs or top-level managers in Turkey is indeed very small (0.06 per cent), and it is only one-tenth of the proportion for men (www.ogu.edu.tr/eskkad.html). Of Turkish women entrepreneurs, a very large proportion own and operate microenterprises, although enterprises owned by women in Turkey span the whole spectrum in terms of the industry invested in the geographical location (rural, urban), and size and assets. Indeed, Turkish women have founded and successfully managed large corporations in almost all industries ranging from international trade to finance, from IT to advertising, from manufacturing to management consulting. In fact, a highly accomplished and influential group of Turkish women entrepreneurs has recently come together in Istanbul to establish the Women Entrepreneurs Association (www.kagider.com). While this chapter emphasizes small and microenterprises, women entrepreneurs who have created large enterprises are still relevant, because they serve as the role models to encourage potential women entrepreneurs and provide support networks for women who have taken the entrepreneurial step.

6.13 In the last three decades, Turkish women entrepreneurs have burst into the economic scene. This is a recent phenomenon. These women and their businesses are very young. Çelebi

(1993) suggests that most of her respondents (91.7 per cent) claimed that they started their business after 1980. As assessed by the DAI study, the economic growth and new economic activity triggered by the economic transformation after 1980 is seen as the source of a jump in women's entrepreneurship as well.

6.14 Economic downturns may be expected to affect women's enterprises disproportionately. While there is no specific study on the effects of economic and financial crises (such as the one experienced in 2001 in Turkey) on women's enterprises, one should expect that financial resources and family support would be withdrawn from women enterprises in times of economic hardship. As traditional family values view women's employment (and definitely women's entrepreneurship) as secondary in importance to men, in times of economic crisis priorities typically go to keeping the savings or supporting the primary breadwinner's activities.

6.15 In the classification scheme used by KOSGEB, Small Enterprises (1- 49 workers) accounted for 98.2 per cent of all manufacturing firms in 1997, while the shares of Medium Enterprises (50-199) and Large Enterprises (200+) were 1.3 per cent and 0.5 per cent, respectively. Moreover, a very high proportion (96.2 per cent) of all Small Enterprises were in fact microenterprises (1-9 workers), with this group comprising 94.4 per cent of firms, 32.4 per cent of employment and only 6.5 per cent of value added in the total manufacturing industry (www.kosgeb.gov.tr). In this sense, "microenterprises" virtually make up the whole of the "small enterprise" sector in the Turkish manufacturing industry. Although KOSGEB statistics do not provide gender specific information on ownership, field studies suggest that only about 2-3 per cent of micro manufacturing firms are owned by women.

6.16 When we look at the gender distribution in all industries, women's enterprises show that some gender role related activities, such as retail, childcare and handicrafts, come to the forefront. In Turkey, women SMEs are first of all in retail shops, second in clothing and accessories production, and third in personal services. The distribution of women SMEs revealed by the DAI study reflects this tendency.

Table 6.2: Distribution of Microenterprises by Gender and Sector (percent), 1995

Sector	Female	Male	Total
Handicrafts	9.6	0.4	6.5
Food Production	4.7	3.8	4.4
Clothing, Accessories	19.4	24.3	21.0
Textiles, Carpets	3.4	2.6	3.1
Restaurants, Hotels	2.3	6.8	3.8
Retail Food Sales	6.2	8.1	6.8
Real Estate	6.6	9.4	7.5
Personal Services	9.2	7.7	8.7
Child Care	4.7	0.4	3.3
Professional Services	3.6	7.2	4.8
Retail Shops	26.7	23.0	25.4
Other	3.6	6.4	4.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: DAI, 1995:18.

Profiles of Women Entrepreneurs and Microenterprise Owners in Turkish Family Roles

6.17 Women entrepreneurs face pre-labor market discrimination in the form of socialization into traditional gender roles and limited public mobility. Women's social identity is first and

foremost defined within the family, and gender role expectations in the family create a limitation for women. Women micro entrepreneurs are overworked in Turkey (DAI, 1995). They work longer hours with household responsibilities including childcare and housework. On the average, when women in their thirties start up a business of their own, usually this is the time when their traditional gender role expectations are overwhelming, particularly with young children to raise. In terms of age, studies agree that the average SME-owner woman is in her mid-thirties, married, with small school-age children. DAI findings suggest that average number of children per household is 2.5. Ufuk and Özgen (2001) have found 1.79 for their Ankara sample. As long as the size of the women's enterprise is small, the family does not consider their work important. On the average, women spend 21 hours on housework and childcare, and 60 hours on their enterprise; whereas men spend 2 hours on housework and childcare and 71 hours on work (DAI 1995: 48).

6.18 Compared to working as an unpaid laborer in the family or as a wage employee, or even being a piece-worker in the home, entrepreneurship is different. Being an entrepreneur, having and independent job set up, including having control over work hours, finances and marketing her goods or services empowers women. This power over her work (though most women entrepreneurs are overworked) makes a woman more powerful over her life decisions as well. This is an empowerment process that is definitely worth supporting: a woman not only generates income for herself and her family, but also gains control over her life decisions.

Education and Training

6.19 The studies on Turkish women enterprises reflect the widely varying profiles of women entrepreneurs also with respect to education. Ertubey (1993), working with a sample in Aegean Turkey, has found women entrepreneurs who are mostly university graduates. Çelebi (1993), on the other hand, describes her sample of women entrepreneurs from three metropolitan areas as mostly high school graduates. Celebi and Sallan's research (1994) in the Mugla province also agree with that description. Ufuk and Ozgen's research (2001) in Ankara also found that a majority of women SME owners are high school and further educated women. But the DAI research (2001) suggests that the majority of women SME owners are primary school graduates, because this study did not concentrate on the urban metropolitan areas. Overall, it is important to note that, in terms of the number of years in school, women entrepreneurs turn out to be more educated than men in the same industry

Capital and Access to Finance

6.20 The majority of women micro-entrepreneurs started their business with no outside financing (Esim, 2000). Rather, women utilized personal resources (58 per cent), spouse (26 per cent) and other relatives (21 per cent) for start up funds. This distribution does not differ much from that for men: the bulk of their start up money also came from similar resources, except that 6 per cent of women and 2 per cent of men used bank credits (DAI, 1995).

6.21 In the DAI study, nearly half of the overall sample had a total asset of US\$5,626 or less. Slightly more than two-thirds of the sample had a total asset of US\$11,364 or less. Male owned businesses were slightly larger than female owned businesses, with the median asset for both male and female owned businesses around US\$6,800. It is no surprise that business scale had a lot to do with the development and income level of the community. In the DAI research findings, the smallest businesses were found in Urfa, and the highest concentrations of large businesses were found in Mugla, Istanbul, Ankara and Çorum. Asset size ranged by the sector, businesses in handicrafts, personal services and clothing sectors had the smallest assets. Restaurants and hotels, childcare facilities and firms offering professional services tended to have the largest.

6.22 Financing the business is the number one problem in all field studies. Women borrow less frequently than men; the amounts they borrow are lower (DAI, 1995). Why women borrow less may have something to do with their lack of content with the formal finance system, and also to the fact that finding collateral is not that easy for women; women do not operate in the old-boy networks of their business and therefore they rely upon either their families or their women friends.

6.23 The biggest constraint faced by women entrepreneurs in qualifying for these credits is lack of collateral. Banks ask for real estate as collateral to secure their credits and many women do not have real estate in their names. Needless to mention, women are generally less educated than men and have little information about the banking system. In addition, very low margins make it very hard for women to pay back and discourages them. It is significant in this respect that the DAI study shows that among women entrepreneurs only 47 per cent of women have bank accounts in their names (DAI, 1995: 68).

6.24 Women also lag well behind men in membership in credit or security cooperatives.

Table 6.3: Membership Rates in Credit and Security Cooperatives by Gender (percent)

Gender	Yes	No
Women	15.8	84.2
Men	29.8	70.2

Source: DAI, 1995:73.

6.25 In order to understand the impact of bank loans on women entrepreneurs, I approached the Halk Bank authorities and received the credit application and approval data as of July 2002. Halk Bank (Türkiye Halk Bankası A.S.), which was established in 1938 to provide financial support to enterprises in the industrial and services sector, is the primary source of institutional credit for the SME sector. In 1993 Halk Bank initiated two specific credit programs geared toward entrepreneurs: (i) the Young Entrepreneurs Program, and (ii) Female Entrepreneurs Program. The data clearly indicated that the number of credit recipients reached its peak in 1997 and dropped very significantly afterwards. The number of Young Entrepreneurs who received credits decreased from 8,811 in 1997 to 1,681 in 2001. The volume of credits given to the Young Entrepreneurs in 2001 dropped to 20 per cent of the corresponding value in 1997. It is worth noting that Young Entrepreneur applicants were mostly men, with women entrepreneurs comprising about 20 per cent of the credit recipients.

6.26 Although this sharp decrease needs to be researched further, it is possible to argue that the financial and economic crises that Turkey is experiencing are not conducive to entrepreneurial activities and the number of applications may have dropped sharply. The second reason for this sharp decrease may be the financial crises that the Turkish banking system has been going through. This could have slowed down the processing of applications as well as reducing the funds available for credits.

Table 6.4: Halk Bank Credits by Program: Numbers to Date and Percentages

Credit Program	Credits outstanding	Credits paid back	Total
Women Entrepreneurs	1,689 (5per cent)	35,196 (95per cent)	36,985 (100per cent)
Young Entrepreneurs	2,907 (7per cent)	40,591 (93per cent)	43,498 (100per cent)

Source: Halk Bank records.

6.27 When the overall numbers were analyzed, it was clear that most of the credits were paid back. Only 5 per cent of “Women” and 7 per cent of “Young” credits are still continuing. Considering that an entrepreneur may receive credit more than once, when we look at the number of entrepreneurs by program again it is clear that 94 per cent of women, and 93 per cent of young entrepreneurs paid the credits back. The results show that women entrepreneurs are just as creditworthy as men: whenever women receive bank loans, they prove to be very reliable borrowers.

Table 6.5: Entrepreneurs Benefiting From Halk Bank Credits: Numbers and Percentages by Program

Credit Program	Credits outstanding	Credits paid back	Total
Women Entrepreneurs	1,378 (6per cent)	21,361 (per cent94)	22 735 (100per cent)
Young Entrepreneurs	1,681 (7per cent)	22,325 (93per cent)	24,006 (100per cent)

Source: Halk Bank records.

Table 6.6: Entrepreneurs and Loans Approved by Program: Numbers and Percentages

Credit Program	Number of entrepreneurs	Total number of loans approved	Number of approved loans per person
Women Entrepreneurs	22,739 (49per cent)	36,985 (45per cent)	1.6
Young Entrepreneurs	1,681 (7per cent)	22,325 (93per cent)	1.8
Total	46,745 (100per cent)	80,483 (100per cent)	1.7

Source: Halk Bank records.

6.28 Women are the most reliable debtors throughout the world and in Turkey. But they cannot reach the available funds easily. This fact clearly shows us that when modern, gender-neutral resources are available women adapt themselves to these new banking procedures more quickly than men. It is clear that any possible funding for women entrepreneurs will be welcomed among women.

Formal Mechanisms to Support Women Entrepreneurship in Turkey

6.29 A host of personality traits (such as creativity and risk taking) as well as the person’s background (including education and relevant work experience) are regarded as the antecedent factors in entrepreneurship. Women are clearly disadvantaged in both respects. Women are less educated than men in Turkish society: significant literacy and enrollment gaps still exist. This gap is greater in poorer communities. Women need adult education or training programs that will equip them to meet the market needs. Most women in the poorer segments of the society are confined to a small world defined by their family or community, and they have no opportunity to observe and get involved in non-household economic activity. Women deprived of information about the larger world cannot imagine the products or services demanded or the new technologies that present opportunities in the marketplaces – local, national or international.

6.30 The self-image of women reinforced by traditional socialization which is prevalent especially in the poorer sections of the society is in clear conflict with the optimistic, non-conformist, self-reliant, and risk-taking personality traits that are thought to promote entrepreneurship. It is in this context that the activities of such national and international organizations as the Women Entrepreneurs Association and UNECE (UN Economic Commission

for Europe) (to the extent that they can relay appropriate and relevant messages to all segments of the society with the help of the mass media organizations) an important in challenging these traditional values and providing women with self-confidence and much needed role models.

6.31 A number of NGOs and government organizations working with the stakeholders aim to help the poor and disadvantaged. ÇATOM (Çok-Amaçlı Toplum Merkezleri, Multi-Purpose Community Centers), with 23 operation bases distributed throughout the GAP (Güney Anadolu Projesi, Southeastern Anatolian Project) region, has made an impact on the lives of women in the area. The available training services are not adequate or fit for the needs of the market. People's Education Centers of the Ministry of Education, The Turkish Employment Agency, local municipalities and the Association to Support Modern Life are the main actors in the field of training courses for adult women. However, training remains segregated by sex, which in turn is a great contributor to occupational segregation. The training services continue to direct women into traditional occupations with limited career prospects. Most of these skills are outdated for the existing textile market demand in Turkey. Women lack access to adequate education to make their production profitable. Therefore, there is a definite need for guidance in this respect; computer technologies and e-trade are new avenues for women SMEs to explore. The recent European Union/TESK Project: "Supporting Women Entrepreneurs" aims primarily to provide education/training to women entrepreneurs (www.tesk.org.tr). This project is significant in that TESK has been a male-dominated organization, and as the largest umbrella organization in the country for the self-employed it can reach large numbers of existing and potential women entrepreneurs if it adopts the mandate and mobilizes the necessary resources. TESK, working in collaboration with such institutions as KASAUM (A.Ü. Kadın Sorunlarını Arastırma ve Uygulama Merkezi, the Ankara University Women's Studies Center), is becoming more interested in providing training and consulting support to women entrepreneurs.

6.32 KOSGEB is undoubtedly an important player in supporting SMEs in the manufacturing sector. Girmeciliği Gelistirme Enstitüsü (the Institute to Promote Entrepreneurship) of KOSGEB recognizes women entrepreneurs as one of its target constituents to benefit from its training (in motivation and business ideas, preparation and presentation of business plans) as well as its consultancy and financing programs.

6.33 The typical factors that *trigger* potential entrepreneurs into action are a loss of job or adequate income in the family, a change in personal life conditions that make extra time and energy available for a new enterprise, an offer from friends or colleagues to form a partnership, and a new product or market idea typically observed while working as a wage employee. For most micro-enterprising women the triggering factor may be increased economic hardship in the family, while women professionals working as managers in the larger corporations can seize opportunities to found their own companies. The pool of successful women entrepreneurs as founders/owners of micro, small and medium enterprises in the metropolitan areas is fed by the increasing number of well-educated professional women working in all industries, traditional and newly emerging.

6.34 Two factors stand out as obstacles facing potential women (and men) entrepreneurs intending to start an enterprise in order to seize a perceived opportunity. In order to *enable* potential women entrepreneurs, two types of support seem most relevant: facilitating the formal process to establish a company, and increasing the access to institutional credits. The paperwork for the registration and application for credit creates a great hurdle for would-be women micro-entrepreneurs. The enormous amount of paperwork required to establish a company and to apply for institutional funding discourages women particularly in an environment where there are very few NGOs that can provide some help. There are very few organizations that are providing some

sort of support for women. Among these are 3B (Bilgi Basvuru Bankasi, Information Application Bank) of KSSGM, the Çorum Women's Cooperative, and the Kadikoy-Ortakoy and Beyoglu Market women's organizations. ÇATOMs in the South Eastern Anatolian Project also support women who plan to start their businesses and set up workshops for production. Moreover, training courses, called "Start Your Business" (SYB), were held in Adiyaman and Kilis. with financial support from the ILO.

6.35 It is very important that technical training is complemented by information on the bureaucratic routes one needs to take when establishing and running a microenterprise, as provided in these efforts, albeit in limited numbers and localities.

6.36 OECD countries are attempting to increase women entrepreneurs' participation in the global economy and international trade. The emergence as well as the survival strategies of other countries need to be shared. The successful countries in supporting women entrepreneurs are the ones to provide a conducive environment, with tax cuts, educational programs and special training for women. One of the issues is to promote the utilization of new technologies, particularly computer technologies, by women entrepreneurs to foster communication and to overcome gender bias, which may occur in face-to-face interactions (OECD, 2001).

Recommendations to Support Turkish Women Entrepreneur

6.37 There is definitely a lack of research in the matter. In order to understand the existing situation and the needs of women's microenterprise activities, in-depth research is obligatory. Most research is focused on urban exports, whereas rural women's SMEs need to be researched as well. Based on the existing literature, the following recommendations are suggested.

6.38 There is a clear need for reevaluation of the existing training programs from the gender point of view. Training programs need to be designed to reverse the current segregation in the formal and informal labor markets in order to integrate the products and services that women SMEs have produced into the global market.

6.39 Institutional support is also imperative; TESK provides a large shelter for male SMEs in Anatolia. Membership in TESK takes away the burden of heavy bureaucracy and provides institutional collateral in applying for credit, which is something that women lack. In an environment where women desperately need guidance, education and credit support to start and to continue their businesses, membership in TESK is very important.

6.40 Traditional gender role responsibilities are a hurdle facing women who are pursuing their own businesses. Childcare in particular takes up women's time and energy and limits their mobility. Both egalitarian gender role promotion and affordable, accessible kindergartens and daycare services in neighborhoods where women SMEs are concentrated are necessary.

6.41 As has been discussed earlier, SME women are in the retail, textile, and personal services sectors. Most of their production has a limited demand. They operate mostly within their own neighborhoods. Unless they produce for a larger market in Turkey or for the global economy, they cannot grow and prosper. Women SMEs in the developing and developed worlds are networking. Through these networks they are sharing their experiences and are doing business together. It is imperative that computer communication and marketing technologies become available for women SMEs in Turkey to enable them to communicate and to do business globally.

6.42 In conclusion, women's small and microenterprises need to be supported in different areas. There is a great need for developing gender sensitive educational and financial services

geared towards women. It is very clear that goods and services produced for tourism or for export are more profitable than the goods and services produced for local markets. At this point, either NGOs or state agencies need to play a crucial role in providing this guidance, because entrepreneurial women make reliable creditors, generate income for themselves and their families, create job opportunities for other women, became role models within their communities, and become empowered over their life decisions.

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7. RURAL WOMEN AND POVERTY

A. Halis Akder

7.1 This chapter is an attempt to review ongoing policy initiatives and academic studies on rural women in Turkey. The main focus of the chapter is, however, on gender disparities that result in poverty and vulnerability.

Rural Employment in 2000: Male-Female Differences

7.2 According to the estimates of the State Institute of Statistics (SIS) the Household Survey results show the total population in Turkey in 2000 as 64,059,000. Settlements with a population of 20,000 or less are defined as rural. 25, 008,000 (39 percent) live in rural areas. Half of the rural population (12,556,060) is female.

7.3 The population aged 15 years and over is estimated in rural areas as 16,713,000, 51 percent of which (8,713,000) is female. The male and female shares in the working population are almost equal, yet labor force participation rates differ significantly. The ratio of working age population (15 years and over) to the non-institutional civilian population³⁸ is estimated as 77 percent for rural-male and 38.6 percent for rural-female.

Table 7.1: Rural Labor Force Participation Rate (percent)

Year	Female	Male
1991	54.8	85.9
1992	52.1	83.0
1993	40.2	82.1
1994	52.0	82.7
1995	49.1	82.0
1996	48.3	82.2
1997	48.8	82.3
1998	44.3	81.6
1999	52.4	81.8
2000	38.6	77.0

Source: (SIS), 1991-1999 April.

7.4 Table 7.1 indicates two trends. Rural labor force participation is declining for both men and women and the gap between men and women remains. This gap is identified statistically as “population not in the labor force”. There are 1,929,000 males and 5,346,000 females (15 years of age and over) in this category. All government, international and non-governmental institutions in Turkey have in the past directed some of their efforts to increasing the labor force participation of rural women. The low and decreasing participation rate of the labor force is an important

³⁸ Comprises all the population excluding aliens, the residents of schools, dormitories, kindergartens, and rest homes for elderly persons, special hospitals, military barracks and recreation quarters for officers.

indicator of the gender disparity that results in poverty and vulnerability. A satisfactory answer to explain the declining trend in the rural female participation rate is still absent. This not an easy task if one considers the great variations among regions (provinces) and age groups. The increased mean years of schooling, the slowing down of rural-male migration, changes in cropping patterns, together with decreasing labor intensity might be possible hypotheses, yet the available statistics on population not in the labor force offer only very limited information (explanations) in this regard (Table 7.2). There are actually three recent studies which deal with female labor force participation, however, their focus is not on rural women (Tansel, 2001; Ecevit, 2000; Dayioglu, 2000).³⁹ The forthcoming “population census 2001” might be a more promising source of information as it will provide data at the province level.

Table 7.2: Persons Not in the Labor Force by Age Group, Sex and Reason, 2000 (rural-female) ('000)

Female	Population Not In labor Force	Sought a job, but not using any active method	Discouraged	other	Seasonal worker	House-wife	Student	retired	Having Property Incomes	Disabled, Old or ill	Family Or personal reasons	other
total	5346	38	1 2	66	280	3699	195	27	191	668	166	5
15-19	866	12	4	24	35	503	184			7	97	1
20-24	681	17	5	12	40	547	10		3	10	36	1
25-29	505	5	2	4	45	425			3	8	12	
30-34	476	2	1	3	14	428			15	4	8	
35-39	424	1		6	23	367			12	10	4	
40-44	354			1	28	301		4	12	7	1	
45-49	313			4	23	265		5	10	5	1	
50-54	305			2	22	240		3	20	14	1	2
55-59	303			5	19	238		4	20	13	3	
60-64	314			1	14	166		2	24	104	1	
65+	806			4	17	219		8	72	485		

Source: SIS (2001) Household Labor Force Survey Results 2000.

7.5 The Household Survey 2000 groups “persons not in the labor force” into several categories. These are neither unemployed nor employed and they are 15 years of age and over. 69 percent of these persons have declared themselves as “housewives” and not available for work because of household duties. If the housewife category may be subdivided (cross tabulated) into further characteristics, more explanatory information may be extracted. If one considers that the majority of employed rural women are also housewives, the preference for not being available for work is poorly explained.⁴⁰ The next largest group is “disabled, old or ill” (12 percent). “Seasonal workers” make up 5 percent. These are persons who are not seeking a job or who are not available for work because of being seasonal workers.⁴¹

³⁹ The academic interest is more on (migrant) rural women in the urban setting. Participation rates there are even smaller and are declining. From the poverty analysis point of view, see Lazreg , 1999.

⁴⁰ This might even be a cultural bias of some experts who prepared the questionnaires. Ideally housewives stay at home and those in need (unwillingly) have to work.

⁴¹ Seasonal workers have not been considered within the labor force, probably for international comparability of employment and unemployment rates.

The Role of Rural Women in Agriculture: Gender Division of Labor

7.6 The focus of the previous part was on gender disparities that might result in poverty and vulnerability because of non-participation in work. This section looks at the employed rural women and describes critically the type of division of labor that might also contribute to poverty and vulnerability.

7.7 Rural women's employment is, as one may expect, concentrated in agriculture. Of these women, 90 percent are working in agriculture and 77 percent (of 90 percent) are working as "unpaid family workers. Thirty-one percent (of 77 percent) are illiterate. A recent study assesses "women's role in agriculture" in the Near East, including Turkey (Kasnakoglu, 2001) and a former World Bank study provides support for these generalizations (World Bank, 1993).

- *"Women are more heavily involved in livestock production activities than crop production activities."*

Women take care of poultry, sheep, goats and cattle in homesteads. Milking is always women's work: so is the cleaning of the stalls and animals. Women are also responsible for the care of young stock and pregnant and lactating female animals. Women exclusively carry out small-scale poultry production. In market-oriented, higher technology farms, men assume responsibility with women. Women are hired to fill the feeders and for watering. Sericulture is women's specialty. Men's involvement is limited. Men help women collect and shred the mulberry leaves during the peak period. Following three to four months of drying, women do the reeling, twisting and dyeing. Marketing is the men's job, although in some locations (Bursa) income still belongs to the women. Women's involvement in apiculture is usually limited. However, more and more women show interest in this activity.

- *Women are more involved in the middle phases (weeding, hoeing) of crop production than in the early (land preparation) and latter stages (marketing).*
Men handle mechanized operations such as soil preparation, drilling and spraying chemicals and fertilizer for sugar beet. Transportation and marketing are also men's responsibility. Women do the manual operations such as weeding and hoeing. The uprooted crop is collected and prepared for marketing by women as well.

Tobacco is produced primarily on small farms. Men prepare the soil and women plant, weed and hoe. The family works together, with all its members, for harvesting. Men carry the leaves to the village. Women string and prepare them for drying. Men in turn perform the processing and marketing activities, drying and bailing.

In the Mediterranean and Aegean Regions, corn production is not completely mechanized. Women do only the (remaining) manual work (hoeing and weeding). In mountainous regions mechanization is not suitable. Here, women handle all operations, including management, soil preparation and seeding.

Women's involvement in marketing is considered in many regions as improper. However, in the central and western parts of Turkey women are involved locally in small-scale marketing of vegetables and fruits. Livestock and milk-product marketing has a more marked gender division of labor. Men market animals and meat. Women sell poultry products and processed milk products (cheese, butter and milk) in small

quantities. Market-oriented large holdings, which market similar products are managed by men.

- *Women are more involved in vegetable, tuber and fruit (special crops) production than cereal production.*

Women's contributions are limited in large-scale, mechanized cereal production. In topographies where mechanized harvesting is not feasible, women and men use sickles for this operation, especially in Eastern Anatolia, the Eastern Black Sea regions and parts of the Eastern Anatolian Plateau (Yozgat, Çankiri, Çorum, and Tokat).

Men carry out, in modern orchards, most of the operations. Yet for harvesting, sorting and packing, women are preferred. Women are employed in packinghouses in large numbers. Only women process (dry) apricots in Eastern Anatolia (Malatya and Elazığ). In small-scale fruit production, women are involved in all operations, including the marketing of the surplus production. Planting is generally shared in the Mediterranean region but women carry out harvesting and picking.

Women's involvement in potato production is very high. Men using tractors prepare the soil, apply chemicals and, during harvesting, uproot the crop by tractor drawn equipment. The rest of the operations, such as preparation of the seed, planting, hoeing and harvesting, are done by women.

Tea is produced in Turkey only on the Eastern Black Sea coasts. Women perform all operations except processing and marketing. Women make the essential contribution to tea production.

Poppies are produced on small farms in the western transitional zone from the Aegean Region to Central Anatolia. Women perform almost all of the tasks. They thin the crop and harvest the capsules. Men do the seedbed preparation, seeding and beating of the capsules.

- *Women perform the more labor-intensive tasks and men the more mechanized tasks. Mechanization in agriculture has a negative impact on women's involvement in agricultural production.*

Women's workload in rice cultivation varies considerably by region. Where operations are mechanized, for example in Thrace, women's contribution is negligible; elsewhere they provide most of the labor.

The major production area for sunflower is in the northwest (Thrace and Marmara) of Turkey. Rapid mechanization here has ended women's involvement. In Eastern Anatolia where mechanization is limited women's contribution is high. Women do the hoeing, weeding and harvesting.

- *Women's production activities intensify in production for household consumption. Women perform the processing of crop and livestock production for household consumption.*

Food is processed in rural Turkey usually at home, primarily for domestic consumption but also for the market. The economic contribution of women by processing food at home is considerable.

Women play a large role in producing vegetables. Home gardens are often tended almost exclusively by women and claim considerable labor.

- *Women's working location is closer to home than that of men.*

Women are responsible for feeding, and grazing the animals near the house and close to the village. Children also assist with animals. Yet grazing in rangelands and meadows away from the village (2-3 km away) is men's responsibility.

- *Women's involvement in agriculture is greater in the summer months, when the harvest takes place and when men's off-farm employment opportunities are at the peak.*

In small fields, pulses (lentil and chickpea) production claims precious labor-intensive time. In Central Anatolia, weeding and harvesting is performed by hand and almost exclusively by women. Market-oriented holdings (in Yozgat, Çankiri, Çorum) with crop rotation under rain-fed conditions employ(s) also migrant-seasonal female labor from the southeast (Adiyaman). In cases of labor shortage, men are also involved. Hand harvested crops are carried to the village and threshed by women and men in common areas. In southeastern Anatolia where pulse production is large-scale cash cropping, women's contribution is not that intense.

- *Women in the rural areas work (at peak seasons) longer hours than men and have inferior working conditions.*

Women, usually together with children, undertake the major share of (nonmechanical) sowing, weeding, hoeing and harvesting. Their contribution increases in peak seasons: women tend to work longer hours than men.

Cotton requires seasonal-migrant wage-workers in Çukurova and the Aegean Region for hoeing in spring and for harvesting (hand-picked) in autumn. Half of these seasonal workers are women. The majority come from the southeast (Urfa).

Women's participation in commercial production (i.e., in large plots and greenhouses) is also increasing. This is also the case in cut flower and ornamental plant production. Around the Mediterranean (mainly Antalya) and South Marmara (Yalova) regions, production is export-market-oriented and is managed by large companies. These companies employ women to carry out almost all tasks, except spraying.

- *There are tasks that are performed only by men.*

The division of labor varies considerably from region to crop and there are some tasks performed only by men such as pruning, grafting and chemical spraying. The demand for these skilled activities in peak periods is met by employing outsiders even if there is an available female labor supply in the family.

Viticulture operations such as pruning are highly specialized. Men perform such activities. Hoeing is a shared activity. Women harvest almost alone.

Planting and pruning of hazelnut is men's work. Harvesting has to be completed in a short period of time. Men and migrant-seasonal workers are also demanded.

- *If men are absent women take over their activities. Men are reluctant to do the same.*

7.8 A detailed account of agricultural activities by gender in forest villages (Çakmak, 1994) is also available (Table 7.3). This study is also rich in “time use patterns” analysis of rural women. The forest villages are subsistence economies. Therefore, the study has additional appeal from the “poverty” analysis point of view.

Table 7.3: Agricultural Activities by Gender in Selected Forest Villages

Activity	Uzundere (Erzurum)	Vezirköprü (Samsun)	Duragan (Sinop)
Field clearing	M/F	M	M/F
Field (soil) preparation	M	M/F	M/F
Sowing	M	M	M/F
Fertilizer application	M	M	M/F
Irrigation	M/F ^{1/}	F	M/F
Hoeing	F	F	F
Bird repelling	M	M	M
Spraying	M	M/F	M
Harvesting	F	M/F	M/F ^{2/}
Threshing	M/F	M/F	
Transportation	M	F	M/F
Marketing	M/F ^{3/}	M/F	M/F
Processing	F	F	F
Storage	F	F	F
Labor (man/day)			
Male	25-30	30-60	60-90
Female	65-80	80-120	75-120

^{1/} It is women’s activity, yet men would help if required.

^{2/} The villages of District Duragan are not uniform in this respect. In some villages it is women’s duty and in some both men and women contribute.

^{3/} It is actually men’s responsibility but women participate.

Source: Çakmak (1994)

Inequality in Women’s Access to Land

7.9 A World Bank study (Saito and Spurning, 1992) lists the socioeconomic and political constraints, which either limit the “labor force participation” of women or puts the woman farmer in a disadvantaged position as described above⁴². These are: (i) limited access to land, (ii) lack of technology suitable for women workers, (iii) poor access to extension services, (iv) limited intra-household transfer of agricultural knowledge, (v) women’s limited access to financial services (vi) lack of mobility and time, (vii) lack of education, (viii) lack of incentives and (ix) limited role in decision making at different levels. These constraints are mentioned in various studies on Turkey (Kasnakoglu, 2000). Among these constraints, “land ownership” plays a strategic role.

7.10 In Turkey, as in many developing countries, there are no data on how land ownership varies by gender. The main source of information on landownership in Turkey is “Agricultural Census 1991”. Here size distribution of farms is presented for Turkey in general, for the agricultural regions and for each province.

⁴² See also (Kasnakoglu, 2001)

Table 7.4: Size Distribution of Agricultural Holdings in Turkey 1991

	No. of holdings	(percent)	Area (decar) ^{1/}	(percent)
Less than 5	251,686	6.34	662,703	0.29
5 - 9	381,287	9.61	2,495,34	1.07
10 - 19	752,156	18.96	9,975,59	4.30
20 - 49	1,274,60	32.13	38,328,3	16.51
50 - 99	713,149	17.98	46,294,2	19.94
100 - 199	383,323	9.66	48,904,2	21.06
200 - 499	173,774	4.38	46,097,2	19.85
500 - 999	24,201	0.61	14,670,0	6.32
1000 - 2499	10,266	0.26	13,534,5	5.83
2500 - 4999	1,930	0.05	6,538,08	2.82
5000 +	441	0.01	4,721,86	2.03
TOTAL	3,966,82	100.00	231,841,	100.00

1/ Area is corrected for "non-agricultural land.

Source: SIS.

7.11 The new agricultural census (2001) will not provide data on landownership by gender. Yet some information might be extracted from the "raw" data (not from the prospective publication) on the landownership of households that have women as head of household. These households might be around 9.1 percent of Turkey's rural households (Kasnakoglu, 2001).⁴³

7.12 Hard statistics are not available, but it is not unrealistic to assume that only a few women own arable land. The law permits inheritance ownership and the buying and selling of land by women. Those women who might hold land titles seldom exercise their rights. They usually give up on equal terms with men their rights to male members, brothers, fathers, sons and husbands as part of traditional practice.⁴⁴ Without landownership, women lack collateral and are therefore denied access to credit and many other opportunities, such as new agricultural machinery (capital) and additional land.

⁴³ The registrations provided for direct income support are also important sources of information for landownership by gender. The data must be available at district level. However, these have not been processed.

In the coming years some information might be extracted from this registrations, too.

⁴⁴ Women might prefer under traditional circumstances to give up their inherited land to their brothers or fathers, who in return, might offer protection from their husbands and husband's family in times of conflict.

7.13 Some quantitative results are presented in a recent study (Aziz et al., 2000). These findings may not be generalized to Turkey. They are limited to observations of the project⁴⁵ but they are interesting. Out of 207 participant families, 91 families have irrigated land and all “irrigated land” was registered to family elders or to husbands. The picture changes slightly for rain-fed land. Here 9.1 percent of total respondents (109), rural women own land. However, all are smaller than or equal to 10 dönüm⁴⁶. It is possible to hypothesize that land ownership by women is scarce and decreases with increasing size. Similarly, 7.1 percent of women had their own vineyards and these were also less than 10 dönüm⁴⁷. The study asks for caution in interpreting these results, as many respondents were quite young and the willingness to answer these questions was not strong at all.

Rural Development Projects

7.14 Several rural development projects of varying scope and size have been implemented in Turkey. These are aimed at a “planned” approach. The majority of them aimed at reducing regional disparities and look at rural women from a “modernization” point of view. These projects are grouped into three in a recent study with respect to their funding (implementing agencies): (i) projects funded by the government; (ii) projects funded by International Organizations, and (iii) Projects funded by NGO’s (Aziz et al., 2000).

7.15 Government funded projects are carried out by the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs (MARA), the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Industry and Trade, and the Ministries of State responsible for (public) Credit Institutions.

7.16 The newly established “Department for Women in Rural Development” of MARA has delivered training and extension services since 1998.⁴⁸ There is a new attempt to transfer agricultural information to rural women, although “home economics” remains as the main activity. The purpose of the home economics program is to increase the living standards of rural families. This is achieved by transferring new information and techniques to rural women and by improving their skills. There were three (Ankara, Trabzon, Siirt) home economics vocational high schools under MARA. These schools will be closed in 2002 and this will limit the supply of home economists in future.⁴⁹

7.17 The new department provides extension services (other than home economics) since 1998 to 19 provinces.⁵⁰ These activities include: viticulture, animal husbandry, vegetable production in the field and under cover, milk cow husbandry, sericulture, apiculture, fruit gardening, tobacco cultivation, poultry, milk and milk products, turkey cultivation, mushroom cultivation, and kiwi production. These activities are quantified in Table 7.5.

⁴⁵ İkinci Tarımsal Yayım ve Uygulamalı Atastırma Projesi (Second Agricultural Extension and Applied Research Project).

⁴⁶ One dönüm is thousand square meter.

⁴⁷ There were 68 vine-yard owners in total.

⁴⁸ “Kırsal Kalkınmada Kadın Dairesi Başkanlığı”.

⁴⁹ In 2002 these schools will be closed. The bureaucrats in the Head Office are therefore worried about the future of the home economics program.

⁵⁰ Tokat, Nevşehir, İçel, Amasya, Nigde, Adana, Osmaniye, Sivas, Kayseri, Antalya, Adiyaman, Yozgat, K.Maras, Erzincan, Siirt, Malatya, Gaziantep, Kirsehir, Hatay.

Table 7.5: Extension Activities of the Department for Women in Development

Year	Demonstration No of Women Farmers	On farm Experiments		Farmers Meetings		Short and long term farmer Training		Exhibition and Prize Competition		Field Day	
		No of Activities	No of Women Farmers	No of meetings	No of Women Farmers	No of Training Prog.	No of Women Farmers	No of Compt.	No of Women Farmers	No of Field Days	No of Women Farmers
1998	4194	7	1	1280	16939	773	7903	3	91	105	1597
1999	3451	2	37	909	10204	354	3936	8	570	65	1574
2000	2512	-	-	1108	11999	469	4296	5	309	36	19015
2001	1883	2	1	960	12001	347	4591	6	2392	77	1623

Source: Department for Women in Development, MARA.

7.18 Home economics training programs were given in the year 2001 under four main headings: home resource management, child care and education, nutrition and village handicrafts. These are quantified in the next table.

Table 7.6: Home Economics Activities of the Department for Women in Development

Year	No. of training programs	No. of participant women
1998	6.403	79.860
1999	6.417	88.650
2000	6.136	72.246
2001	7.141	72.980
Total	26.097	313.736

Source: Department for Women in Development, MARA.

7.19 In addition to home economics, the new department has emphasized “food preservation technique” programs since 1998 in 22,253 sessions. The number of rural women who benefited from these sessions increased to 263,062 in 2001. This was a joint project with UNICEF.

7.20 MARA has ongoing “rural development projects.” The Ordu-Giresun Rural Development Project was started in 1997 and will close in 2004. This project has a participatory approach: 1,950 women farmers had been trained in this program up to the end of 2001.

7.21 MARA also offers in a different department, “handicraft training.” The program is practically concentrated on “carpet weaving”. It is not specific to women but the vast majority of the participants are women or young girls. Carpet weaving is actually a controversial issue among academicians. These training programs put the rural women back into the house for income generation (Berik, 1987). Independent of the criticism, the program suffers from competition and organizational changes. Table 7.7 provides a detailed list of graduates (also activities other than carpet weaving) for about 36 years (1965-2001).

7.22 The activities of the Ministry for Industry and Trade do not target the improvement of rural women. The Agricultural Bank and the Halk-Bank, before the economic crises were offering credit to the farmers. However, they no longer offer subsidized credits. The reorganization of rural credits in the year 2002 is an open question.

Table 7.7: Number of Graduates of Handicraft Training Programs

Year	Isparta	Sivas	Mus	Elazig	Silifke	Kars	Bilecik	Kastamonu	Düzce	Istanbul Tuzla	D.Bakir	Total	
1964		F	F	F/M	F		M	F/M	M				
1965										345		345	
1966										278		278	
1967		34					43			154		231	
1968		34					16			103		153	
1969		47	98				35			98		278	
1970	69	40	92				66			closed		267	
1971	52	55	40	46			31					224	
1972	72	37	149	50			46					354	
1973	46	81	76	50			98				60	411	
1974	67	71	73	50			84				70	415	
1975	58	79	83	49			96				43	408	
1976	40	58	38	50			90				-	276	
1977	41	62	105	50			99	21	50		71	499	
1978	80	50	82	50			83	26	33		21	425	
1979	26	49	73	41			99	10	28		closed	326	
1980	18	50	71	49			77	35	44			344	
1981	14	26	58	40			78	26	46			288	
1982	100	76	92	51		44	102	55	59			579	
1983	112	77	106	49		45	102	51	57			599	
1984	99	55	104	49	50	45	100	51	54			607	
1985	114	80	93	50	50	76	101	49	51			664	
1986	121	77	97	43	85	21	101	50	44			639	
1987	124	82	99	23	44	120	99	45	46			682	
1988	125	69	86	40	50	120	99	48	44			681	
1989	103	56	92	24	52	51	100	46	65			589	
1990	93	53	95	42	88	68	100	49	71			659	
1991	104	65	93	38	49	94	100	38	76			657	
1992	79	60	79	38	50	57	99	37	67	13		579	
1993	112	50	80	26	51	40	95	30	66	55		605	
1994	98	53	87	30	60	54	100	31	75	98		686	
1995	closed	45	86	26	61	closed	91	32	62	98		501	
1996		60	86	22	66		64	38	56	89		481	
1997		74	75	23	63		84	27	67	92		505	
1998		69	81	43	42		53	19	58	82		447	
1999		32	70	38	42		55	34	73	83		427	
2000		31	80	34	27	44	52	39	90	56		443	
2001		94	81	35	25	81	55	65	24	78	101	584	
Total	1967	2031	2800	1291	1028	835	2803	911	1460	767	978	265	17.136

Source: MARA.

7.23 Several rural development projects of varying scope and size have been implemented since the 1970s. Among them, the South Eastern Anatolian Project (GAP) is the largest. However, there are also projects funded by International Organizations such as the World Bank, FAO, UNICEF and IFAD. Çorum-Çankiri (1976-82), Erzurum (1982-1989), Bingöl-Mus (1989) and Yozgat (1990-91) were the major rural development projects. The implementing agency for these projects was always MARA. These projects targeted the improvement of infrastructure, the modernization of agriculture, and income generation. There has always been a woman component in these projects but it was limited to home economics, carpet weaving and handicraft training.

The “Yozgat” project, with its participatory approach was a considerable improvement in this respect (Ertürk, 1990). However, the first rural development project to specifically consider “women farmers” is the TUYAP II Project.⁵¹ This project was started in the Nevsehir, Tokat and İçel provinces during 1994. Women farmers have been trained in this project, in selected villages, in fruit gardening, vegetable production in the field, viticulture, vegetable production under cover, and milk cow husbandry. The achievements of this program were also of limited success because of missing complementary training materials, such as video films. The limited access of trainers to the villages in spite of vehicle purchases was another constraint. The limitations of “home economists” as trainers in agricultural activities was another bottleneck. Still, there was an improvement in one important respect. Women farmers have applied what they have learned in the training programs.

7.24 NGO activities concerning rural women are quite limited. The most important NGO is Türkiye Kalkınma Vakfı (TKV). TKV also cooperates also closely with the GAP Administration. The so-called “ÇATOM’s⁵²” benefit to a certain extent from this cooperation.

Criticism of Rural Development Projects

7.25 Politicians, bureaucrats and intellectuals in Turkey usually associate rural activity (agriculture) with the traditional type of economy from which they want Turkey to graduate. Given the apparent disparities between urban and rural settings (East and West /traditional and modern), any economic development initiative that would decrease such a disparity is understood also as an anti-poverty policy. Therefore, almost no policymaker has asked, “Who are the poor, the vulnerable in rural Turkey?” This pattern has resulted in development projects that mainly involve women but that are without a gender component.

7.26 Ertürk groups these projects into four models: (i) projects without a gender orientation; (ii) projects with a women’s component; (iii) special women’s projects; and (iv) integrated rural development projects (Ertürk, 1991; 1990). According to Ertürk, the first type assumes that economic growth will trickle-down (trickle-across) also to those in need. This type of project is still the most common one. While these projects might be justified in localities with poor infrastructure and with a female population with very limited social capital, the avoidance of gender issues in such projects may have undesirable, negative, impacts on rural women. These projects may end up by merely increasing the workload of the women or may squeeze the women into the domestic sphere. Projects without a gender outlook may produce some results in line with “modernization” but this may, at the same time consolidate traditional patterns, particularly in gender relations. In other words, the women may be marginalized (Ertürk, 1987; 1988a; 1990).

7.27 The second type of project model emphasizes conventional women’s tasks, such as handicrafts and home economics. These are equity-oriented. Women in these projects are special groups whose welfare needs must be taken into account. These projects exclude rural women from all of the training activities of agricultural and livestock production. Consequently these projects may also result in the consolidation of traditional relations, as the foreseen domestic activities will limit women’s access to extension services. Another approach within the same model is to assume that rural women are unemployed. The project defines income-generating activities. In the majority of the real cases, the range of such activities is quite limited. These women usually end up in “carpet weaving.”

⁵¹ İkinci Tarımsal Yayım ve Uygulamalı Araştırma Projesi (Second Agricultural Extension and Applied Research Project).

⁵² Multipurpose Community Centers

7.28 The third type of project tries to provide support for long neglected women's problems. However, projects that are too specific and are exclusively for women have their disadvantages. Implementing a project by isolating women from the society is not appropriate: besides, in such cases projects are not funded sufficiently and are doomed to fail at the start.

7.29 The fourth type considers women as part of the rural community and considers them already at the initial stage of project design. These projects are designed to achieve community participation by supporting village level organizations with related external networks. These projects also the organizational context in which target groups participate in identifying and planning project interventions. According to Ertürk, the Yozgat Rural Development Project 1990 was a candidate for such an approach. In spite of its limitations, the Yozgat Project has introduced new features such as the "election of women leaders," Rural women have benefited from extension work. The project has embraced NGOs among public organizations, (Aziz et al., 2000: 38).

Rural Poverty in Turkey

7.30 There are actually very few studies on rural poverty in Turkey, especially on the poverty of rural women. For the Yozgat Project, Ertürk provided a working paper for "target group identification and participation" (Ertürk, 1990). Using a 1981 Village Inventory Study, 11 indicators were picked for ranking the districts (counties) in the province. These are: area of agricultural land per holding; area of irrigated land per household; number of sheep per household; percentage of people who migrated in the past five years; percentage of international labor migration; percentage of seasonal (domestic) migration; percentage of those who use credit; vehicles for transport per village; vehicles for transporting goods per village; tractors per village; television sets per village. In order to screen the poorest villages, five indicators have been selected: irrigated land per household; number of sheep per household; area of arable land per household; number of households per tractor; and population growth. To determine the poorest households in the village, the "salma" tax list (or pay list) of the "muhtar" village-headman was used. In this list village households are stratified into three groups: "head," "middle" and "foot." The very marginal households are excluded from taxes and other contributions.⁵³

7.31 Table 7.8 is also a rare study of rural poverty with a gender profile. Sixty-nine percent of rural women below the poverty line are illiterate; 52 percent are employed in agriculture, and 80 percent have no (social) insurance. The same table is also available for Turkey in general (Dikbayir, 2000). There, 66.5 percent of women below the poverty line are illiterate, and 39 percent are employed in agriculture.

⁵³ A brief evaluation of this project is provided in Aziz 2000, p. 38. There is no specific evaluation on poverty. The criteria above have been used (probably) only for household selection.

Table 7.8: The Distribution of Rural Men and Rural Women Below the Poverty Line by Type of Poverty and Main Characteristics (%)

	Based on poverty line calculated for minimum food expenditure		Based on poverty line calculated for basic needs expenditure	
	(9.3 percent of households)		(42.3 percent of households)	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Education population aged 6-24 years				
Illiterate	25.97	15.97	16.98	11.03
Literate without diploma	28.87	39.26	29.14	34.82
Primary school	43.86	36.47	48.45	39.98
Secondary school and equivalent	0.98	5.94	3.58	9.35
High school and equivalent	0.33	2.28	1.80	4.58
University and higher education	0.00	0.08	0.05	0.25
Education population aged 25 years +				
Illiterate	69.09	30.28	58.62	22.91
Literate without diploma	7.45	13.43	7.97	12.09
Primary school	23.10	53.05	32.21	56.01
Secondary school and equivalent	0.14	2.36	0.64	5.12
High school and equivalent	0.23	0.58	0.54	3.39
University and higher education	0.00	0.30	0.03	0.48
Employment status 12 years+				
Economically inactive	46.55	27.19	42.49	23.64
Employed in agriculture	51.91	58.77	55.80	55.36
Employed in non-agricultural sectors	1.54	14.04	1.71	21.00
Status in Employment 12 years +				
Employee, socially insured	0.37	10.85	0.90	21.18
Employee not insured.	12.97	56.26	12.25	48.33
Unpaid	86.65	32.89	86.85	30.49
Health Insurance				
Insured	19.70	20.75	31.44	31.07
Not insured	80.30	79.25	68.56	68.93

Source: G. Dikbayir (2000), calculated from SIS Income Survey 1994, unpublished report.

7.32 Two more recent studies (UNDP, 1995; Akder, 1999) have tried to measure rural poverty in the modern, broadened sense of the concept (i.e., encompassing not only material deprivation but also low achievement in education and health). The first of these is the 1995 National Human Development of Turkey Report published by the Ankara UNDP Office (UNDP, 1995). Here, "human development indexes" (hdi) were calculated for all provinces disaggregated into urban and rural and further into male and female. All rural female indexes (province averages) were at a low level of human development throughout the Black Sea Region (except in Bartın, Amasya, Trabzon and Rize), and the entire Southeast and Eastern Anatolia. Two provinces from the Aegean Region (Kütahya and Afyon), two provinces from the Mediterranean (Hatay and K.Maras), and the four provinces of Central Anatolia (Nigde, Kayseri, Yozgat, and Sivas) were also exhibiting low rural female hdi. The study stressed that low female hdi did not necessarily mean a large gender disparity. In the East and Southeast, the differences between male and female and urban and rural were low. According to this study, in the Black Sea Region the disparities were much more apparent.

7.33 However, the reader should be warned at the start that distinctions between rural and urban are also arbitrary and varied, that is, such distinctions are not suitable for international comparison unless the definitions in the respective countries are well specified and comparable. Even if comparability problems are resolved, the borderline (the cut-off line between urban and rural) may lead to serious overestimations or underestimation of rural poverty.⁵⁴ The second study, mentioned above (Akder, 1999) has tried to overcome some of these problems. Here, urban and rural poverty is compared again but without disaggregation into male and female. The experiences of “national human development reports” in Turkey reveal that female indexes are systematically lower than those for men. This study is therefore relevant from the rural women’s point of view as well. In this study, human development indexes over 900 districts had been calculated. The main table is presented in Table 7.9.

7.34 Table 7.9 refers to 1996 data. Instead of separating a district into rural and urban parts, an alternative approach was employed. Three districts (regions) were distinguished: “predominantly rural,” “significantly rural” and “predominantly urbanized.” The criterion used to create the typology at the (regional) district level was the share of the rural population. The following thresholds have been used: predominantly rural, if more than 50 percent of the population lives in rural communities; significantly rural,” if the share of the rural population is between 15 and 50 percent; predominantly urbanized, if less than 15 percent of the population is classified as rural.

Table 7.9: Human Development by Degree of Rurality (population)

	High Human Development		Medium Human Development		Low Human Development		TOTAL	
Urban	11.249.015	67.6 percent	7.609.752	20.6 percent	412.173	4.6 percent	19.270.940	30.8 percent
	58.4 percent		39.5 percent		2.1 percent		100 percent	
Significantly rural	3.039.333	18.3 percent	13.428.973	36.4 percent	3.181.842	35.7 percent	19.650.148	31.5 percent
	15.5 percent		66.8 percent		16.2 percent		100 percent	
Predominantly rural	2.347.033	14.1 percent	15.872.690	43.0 percent	5.329.008	59.7 percent	23.548.731	37.7 percent
	10.0 percent		67.4 percent		22.6 percent		100 percent	
		100 percent		100 percent		100 percent		
TOTAL	16.635.381		36.911.415		8.923.023		62.469.819	
	26.6 percent		59.1 percent		14.3 percent		100 percent	

Source: Akder (1999), “Dimensions of Rural Poverty in Turkey”, in: “Turkey, Economic Reforms, Living Standards and Social Welfare Study,” World Bank Report no:20029-TU.

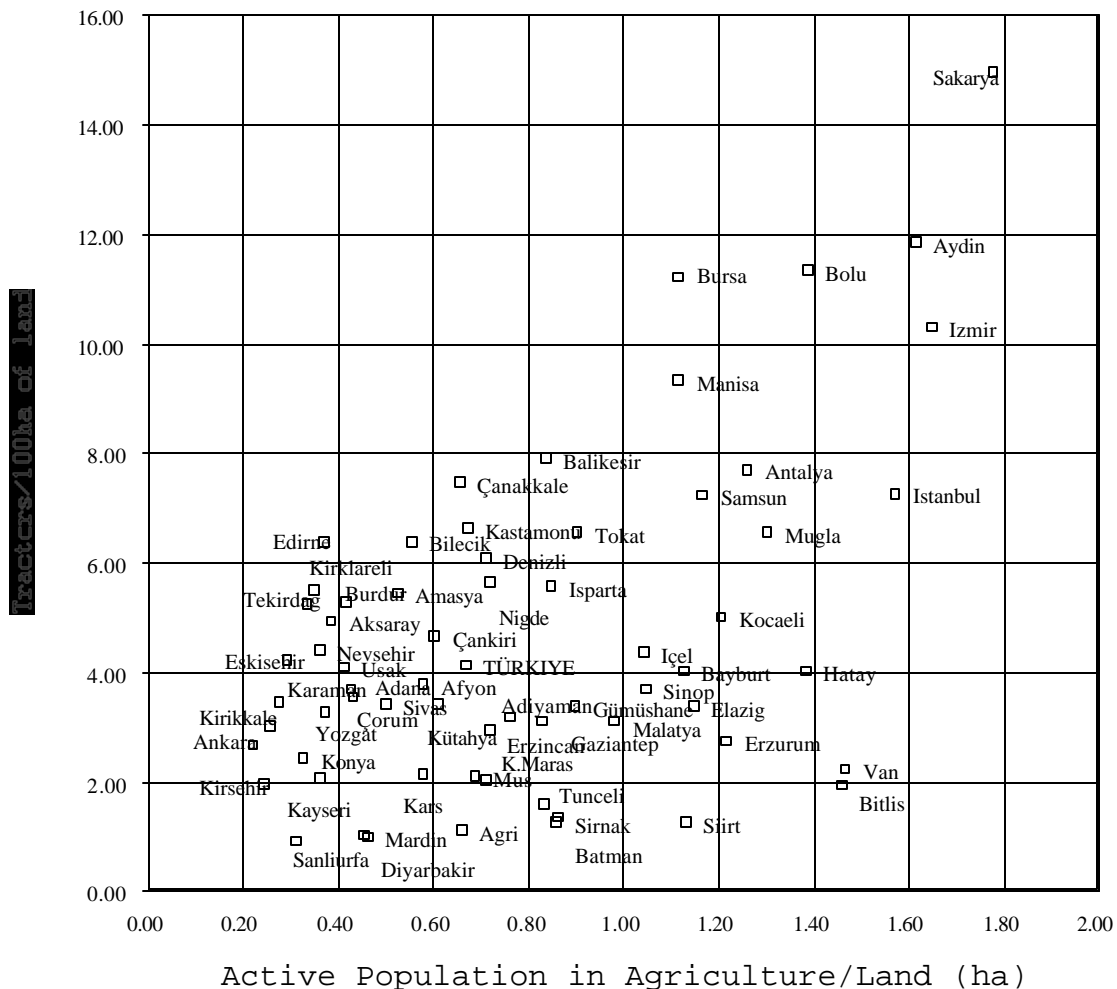
7.35 According to this study, 14 percent of the total population in Turkey is at a low human development level. Almost 60 percent of this low development is in predominantly rural areas, and 36 percent is in significantly rural areas. Predominantly rural, low human development districts have an average population size of 35,000. Life expectancy at birth is around 63 years. The simple literacy rate is 59 percent and per capita income is at \$1,022 (Turkey’s averages at the

⁵⁴ Assume that country (A) puts the rural-urban borderline at 2,000 persons, and country (B) at 20,000 persons. A much higher proportion of the population will be counted in rural B than in A, even if the actual distribution of the population among different sizes of place within A and B is identical. Any migration from rural to urban areas will seem greater in A than B owing to the definition of urban, even if events in A and B are identical.

time were: district population size, 68,273; life expectancy at birth, 68 years; literacy rate, 80 percent; and per capita income \$2,885). In contrast, predominantly urban high human development districts have an average population size of 287,059; the life expectancy at birth of 73 years; a literacy rate of 90 percent; and per capita income of \$4,164.

7.36 Figure 1 is taken from the same study and emphasizes the relationship among rural aspects, agriculture and poverty. It inter-relates some of the previous observations. The reference point in the figure is (TÜRKIYE). The coordinates of this point are Turkey's averages for tractors/land and labor/land. The graph is analyzed by assuming four quadrants around this reference point.

Figure 7.1: Mechanization in Turkey 1996 Tractors, Land Use, Labor by Provinces



7.37 The full list of province names in Figure 7.1 are given in Table 7.10. Provinces which were not displayed on the graph were mainly Black Sea provinces: Artvin, Giresun, Ordu, Rize, Trabzon, Zonguldak and, from East Anatolia, Hakkari and Bingöl. They were extracted from the

display because they have quite extreme values: low mechanization, yet quite high labor intensity because of scarce land. It is needless to say that they all (except Hakkari) belonged to the lower right quadrant. This implies high labor intensity on agricultural land or the relative scarcity of cultivable land in this region. Within the lower right quadrant, as the intensity begins to decline, we observe also the shift from the Black Sea Region to Eastern Anatolia. In terms of main agricultural products, this would imply a transition from the special crops of the Black Sea, hazelnuts and tea to extensive animal husbandry and cereals in the east. Van and Bitlis are the first two eastern provinces that are displayed at this transition point. One can easily recognize the match of province names with the low human development index ranks in the lower right quadrant.

7.38 The lower left quadrant corresponds to Central Anatolia yet it also includes large provinces from the east and south east. These provinces here make up the largest portion of the cultivated area in Turkey. This quadrant also reflects the basic, extensive-agriculture character of Turkey. The bottom part of this quadrant also indicates low human development. The upper left quadrant consists mainly of provinces from Thrace. Mechanization there developed parallel to the European pattern.

7.39 The upper right quadrant represents the Aegean, Marmara and Mediterranean regions. The most mechanized provinces are in this quadrant and these are exactly the provinces where the rural population per hectare is also very high (i.e., mechanization has not necessarily substituted for labor).

Table 7.10: Province Groups According to Land, Labor and Capital (in agriculture) and Human Development Index Ranking, 1997

Capital intensity above Turkey's average & Labor intensity below Turkey's average and relatively high ranking human development		Capital intensity above Turkey's average & Labor intensity above Turkey's average and relatively high ranking human development		
Eskisehir 9 Tekirdag 11 Edirne 18 Bilecik 10 Çanakkale 16 Kırklareli 14	Burdur 21 Usak 26 Nevsehir 31 Amasya 40 Çankiri 55 Aksaray 56	Kocaeli 1 Istanbul 3 Bursa 4 Izmir 5 Mugla 7 Sakarya 8 Balikesir 12 Antalya 13 Aydin 15 Denizli 17	Manisa 19 Bolu 20 Içel 22 Samsun 29 Hatay 33 Isparta 34 Nigde 44 Kastamonu 52 Tokat 53 Hakkari 78	
Capital intensity below Turkey's average & Labor intensity below Turkey's average and mixed ranks of human development		Capital intensity below Turkey's average & Labor intensity above Turkey's average And relatively low human development ranks		
Ankara 6 Adana 27 Kayseri 28 Konya 24 Kirikkale 32 Kütahya 36 Karaman 41 Kirsehir 42 Çorum 45	Afyon 43 Sivas 48 Yozgat 60 Diyarbakir 65 Kars 69 Mardin 71 Sanliurfa 72 Agri 79	Zonguldak 23 Artvin 25 Trabzon 30 Rize 38 Gaziantep 39 Malatya 46 Giresun 49 Elazig 51	Sinop 54 Ordu 57 Gümüşhane 58 Erzincan 59 Erzurum 62 K.Maras 63 Tunceli 66 Adiyaman 67	Batman 70 Siirt 73 Van 74 Bingöl 75 Bitlis 76 Mus 77 Sırnak 80

Source: Akder, 1997.

7.40 The share of total agricultural output (value) and the shares with the respective crops have been calculated and presented in Table 7.11. It is quite easy to recognize the pattern of specialization in each quadrant. The upper right quadrant, mainly of western, coastal provinces, seems to have specialized in (intensive) industrial crops, vegetables, fruits and tuber crops. Of the agricultural crop revenue 47.9 percent is generated in these provinces; 65 percent of all vegetables (value), 62 percent of all fruits, 49 percent of industrial crops, and 42 percent of tuber crops are produced in these provinces.

7.41 The provinces in the upper left quadrant, especially those in Thrace, seem to have specialized in the production of oil seeds (sunflower). Tuber crops and cereals are also important crops of this region.

7.42 The provinces in the lower left quadrant seem to have the second highest share of total output (28.2 percent). Their strength is in (extensive crops) cereals and pulses. They have a considerable share in industrial crops (sugar beet) (28.5 percent) as well. This quadrant contrasts, in a way, Central Anatolian and Southeastern (Eastern) Anatolian agriculture, and this is the only quadrant where low, medium and high development ranks are mixed.

7.43 The provinces in the lower right quadrant have no considerable share in any of the crops. The highest share is observed in fruits, which are mainly hazelnut and tea production in the Black Sea provinces. These provinces include a mixture of medium and low ranking provinces, as well. The southeastern and eastern provinces, with almost only low hdi rankings, are strong in (extensive) animal husbandry (which is not included in Table 7.10) and pulses. The low agricultural output value corresponds here to very low hdi ranks.

Table 7.11: Province Groups According to Land, Labor and Capital (in agriculture) Value of Output and Human Development Ranks

Capital intensity above Turkey's average & Labor intensity below Turkey's average		Capital intensity above Turkey's average & Labor intensity above Turkey's average	
Total	12.4 percent	Total	47.9 percent
Cereals	17.0 percent	Cereals	22.5 percent
Pulses	12.4 percent	Pulses	19.1 percent
Industrial Crops	08.2 percent	Industrial Crops	48.8 percent
Oil Seeds	49.4 percent	Oil Seeds	23.2 percent
Tuber Crops	24.6 percent	Tuber Crops	42.6 percent
Vegetables	10.0 percent	Vegetables	65.0 percent
Fruits	07.4 percent	Fruits	62.1 percent
Capital intensity below Turkey's average & Labor intensity below Turkey's average		Capital intensity below Turkey's average & Labor intensity above Turkey's average	
Total	28.2 percent	Total	11.5 percent
Cereals	49.1 percent	Cereals	11.4 percent
Pulses	50.9 percent	Pulses	17.5 percent
Industrial Crops	28.5 percent	Industrial Crops	14.5 percent
Oil Seeds	24.0 percent	Oil Seeds	03.3 percent
Tuber Crops	20.6 percent	Tuber Crops	12.2 percent
Vegetables	20.7 percent	Vegetables	04.3 percent
Fruits	14.7 percent	Fruits	15.8 percent

Source: Akder 1999

7.44 If we keep in mind the gender division of labor, activities by crops, the impact of mechanization and the location of rural development projects, a lot may be recognized. Most of

the rural development projects have been implemented in provinces listed in the lower quadrants. In the past, target identification was appropriate. The hypothesis that rural women are disadvantaged (marginalized) because of mechanization, needs a closer look. This might be true for the quadrants on the left. In Figure 1, a movement from right bottom to left top indicates an increase in mechanical intensity while labor intensity decreases. This movement might be in line with the existing literature (Sirman, 1991). However, the movement from the origin to the north east is not accounted for. In the right top quadrant, mechanization does not replace (women) labor; there may be a demand for seasonal women workers. It is most probably the combination of extensive crops (cereal) and mechanization that causes the disadvantage to the women. The most challenging quadrant with regard to rural poverty and the situation of rural women seems to be the lower right quadrant. Mechanization here is almost absent because of the topography. For the same reason, holdings are small, suitable days for work are limited, and men migrate. Women's workload is very high and there is also (low development) poverty. The introduction of farm tools and machines for the needs of rural women might help.

Recommendations

7.45 The studies reviewed here suggest similar recommendations. They are also broadly in line with international guidelines.

- The use of methodologies that take gender specificities into account, and of participatory and decentralized approaches (Ertürk, 1995; Sirman, 1991)
- The conduct of national surveys on rural women and time-surveys to determine the respective contributions of rural men and women to GNP (Kasnakoglu, 2001)
- The establishment of information networks and the creation and reinforcement of communication channels among rural women themselves and between rural women and government planning institutions, through the extensive use of the media (Çakmak, 1994; Aziz et al., 2000; Kasnakoglu, 2001)
- The building of the technical skills of rural women so as to reduce their workload, increase their earnings, and enable them to become active stakeholders in the development planning process (Çakmak, 1994; Aziz et al., 2000);
- The facilitation of the access of rural women to basic services and resources, such as education at all levels, training literacy, technology and information, in order to enhance their vocational skills (Çakmak, 1994; Abay, 1999; Aziz, 2000; Kasnakoglu, 2001)
- The provision of special support, such as credit, so that rural women can set up their own enterprises and income earning activities (Kasnakoglu, 2001; Aziz et al., 2000).

Outlook

7.46 The ongoing agricultural reform in Turkey is at its beginning stages and is still "gender blind." There is no awareness of men's and women's specific and different roles in agricultural production. This will probably have serious implications for the transition crops (such as hazelnut and tobacco) component of the reform. The reform offers financial incentives to farmers who will change to other (non-surplus) crops. But this crop transition can also mean "changes in the way of life" and has different implications for women and men. The incentives suffer from gender blindness: however, corrections in future stages of the reform might be possible.

7.47 The recent reform has been involved in landownership issues but has not been sensitive from a gender point of view. The strongest leg of the recent reform is "direct income support" (dis). After abolishing traditional price subsidies, probably for about five years, dis will be

offered to each agricultural landowner. This will create an opportunity to adjust to a new crop pattern. This was applied for the first time in 2001-2002. However, even the newly established “farmer registration system” created for this purpose has not processed respective landownership data by gender. In the near future, dis will not be given to each farmer but will be focused on certain targets. This might offer opportunities for gender policies in rural areas. However, these policies will be worked out, and there must be some political will behind them.

7.48 The third leg of the agricultural reform is “the restructuring of sales cooperatives.” This component is in its very early stages, but has evinced no awareness of gender. Membership in rural organizations is important for access to productive resources, marketing and training opportunities. As these organizations will be restructured, there may be an opportunity to promote women’s membership.

7.49 Another important issue is “access to credit.” The agricultural reform has been silent on this issue until now. The traditional organization, the Agricultural Bank, no longer offers subsidized agricultural credits. This means practically that “agricultural finance” is carried out only through informal markets. In other words, the constraints on women today are more severe than ever.

7.50 All topics of access to “land,” “credit,” “rural organizations,” “agricultural inputs and technology,” and “training and extension” require new research. The results of this research will be especially useful if they are designed to supplement the ongoing agricultural reform.

7.51 In the long term perspective, two trends will dominate the rural scene. Turkey will increasingly move toward (the reforming) Common Agricultural Policy. If similar policies result in similar development paths, then a stronger feminization of agriculture, as in the EU, will become inevitable. On the other hand, migration out of rural areas, and especially out of rain-fed areas, may result in the concentration of a trapped, immobile and vulnerable old-age population in villages. With the increase in life expectancy, and the consideration that women live, on the average, five years longer than men, this may indicate potential new gender poverty problems.

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8. MIGRATION, POVERTY AND SOCIAL PROTECTION AND WOMEN

Ayşe Ayata

8.1 A recent study by the World Bank argues that 17.2 percent of Turkey's population is under absolute poverty (calculated on the cost of the food basket) and 56.1 percent is economically vulnerable. (World Bank, 2002). This chapter discusses the problems of women in these income brackets. The chapter draws attention to the vast rural urban migration experienced in the last five decades, which is both an outcome and a product of poverty. In the last couple of decades women have become primary instigators of rural urban migration, motivated by the hope of social mobility, a better future for their children and easier access to public services. The chapter discusses the problems experienced by women in the cities, ranging from community control to employment, from problems of exclusion to the expectations of the young girls.

8.2 The second half of the chapter focuses more closely on poverty, analyzing who the poor women are and what the social factors are that make them more vulnerable. In this section, safety nets are also investigated, both as they relate to formal public services and as they relate to informal networks ranging from neighbors and relatives to philanthropic associations. It is argued that as "weakness" is culturally considered an intrinsic part of the female gender, both the civil society and the formal public institutions accept the poverty of women more readily than they do that of men. This may, in some cases, even lead to positive discrimination on the part of both agencies and groups.

Migration

8.3 In Turkey migration may be considered the most significant sociological factor that has led to chains of social consequences in the last 50 years. The impact of migration has been observable in almost all of the social institutions, from politics to education, from identity formation to social security systems. The flow of populations to cities is both an important cause and an outcome of poverty. We know that the majority of the poor live in the cities. Moreover, the poverty experienced in villages is so deep that it further pushes the peasants to cities out of despair (Ayata et al, 2002a). Thus, the analysis of the impact of poverty on women has to start with a review of migration.

8.4 In the last five decades, the rural/urban population ratios in Turkey have reverted from 74.9 percent rural in 1950 to an estimated 70.6 percent urban in 2000 (İçduygu and Sirkeci, 1999). Another study indicates that 58.2 percent of Istanbul residents and 44.9 percent of Ankara residents were born outside of that city, so they are first generation migrants (Köymen, 1999). We can easily conclude that, with the second and third generation migrants added, almost three-quarters of the families within these cities have either directly experienced migration or have been brought up in such a family. Even though recently there have been a few reports of the reversal of migration (White, 2002) due to earthquake and unemployment, the dominant demographic trends indicate a continuing rural-urban migration.

8.5 A significant amount of sociological research has been carried out on the dramatic changes that migration has brought about. However, until very recently these researchers have not incorporated a gender dimension into their analyses. The very few studies that mention women argue that women were not only deeply affected by the migration process but were themselves increasingly becoming primary mobilizers of the family for migration (Erman, 1998a; Stirling, 1974)

8.6 It is generally accepted that the first migration wave, which lasted roughly 25 years, was caused by ‘push’ factors, such as an excess of population in agriculture due to mechanization, improved technology and increased productivity. The second wave of migration was characterized by the “pull” factors (i.e., attraction of the city), (Içduygu and Sirkeci, 1999).

8.7 By 1970 even those villages that stayed behind had had some experience of urban life. Stirling argued that not only the improvement of roads and the transportation system, but also the fact of having a relative or a co-villager helped build a new urban experience (Stirling, 1974). All urban services, from health and education to the availability of electricity and infrastructure, attracted peasants to the city. Peasant women’s experience of urban life started with this new stage. Visiting relatives in the city or listening to stories about the city told by women who visited the village made the city, for peasant women, an attraction, whereas the hard work and difficult conditions of rural life came to be perceived as a burden. Therefore, women themselves became important mobilizers within the family. Furthermore, women did not only want to escape the hard work in the village, but they also wanted to avoid the high intensity social control of their extended families and wanted a better future for their children (Stirling and Incirlioglu, 1996; User, 1997). About 40 years ago, village girls would have preferred marrying into the rich families within the village; now such marriages have become the least preferred marriages because prospective husbands from rich rural families are the least likely to migrate. A sub-governor told the present author that one village head man (muhtar) who owns considerable land, came to him asking for a job for his son, saying:

give him a job in town for two months. We shall get him married meanwhile, then you can lay him off as you like (Author’s interview with the sub-governor of Kazan, April 2002).

8.8 A third type of migration, which started in the 1990s was stipulated by **ethno national conflicts** and involved roughly 400, 000 **peasants** mainly in the Southeast and East Anatolia regions (**Kramer, 2000**). This type of migration has been a particularly important source of poverty in the last decades, and thus it will be taken up separately in the ensuing pages.

8.9 In its very early years, the migration pattern involved young village men leaving for seasonal or temporary work in the cities, later acquiring skills and finally settling in the city. Then they were joined by their families. When they were deeply rooted in the city, a chain migration started whereby brothers or relatives joined them. Communities of already settled relatives, and acquaintances became safe havens providing the newcomer with a temporary dwelling, helping him/her find a job and serving as an available network of information (Erder, 1996; Senyapili, 1978; 1981; F. Ebert Foundation, 1996). The settlement pattern for migrants to the cities has been to squat on the land and build a house unit. Even though there are frequent cases where private property has been squatted on, the land is usually state owned. Once information on the nature and ownership of land is accessed, then families, sometimes an entire kin group or co-villagers, will move in, building their own houses with mutual help for labor and

materials. Thus, in any squatter housing neighborhood (gecekondu area) there is concentration of co-villagers.⁵⁵

8.10 The physical conditions of settlement, informally built houses with gardens, allow in the gecekondu for some continuation of rural activities. Some families may have livestock, and many have vegetable gardens, and at least a few fruit trees that may bring in a small income. These become resources for women, through which they can pass their time in outdoor activities and satisfy their rural nostalgia (Erman, 1997). Conglomerations of the family, relatives and co-villagers make the area an environment for intimate relations and community support (Ayata, 1989) where there is familiarity with everyone and shared life-styles.

8.11 Kalaycioglu and Rittersberger-Tiliç (2000) argue that the family and the networking of relatives are so important that their absence leads to downward social mobility. A somewhat similar process has been spotted by White, who has argued that members of the family survive by income pooling (White, 1994). The World Bank Study on poverty in 2001-2002 also indicates that family and relatives are in themselves the most important safety net (Ayata et al., 2002a). This relationship will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

8.12 The neighborhood community is an important source of identity building for women. Here, two different kinds of identity, interwoven, can be observed. The first is the identity of being an urbanite versus keeping her ties with her rural origin. Questions such as how a migrant woman should behave, what kind of an identity and future identity she should have, what her difference should be from rural women and from urban women come under this type of identity.

8.13 The second identity involves her position vis-à-vis women from other migrant communities. Cities have become places where groups from different parts of Turkey with their different languages, religions and traditions meet each other. Cultural identities of migrant communities are thus becoming important.

8.14 With regard to the first aspect, women are faced with two kinds of problems: those that pertain to economic differences, and those that are related to cultural differences and social perceptions.

8.15 While the gecekondu community itself is also economically differentiated, those urbanites that live in the city center are either better off, or are perceived by the migrants as better off, in terms of both consumption patterns and income levels. The economic differences lead to the perception that migrants are workers whereas urbanites are employers, which always carries with it the potential for power relations. As migrant women are rarely working, this attitude is mostly transferred from the male members of their families. In fact, better off migrants find it easier to integrate into urban life (Erman, 1998d).

8.16 The social and cultural dimension appears even more relevant with respect to the migrants' integration into urban life. The migrants want to integrate fully into urban society, even though they realize the insecurities involved and the individualistic competitiveness eminent in urban life (Gökçe et al., 1993). Despite the willingness of migrants to integrate, cleavages between migrants and urbanites are unavoidable. Segregation starts with the place of residence. Gecekondu housing by definition implies a rural background. Moreover, this is reinforced by

⁵⁵ In Ankara this was 75.8 percent in 1991 (Alper and Yener, 1991). A national study found that 68.3 percent of the squatter housing residents lived in the same neighborhood as their relatives (Gökçe, 1993).

improper speech.⁵⁶ Another very important dimension of segregation is appearance. Whereas the educated urban middle classes tend to wear Western style dress, women with rural backgrounds tend to retain their headscarves and baggy trousers. A person wearing rural, traditional clothing is immediately considered as being of lower class origin. Manners and mannerisms are also very telling of social origin. Consumption patterns, family lifestyles and styles of behavior all become means of separation between “us” and “them.” These are all dimensions of the varying degrees of “otherness” experienced by migrant women (Erman, 1998c). This “unease” with the city life also becomes a limitation for first generation migrants in their attempts at integration.

8.17 The second dimension of identity formation for migrant women revolves around ethnic and/religious foci. I have already argued that kin groups tend to migrate and settle together in the city. In Turkey the majority of the villages are made up of single religious or ethnic groups. Since women have less experience of the outside world in villages, they experience religious and ethnic difference for the first time in the city. Women experience a paradoxical identity problem there. On the one hand, despite differences, similarities, conflicts, likes and dislikes coexistence with other ethnic groups becomes a must. On the other hand, the co- villager /ethnic community is an important resource that not only has to be protected with boundary maintenance activities such as endogamy but also has to be reproduced for new generations (Günes-Ayata, 1990; 1992; 1996; Altintas, 2002). Women carry the main responsibility for this.

8.18 The solidarity of the ethnic community can be protected only by keeping the cultural rules, most of which are for and about women (Günes-Ayata, 1998). Women find themselves under the close scrutiny and control of the community, which in some cases may put severe limitations on their movements. In 1990, in one Sunni Kurdish community in Ankara, I found out that women were not even allowed to go to the community grocer without the company of a male member--even if this was only a child-- and were never allowed to leave the community on their own (Günes-Ayata 1990). There the concern is protecting women against the insecurities of urban life and the evils outside of homes, as part of the responsibility of maintaining family honor. Not allowing women to have paid employment is also part of this honor code owing to the fear of the consequences of women’s interaction with the aliens. The proximity in housing and the informality of the relations enable women and men to have close control over each other, whereby any wrong move becomes the immediate subject of gossip and a significant matter of honor for the family. Young girls are also under such control and are always complaining about this pressure. For them, school is always a good excuse to leave the community. As the length of time of living in the city increases, and as women themselves get older, they are allowed to move more freely and even to participate in public life. It should also be noted that there is always a variation of the specific “do’s and don’ts” depending on the religious or ethnic group, with one group’s rules being diametrically opposed to another’s. However, what is common to all is the presence of restrictions on women.

8.19 In summary, we can conclude that women need the networks from their rural community for solidarity in the city. This community becomes their social network, which they transfer to material and instrumental capital for themselves and for their families when they need it. However, the community they recreate in the city, by reinforcing traditional norms and cultural identities, also segregates them from public life and hampers their integration into the city. Thus, identity and community management, which are very important dimensions of urban life for migrant women, create a dilemma for them.

⁵⁶ In Turkey there is a strong association of formalized usage of Turkish with education and urban lifestyles, while usage of local dialects (even of Turkish) and accents is looked down upon.

8.20 The most common way of escaping from such a dilemma is to move to a flat in the city center. Such a move is only possible if the family has higher income and it indicates that the family is upwardly mobile, aspires to a new lifestyle and does not need the support of the community on a daily basis (Ayata, 1988; 1989).

8.21 I have argued so far that migration has led to *gecekondu* communities, where the migrants live with paradoxical problems of segregation and integration. These neighborhoods have always been built on the outskirts of the cities where vacant, unused and/or cheap land was available. However as urbanization and development continue, some parts of *gecekondu* neighborhoods are rebuilt, and the new migrants who keep on coming settle in fringes and build newer dwellings (Isik and Pinarcioglu, 2001). The location of the neighborhood is important, because it has implications with respect to ease in using transport and access to infrastructure and public services. Proximity often increases contact with urban opportunities such as shopping, entertainment and work.

8.22 Most researches indicate that once the migrant family is in the city most of the infrastructure and public services become available to it. Approximately two-thirds of the *gecekondu* dwellers own their houses, where electricity and running water is almost universally available. Over three-quarters of these dwellings have indoor toilets, and over 90 percent have separate kitchens, and have two or more rooms. The comfort of the house increases in direct relation to the income of the family (Alpar and Yener, 1991). The physical conditions of the house influence women significantly as they pass a lot of time there and they are expected to do the housework. For example, not only does running water ease housework, but if the house is damp and dark, women and children easily develop sicknesses such as rheumatism.

8.23 The vast majority of the *gecekondu* families in Turkey are nuclear (Özbay, 1998). So the strategy of escaping the rural extended family patriarchy is successful for most migrant women. For the migrants, the average family size in 1993 was 5.4. This size dropped to 4.7 in the West Anatolian cities and rose to 7 in the East and South east (Gökçe et al., 1993). More recent studies indicate a tendency toward a further shrinking of the family size (Ayata et al., 2002a). This also indicates a tendency to have fewer children in the cities, and a decreasing desire for sons which was a primary reason for the higher number of children.

8.24 I have already noted that one of the attractions of city life for migrant women was to be a housewife. In fact, early studies of migrant populations indicate that the ratio of women employed in paid work was less than 10 percent (Senyapili, 1978; 1981; Yasa, 1966; Gökçe, 1971; Sencer, 1979). It was argued that women neither wanted to work outside the house nor would their husbands allow them to because of honor considerations and community norms. Recently, we can observe some changes in this respect. While the female participation rate in the urban labor force is still very low (9.6 percent, as reported in Gökçe et al., 1993) and the majority of migrant women do not search for paid employment, a closer look suggests that some dimensions of this work-housework relation are changing.

8.25 In a study carried out among a migrant household heads, a significant ratio (35 percent in Ankara, 38 percent in Istanbul and 54 percent in Izmir) said that they would allow their wives to have paid employment (Alper and Yener, 1991). Similarly, in another study, in 1993, earning money to contribute to the family budget was mentioned by 16.8 percent of men (23.5 percent in Western Anatolia and 10.1 percent in the east and south east) as the primary duty of a wife. Clearly, fewer men are perceiving women's work outside the home as a problem of honor, as they see more and more women in employment in the cities (Gökçe et al., 1993).

8.26 The present low employment rate for women, as indicated in many studies (Ayata and Ayata, 1996; Ecevit, 1993) cannot be attributed simply to the resistance of husbands. And, women themselves in time begin to have contradictory attitudes towards work and working life. For one thing, acute economic difficulties in recent years have made it difficult for urban families to survive without multiple incomes. Women are not only determined to come to the city but are also determined to stay there (Erman, 1997; Erder, 1996). They see no future for themselves and for their children outside the city especially because of better access to public services such as schooling.⁵⁷ Therefore, women are not only willing to take risks and to insist on staying in the city, sometimes even by spending their personal savings and their jewelry, but also by increasingly attempting to participate in the work force.

8.27 The main problem for many of these women is that they lack skills, education and information on the availability of jobs (Ikkaracan 1998, Eyüboğlu et al., 2000, Erman, 1997). These women often complain as in the following statement:

As a primary school graduate, where can I find a job? The only work I can do is cleaning and that I don't want to do (Eyüboğlu et al, 2000:89).

8.28 In a World Bank study, Ecevit and others have argued that while there is a concentration of women in textiles, clothing, leather manufacturing, agriculture, agro-industry and domestic work (Ecevit et al., 1999), none of these sectors needs high skills or pays well. Either in these sectors or in the informal sector, such as domestic service, women work at very low wages, but they are still willing to take these jobs to contribute to the family income. Despite the low status and low income associated with the cleaning jobs, many women, out of despair, resort to them. Many of these domestic cleaning women describe their experience of working life with mixed sentiments; pride in the achievement of finding a job, and bringing home money, and shame and embarrassment at the poverty imposed on them by their neighborhood and kin (Kalaycioglu and Rittersberger Tiliç, 2001).

8.29 Studies in Turkey indicate that Alevis in general have a more egalitarian attitude towards women (Günes-Ayata, 1992-1998), and working outside of the home is more easily accepted within this community (Erman, 1998e; Kalaycioglu 1997). Also, as many women within the Alevi community work, they have more contacts and networks for finding a job. Alevi women are also given more encouragement regarding education (Günes-Ayata, 2000) so that they have more skills that enable them to work, not only in low paid jobs but also increasingly in office work and professional occupations. Erman argues that some Alevi women also open small businesses in the *gecekondu* communities as part of their survival strategy (Erman, 1998e). These and other findings indicate that Alevi women tend to be more empowered in the city (Kalaycioglu, 1997; Günes-Ayata, 2000).

8.30 Migrant women in general have very low levels of education, which also partly explains their low level of public participation and is a major cause of poverty. In 1990, Alper and Yener found that 32.2 percent, 27.3 percent and 25.7 percent of women migrants in Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir, respectively were illiterate (Alper and Yener, 1991).⁵⁸ Similar figures were found in 1993 in a countrywide sample (Gökçe et al., 1993).

⁵⁷ Ninety percent of parents (both mothers and fathers) want even their daughters to have at least a secondary or higher education (Gökçe et al., 1993).

⁵⁸ In another study we also found that 29.5 percent of the migrant women in Ankara were illiterate (Ayata and Ayata, 1996).

8.31 So far I have argued that women are active participants in rural urban migration, which is both a cause and an outcome of poverty. How does migration affect their gender roles and the power relations within the family?

8.32 Studies indicate that among the migrant families the stereotypical gender roles have not changed dramatically. Still, in 79.1 percent of the families, women cook, in 67.6 percent they clean, and in 63.4 percent they look after the children. Moreover, whenever there is need, women's household responsibilities are not taken over by husbands, but are shouldered by other female members of the household such as daughters and female relatives (Acar, 1993).

8.33 Among the migrant's families, even those where women have attained a high degree of education, 89.5 percent agree that men have to take primary responsibility for looking after the family financially. Also 76.6 percent of the families think that taking care of the household is the primary responsibility of women (Acar, 1993). This trend continues even if the woman is gainfully employed. Very few women and men experience positive changes in their status when they are gainfully employed (Koray et al. 1999). One of the reasons for such a slow change is cultural. White argues that when and if either the husband or the wife shows deviances from their gender roles, they are ridiculed and despised within the community (White, 1994). Another related reason is the low income earned by women, and their perception of this income as complementary or as pocket money (Ecevit et al., 2000). Some women, even if they earn the main income of the family, minimize their income in order not to undermine the status of their husband within the community (Ecevit, 1990). Yet some recent research indicates that migrant men may be more ready to accept a more egalitarian role in the household as they identify increasingly with middle class men as role models (Erman, 1997; Onat, 1993).

8.34 We also notice that with increasing years of staying in the city, there are some, albeit minor, changes in the attitudes and behavior of migrants in the direction of more sharing of responsibilities by both gender groups (Yaramanci – Basbugu, 1997). It is seen that as women have more gainful employment, they tend to have more control over their spending (Ecevit et al., 2000; White, 1994; Kalaycioglu and Rittersberger Tiliç, 2000). Even if they may only spend for their own transport or very basic needs, they increasingly gain knowledge about market economy, commodity and labor prices. In time, housewives are also increasingly more able to do the shopping for the family. Now there are even some migrant families (9.4 percent) in which women pay the utility bills, which involves interaction with the bureaucracy (Gökçe et al., 1993). Furthermore, an increasing cash inflow into the family increases women's decision-making power even if it is for minor spending activities in the market.

8.35 Another very critical area of progress in gender roles has been with respect to the family's relations with children's schools. An increasing number of women (27.8 percent) have been taking direct responsibility for their children's education and are involved in parent-teacher relations (Acar, 1993).

8.36 The two related variables that have a significant impact on gender roles and the distribution of decision-making powers within the families are the social class and the education of women. As the family income and the education of women increases, sharing the household chores and delegating them to paid employees increases (Onat, 1993; Ayata and Ayata, 1996). In addition, women's involvement in public life and the extension of household activity to public life increase with their level of education (Gökçe et al., 1993, Ayata and Ayata, 1996).

8.37 In this case we see that not only formal education but the media also help to improve women's integration into public life. In the last decade, there have been innumerable television

programs that try to enhance women's participation in urban life, giving them information on all kinds of issues from schools to public transport.

8.38 Research on migrant families also reveals significant impacts of migration on the second generation of migrants. Two tendencies are predominant. The first is that, despite the perpetuation of significant community and family control in the second generation, many of the restrictions on the girl child are lifted, especially those that pertain to her future. Second, the differences between the expectations from a girl child and those from a boy child are decreasing while 72 percent of parents still expect their sons to take care of them in old age, in time this is being replaced by formal reliance on social security institutions (Yaramanci-Basbugu, 1997). In-depth interviews also indicate that women particularly count on their daughters for old age security, especially if the daughters can be educated and have gainful employment.

8.39 The urban experiences of families, especially of women, lead them to realize that employment, education and the empowerment of women are very much interrelated. Migrant women through years of urban life, realize that if they had had education, they would have been able to have employment and better paid, high status jobs. This might have paved the way for more egalitarian relations in the family. All studies indicate that the vast majority of women (over 80 percent) want their daughters to have an education and not to share their own experience (Yaramanci-Basbugu, 1997). "***Most of all...***" a woman said to the present author, "***I want her to be educated otherwise she has nothing to cling to.***" A very common saying is "*Let her be educated and not be like myself.*" Young women also know that education is their only way out of poverty and tend to perform much better in education than their brothers (Acar et al., 1999) Women, whether they are themselves housewives or employed, want their daughters to work (Demirel et al., 1999). This trend is coupled with a demand on education to the effect that mothers expect and want their daughters to have professional jobs and work in secure high prestige jobs (Eyüboğlu et al., 2000). Many young women, in fact, take this opportunity and get educated in order to be part of the urban middle class. Increasingly more women with migrant backgrounds are participating in public life. This does not mean that mothers abandon their gender role modeling for the second generation. On the contrary, girl children are not only expected to help their mothers, but are also expected to prepare for a good marriage, through modesty, chastity, perfection in housework and preparation of her trousseau. (Senol-Cantek 2001). Moreover, the girl child continues to experience great difficulties, not only with social control but also as a result of poverty and a migrant status.

8.40 This leads us to another dominant trend. Despite the aspirations of the families, especially mothers for their daughters, poor families have limited resources and economic difficulties force them to make choices about their children. Often such choices are still in favor of the male child. Moreover, even if the family wants the girl child to continue her education, the economic and social conditions may not favor the success of the child. The competitive education system needs a drastic capital input into education, and this is impossible for poor families. Even if the girl child acquires education and skills, she may find it very difficult to find a job. The urban ways of conduct and manners, her place of residence, her background may all be minor hindrances to full integration to urban middle class life. This leads to major frustrations in the second generation. Often, the mother is more of an achiever, as she has come to the city, settled, educated her children and can thus lead a contented life despite her limited resources. The second generation, on the other hand, is squeezed between traditional and modern expectations, and migrant and middle class life styles. The daughter thus may have more opportunities but may also often experience more deprivations and frustration.

Conflict Driven Migration

8.41 In the last two decades there has been significant **conflict** driven migration from rural to urban areas and from the east to the west. Such migration has taken place in the east and southeastern regions of Turkey. The ethno nationalist insurgence, terror, political instability, and violent clashes with security forces all led to a flight of village populations to the cities to find a refuge in a neutral area. Thousands of villages have also been evacuated by the military to create vast areas of no pass zones. All of these factors led to a specific wave of migration where neither men nor women had established a support system prior to the move. Often, as such migration was to take place in a very short time (usually within a week) and the whole village had to migrate at once, the backward linkages with the village could not be kept. This involved **roughly about** 100,000 families who were forced to migrate when their migration did not involve the traditional support mechanisms. They found themselves in desperate situations, unemployed, without housing or resources, and with no means to continue their livelihood (Bilgili et al., 1996; Göktürk, 1996; ODTÜ Sosyoloji, 1994).

8.42 Provinces in the east and southeastern regions of Turkey constitute the lowest ranking 25 percent of provinces with regard to both the human development index (HDI) and the gender specific human development index (GDI) (UNDP, 2001). The drastic migration experience has added extra burdens to the lives of these people. Women in these regions also experience also language problems, because many are not able to speak Turkish, let alone being literate. Kurdish culture is even more hierarchical and patriarchal and has been relatively closed for centuries, which limits the Kurdish capacity to adapt to urban lifestyles (Çakmak, 1998; Gökçe et.al, 1993).

8.43 Women in this region experience poverty, illiteracy, polygamy, and unemployment as well as extremes of oppression and gender-based violence. P. Ilkaracan reports that 62.2 percent of women in the southeast have never been to any school; polygamy is at 10.6 percent, the average number of children per woman is 4.8; and 16.3 percent of the women were married (illegally) when they were under 15. Two-thirds of the marriages in the region are arranged; two-thirds of the women have been married with a bride price. Over three-quarters of the women have experienced abuse and violence within their families, not only from their husbands but also from the other males in their husbands' families. Despite the fact that they are legally a crime, honor killings are still in practice, and disobedience to husband and father will lead to ostracism by the community (Ilkaracan, 1998).

8.44 Migration becomes a dramatic experience for such women. Contrary to what takes place in urban migration in other instances, here the number of people living under one roof increases in the city: women experience greater limitation on their movements, and young children, even girls may be forced to be peddlers or beggars and pressured to leave school (GAP Bölge Kalkınma İdaresi Başkanlığı, 1994).

8.45 Some of these migrants come to metropolitan centers where women find themselves in a vacuum; they have lost their previous networks and do not have the convenience of coming into an already existing set of relationships. Being marginal in the society, their neighbors also experience problems of adaptation, especially because of language difficulties (Ilkaracan and Ilkaracan, 1999). Furthermore, migrant women settled within or outside of the region, besides economic problems, have complained about intra family disputes, and conflictual relations with their husbands, and they worry about children. Many of them have experienced increasing health problems. Ilkaracan and Ilkaracan (1998) argue that when they applied the Trait Anxiety Inventory to these migrants they found that anxiety was significantly higher in the migrant community as opposed to the rural residents.

8.46 In summary this group of migrant women deserves special attention, not only because they are more recent migrants, but also because they have less of a chance to rely upon support mechanisms in the city.

Poverty

8.47 The number and ratio of poor families in Turkey is a highly disputed issue. The World Bank Reports give four different kinds of poverty ratios with 1994 and 2001 figures.

Table 8.1: Poverty Ratios (1994 and 2001)

Methodology	Poverty line	Poverty incidence 1994	2001
Absolute poverty, int. standards	One-Dollar-a-Day per capita at 1985 PPP prices	2.5 percent	1.8 percent
Absolute poverty	Local cost of minimum food basket (*)	7.3 percent	17.2 percent
Economic vulnerability	Local cost of basic needs basket (incl. non-food) (*)	36.3 percent	56.1 percent
Relative income poverty	One-half of national median income	15.7 percent	21.5 percent

* Consumption per equivalent adult; economies of scale

Source: (1) World Bank (2000) "Poverty Incidence in Turkey," p.(viii), Table 7: "Turkey: Economic Reforms, Living Standards and Social Welfare Study," World Bank Report. (2) World Bank (2002), "Turkey: Poverty and Coping after Crises," Vol.1, Human Development Unit Europe and Central Asia Region.

8.48 The above table points to some very significant problems regarding poverty in Turkey. In Turkey, absolute poverty by international standards is low and has always been so. However, in the recent economic crises, both absolute poverty and income poverty have risen significantly. Moreover, now more than half of the population is living under conditions of extreme vulnerability. Almost all of the women discussed so far are living within such "vulnerable conditions" if not in absolute poverty. It is argued that the poverty risks between male-headed households and female-headed households are the same, but poverty in female-headed households is deeper (World Bank, 2000). However, I shall argue that illiteracy, lack of skills and unemployment are basic reasons for poverty, and because women lag behind in social capital and in all factors of the Human Development Index except for life expectancy at birth, they tend to be more vulnerable.

8.49 A closer look into the Human Development Report (UNDP, 2001) might reveal that women lag behind men in literacy, schooling ratios and income. However, there are also regional differences. In Istanbul female literacy is 85 percent whereas in Sirnak male literacy is 65 percent and female literacy is a mere 20 percent. Moreover, the female empowerment measures indicate that women also have less potential to empower themselves in the near future (UNDP, 2001).

8.50 The State Planning Organization's poverty report indicates similar figures (DPT, 2001). In this study, two different kinds of measurements were used to analyze poverty. The first used minimum food expenditure, where 8.37 percent of Turkey's population is under absolute poverty and 51.49 percent are women (Erdogan, 1997). With another measurement, based on total expenditure on basic needs, 24.3 percent of Turkey's population is poor and 51.73 percent of these poor women (Erdogan 1997).

8.51 The percentage of women who have no personal income is over 77 percent and this is quite equally distributed among all income groups (Karaduman, 2000). Only 8.7 percent of the

property in the country belongs to women, as opposed to 73 percent belonging to men (Akçar, 1998). That is to say, most women in all income groups are dependent on men for their livelihoods and cannot control income. SPO figures also indicate that the ratio of illiteracy among poor women is twice that of men, and the ratio of widowhood is threefold among women (DPT, 2001). Kasnakoglu, using 1994 household income survey data, argues that male-headed households earn 1.5 times more than female headed households in all income brackets (Kasnakoglu, 1998).

8.52 A closer look at the feminization of poverty shows that smaller families tend to be income poor (Ayata et al, 2002a) whereas if poverty is based on consumption, poor families tend to be larger (SPO, 2001, World Bank, 2002). The data that I shall summarize in the following sections are based on a survey carried out on a representative nationwide sample (Ayata et al., 2002a).

8.53 Being single is an important reason for poverty, especially among women. Many more poor families in comparison to other income groups are single women (6.8 percent of urban families, 6.3 percent of rural poor families). These ratios are 2.7 percent and 2.6 percent, respectively, in the above- median income families. The high ratio of single women among the poor suggests that these women do not have any income themselves, and there is not enough incentive for family members to take them under their protection, or that these women have no one to contribute to their income. They themselves may have little chances for gainful employment. Thus, they are not only left in solitude but also in poverty. Women realize the difficulties of being single and/or a single parent. Many of them claim that they would rather stay married in desperate poverty and even intra-family violence, rather than be divorced or widowed (Bora 2002), because they are afraid to sink deeper into the trap of poverty. While three-quarters of single women have a below median income, more than half of them are below the poverty line. This in itself is an important indicator of the feminization of poverty.

8.54 Another dimension of the feminization of poverty is related to female-headed households.⁵⁹ Female-headed households are more common in urban areas (14.2 percent) than in rural areas (7.2 percent). This may be due to the fact that in rural areas women find it more difficult to remain single; there may be more community pressure to lead them into marriage and to have them seek the protection of the male members of the family. Also, the ratio of female-headed households both in rural and urban areas decreases with the increasing level of incomes. Twenty-one percent of the urban families and 18.8 percent of rural families below the poverty line are female-headed. The ratio of female-headed families in the middle income group is 13.3 percent in urban areas and 7.1 percent in rural areas; in the above-median income families, female-headed families constitute 12.6 percent in urban areas and 4.3 percent in rural areas. Consequently, it can be argued that a female-headed household is certainly more likely than the average to be below the poverty line.

8.55 More female headed households tend to have sick and disabled members in their families especially in the below the poverty line income groups. Sickness and disability also have an impoverishing impact on the household. Single women find it extremely difficult to keep up with both gainful employment and looking after the house, their children and the sick. Having a

⁵⁹ A female-headed household is usually (self) defined as a family where the main and usually the only breadwinner is the woman. A husband/father/son may not exist or may have a long term problem with gainful employment, such as sickness or disability. Usually if there is temporary unemployment and/or disability, the families still recognize the men as household heads.

sick or disabled person in the household also drains off the wealth of the family and the resources of the household.

8.56 Rural-urban and gender differences exist in all levels of income. Among male, rural below the poverty line household heads, 20 percent are illiterate; among the female rural below the poverty line household heads, 80 percent are illiterate. The same figures in urban areas are 7 percent and 16.5 percent, respectively. Furthermore, 55 percent of the rural female-headed households are headed by illiterate women and 46 percent of them are below the poverty line. In short, if a woman is illiterate and rural, and loses her husband, there is an almost 50 percent chance that she will fall below the poverty line. Illiteracy cuts down her chances of mobility drastically. She does not have access to resources because she is unaware of the possibilities. Being a woman traditionally limits her in the course of migration and travel. In the absence of a male household head, the rural family finds it difficult to complete the domestic labor cycle and to have a supplementary urban income from temporary work. Despite the egalitarian framework, traditional practices mean that probably many of the land titles are denied to women, so that they would have difficulties in agricultural production. If not, women may still experience problems in marketing their products or acquiring inputs, as such activities would need interaction in the market and with public offices. For these women, illiteracy is certainly an extra disadvantage in addition to the curtailing of traditional norms.

8.57 Moreover, female-headed rural families may be expected to experience problems in sending their children to school not only because they have fewer resources but also because they are likely to face more social obstacles to access to resources and information networks. Men generally have easier access to public information because they have the formal and informal networks and the capacities for access. Thus, upward mobility chances for the next generation are significantly less for the children of female-headed families.

8.58 We also see that the level of income is directly related to the level of education. Only 30.1 percent of the poor have any education higher than basic education (26.6 percent of the female household heads). This figure shows in many ways that the better educated the household head is, the better job he/she will be able to find and thus the better income he/she will have. Education may also lead to a steadier job and income, which will in turn increase the chances for the family to accumulate wealth.

8.59 Another dimension is related to work opportunities for female household heads. In addition to lack of skills, there are many cultural and traditional constraints that women (particularly poorly educated or uneducated women) may face when seeking work. First and foremost they themselves may not be properly socialized for outside work, and many jobs, such as manual ones, may not be considered suitable for them because of their social environment. Yet if and when women have more education not only do their capabilities and chances for finding a job increase, but also there is more likelihood of social acceptance of working outside of the home.

8.60 Housewives are more common in below the poverty line families (12.7 percent) compared to the other two income groups (7.3 percent and 6.6 percent). The data reveal two important dimensions of the relation of poverty to employment. First, the more members in a household that work, the better is the income of the family. Those families below the poverty line rarely have more than one working member in the family (7.6 percent). In the above median income groups, almost one-third (27.2 percent) of the households have more than one person gainfully employed. This not only moves families from one income bracket to the other, but it increases their chances of survival in the long run because loss of a job by one member can be compensated by the others.

8.61 Second, when and if the wife of the household head or the female household head herself works, the income level of the family is better. While in 9.4 percent of the families below the poverty line there are female members who work, in the above-median-income families, the ratio of female employment is 21.9 percent. There are two complementary reasons for this. The higher the income of the family is, the better is the chance for female members of the household to have an education so that they can get better and more socially acceptable jobs. This in turn further raises the income of the family. If, in the poor families, women can break down the social obstacles and can find a job, then the family has a second income to supplement the main family income. This usually moves the family from the poverty line to the next income bracket. However, the social obstacles, including lack of skills and education, cause women to refrain from a working life. Even in households where male family members do not exist, the ratio of women who take gainful employment is low. Only in 11.2 percent of such families do women work. The difficulties encountered in female employment lead to acute crises in female-headed households. The ratio of female-headed households among the poor (21 percent) is almost twice that in the higher income groups (12 percent); yet even in those families women rarely work (16.9 percent in poor female-headed households). Clearly, employment provides a safety net even if the family is female-headed.

8.62 With respect to residence, owner occupancy is very high in Turkey. Yet while in below the poverty line families only 58.6 percent of male-headed households live in their own houses, in the next two income groups, 61 percent and 66 percent of the families live in their own dwellings. Interestingly enough, among poor women, house ownership is slightly more common than in other income groups: 66.9 percent of below-poverty-line female-headed families own their houses, whereas the same figure is 65 percent and 64 percent in the below-median and above-median-income groups, respectively.

8.63 The difference between the gender groups may be attributed to a number of reasons. The first reason is related to the feminization of poverty. When the male head is absent, many households tend to fall into poverty. The household may have been prosperous enough to buy or build a house initially, but when they experience downward mobility with the loss of the male head they become poor. Second, many families and their supportive networks (relatives, neighbors and friends) first try to make sure that the family members who lose their male head are provided with a “roof over their head.” Consequently, families headed by women tend to have either their own houses or are given access to a free house. Third, as the family income increases, the wealth tends to be concentrated in the hands of the male household heads. Thus, in the above-median-income families the number of owner occupiers is higher. Despite this, an egalitarian ownership pattern exists between men and women, specifically in the male-headed families of this income group. In many cases the property is registered under the man’s name, and until the most recent Civil Law reform (2002), in cases of divorce or the death of the husband, women were not given access to property.

8.64 Because women are mostly owner occupiers, there is no difference between men and women in the use of infrastructural services. However, with respect to such services as access to social solidarity fund resources, or adult education courses, where social relations and knowledge for access are needed, women may lag behind because of social restrictions and lower education.

Networks and Access to Benefits

8.65 The social solidarity networks used for coping with poverty in both rural and urban areas are largely informal. Family, kinship and neighborhood networks probably add to a vast

proportion of the solidarity generated benefits, making both state allocated resources and resources generated by NGO's and associations only secondary in importance.

8.66 I have already discussed the importance of family, kinship and neighborhood in the lives of women. Family and kinship are still by far the most important mutual support institutions, but in themselves bear a good deal of tension and repression. In this kind of support, the emphasis is often on generalized reciprocity, so that aid or support is to be returned only when and if the donor himself/herself is in need. Culturally, the stress is on altruism, generosity and duty. However, this emphasis extended to an indefinite time leads to strong expectations from the recipient of the support, in terms of showing deference to the donor and with respect to due sacrifices in case of the need to reciprocate. Especially in the case of women, such obligation may lead to domination and control, thus negatively affecting women's empowerment. Family and family resources, as has been mentioned, are crucial for women. In the villages this is the only available network; in the cities this becomes the most easily accessible and reliable source of support. It has been argued that the family network is so crucial that in cases where families are disintegrated and lose their kinship networks, they tend to fall through the safety nets into poverty (Kalaycioglu and Rittersberger Tiliç, 2000).

8.67 In Turkish society, culturally, a poor woman, especially if she is single or a widow, is considered as the most vulnerable and in need of protection. Many such women have to rely on the donations given by their relatives. The aid provided will usually be small and in the form of food, used clothing, money to buy fuel or towards the education of children. Big contributions of capital or for buying a dwelling happen very rarely, yet free allocation of the family property or part of it is quite common. Aid in case of health problems is also very common and may add up to substantial amounts. In such cases, a large network may be mobilized, in accordance with the closeness to the needy and the ability to pay, and many relatives may be asked to contribute to an informal fund (Ayata et al., 2002a, 2002b). The success of such an endeavor may depend on many things including the strength of the network. For example, some villages and ethnic groups have readily available associations for such a mobilization where regular records of the whereabouts of villagers are kept (Kurtoglu, 1998). In most cases this will be carried out with informal networking and will be much less successful. The donor family members themselves may not necessarily be rich yet often they see the protection of needy women as a duty. However, there is a fine line between protection and domination. Many families realize the incapacity of women in finding jobs and generating income for themselves; and so they feel the obligation to help. On the other side of the coin, there is the conservative worldview and expectation that women should not work or enter public life for fear that they may become "loose" and providing for their needs is a way to keep them "off the streets."

8.68 Until very recently in Turkey, food chains would go from rural areas to urban areas, where the migrants in cases of family crisis would seek refuge in the village and its resources (Stirling, 1965; Stirling and Incirlioglu, 1996). Still, for a very few families the village may be a last retreat. However, the main direction of the mutual aid chain has reversed, and many urban families not only allow their rural relatives to benefit exclusively from the very limited rural resources but also contribute to the welfare of their rural relatives in cash or in kind. For instance, not only may they have a family house, the use of which they may leave to the rural relatives, but they may also send clothing and money for their cash needs (Ayata et al., 2002a). It has become very common to buy the winter coal for an old aunt or buy the books of needy nephews and nieces in occasional visits to the old village. Old clothes and durable consumer goods usually find their way to villages. In the villages, the village community itself, and in the urban areas, the neighborhood, also become part of the survival strategies.

8.69 I have argued that, as in the villages, in the urban areas social relations are anchored in space, and women's freedom is largely confined to a face block. The protection of the honor of women is the responsibility of the neighborhood and the cluster of relatives in the neighborhood through which a secure neighborhood for all is assured. As has been described, much of the information, loans of money, tools, transport facilities, labor support and help during weddings and funerals, is shared and provided within the neighborhood.

8.70 The intimacy stemming from similar lifestyles found within the neighborhood, especially among women (Kandiyoti, 1982; Günes-Ayata, 1997), enables the neighbors to understand each others' difficulties and provide mutual help. The religious and traditional motto that "you should not sleep when your neighbor is hungry" becomes a critical safety net for many families. Not only do they provide food for the daily nutritional needs of the children of needy neighbors but they share clothing, fuel and educational needs such as books. Moreover many of the formal institutional and informal associational aids are initiated and finalized within the community. The village or neighborhood head man (muhtar) is the person authorized to give a poverty decree/paper (fakirlik ilmuhaberi), which enables a family to be eligible to receive Social Solidarity Fund benefits and the so-called Green Card. Also, usually the muhtar is the one to be asked by philanthropic associations to name the needy in the neighborhood. Thus, good relations with the muhtar and a good reputation in the neighborhood become crucial for the family. This in turn is highly dependent on the modesty and chastity of the women in the family. A poor woman and her family thus become subject even more to community judgment under the strict full-time control of the neighborhood. The women's obedience to patriarchal norms, modesty requirements, piousness and subservience often become her only means of access to social security and solidarity benefits. Poor women also develop vertical networks. Upwardly mobile women from poor families may retain their relationship with old neighborhoods and may even serve as a role model for young girls (Toktas-Çelik, 1998). Poor women working as servants in middle class families may develop personal relations with their employers, who assume the role of mentor, helping the whole family especially for education and for solving the health problems of children (Kalaycioglu and Rittersberger Tiliç, 1998). In some cases a female co-worker employed in the same firm with a more secure and better-paid position may assume a similar role. In all cases, working life empowers women, by introducing them to public life, increasing their awareness, and improving their position within the family decision making processes (Kuyas, 1982; Bolak, 1993).

8.71 Religious obligations of alms-giving mean that middle class families also provide some cash relief to the poor (fitre, zekat and sadaka), but research shows that this is quite limited in effectiveness and is negligible in amount. Usually the pattern of such alms-giving is to give the money not necessarily to the most needy but to a poorer person that is near by. It has trickle down effects but is very little in content (Ayata et al., 2002b). More organized philanthropic activities, often through women's NGO's, also exist. Both the secular and the Islamist women's associations have proliferated in the country in recent years, providing the needy with aid and support, albeit with dramatically opposite aims.

8.72 In this context the expansion of the middle class, and more specifically the rising opposition to the growing Islamist threat, has led in Turkey to a multiplication of secular philanthropic associations (Gökçe, 1998; Gökyay, 1998). Some of these associations have had significant appeal and are organized nationwide (e.g. the Association in Support of Contemporary Living). In general, they organize alms giving, scholarships for female students, and training programs in practical skills to enable women to have gainful employment. They also provide them with basic health education including population control and sometimes help them find micro credit and/or help market their handicrafts. Some of these NGOs run small women's or

community centers in the neighborhoods to provide such services and to coordinate such activities. Some local governments (municipalities) also provide these NGO initiatives with support, for example by allocating a building to them. All of these NGOs target the empowerment of women as individuals within the family. Thus, basic women's rights education is either given directly in the form of conferences or integrated into other activities where teachers can provide information and counseling when needed.

8.73 Islamist philanthropic associations are more widespread, and more effective and can generate more resources (Arat, 1999). As opposed to the more formalized, impersonal and distant attitude of the secular organizations, Islamist groups tend to infiltrate into the neighborhoods, seeking the active participation of the poor themselves. They have community representatives who act as community leaders, and through religious practice they easily find adherents to their activities. Through these organizations, poor women can have access to resources, including finding jobs for their family members. Islamist women act as a solidarity group as well: they go into poor homes, share "sorrow and joy" with the family, pray with them, share their concerns and listen to their problems. Thus, they aim to provide not only a practical solution to the material problems of everyday life, such as finding food or scholarships or money, but also a sense of "belongingness and identification to the women in poor households in particular (White 2002).

8.74 Their welfare activism is also supported by large scale organized educational aids and the provision of dormitories, business networks, etc., for members of families. Through their worldview and practices, the Islamist groups often reinforce authoritarian and patriarchal social control mechanisms. For example, they limit their scholarships to female students who cover their heads and take religious education. They would help women survive as members of families, but would not necessarily help empower them as individuals in public life. Furthermore, these groups themselves are patriarchal and authoritarian in nature. They observe gender segregation, expect obedience to the elders and emphasize traditional sources of authority (Acar, 1990).

8.75 The Islamist groups are often very keen on controlling their members' morality and behavior. For instance, young women who do not cover their heads are often faced with ostracism within the community (Özdalga, 1997). Thus, while the Islamic groups are effective in helping the poor, the poor women are expected to pay them back for such aid by loyalty to the Islamic community and its morality standards.

8.76 The state itself also directly or indirectly provides the poor with support through public resources. One of the most well established institutions is the Social Services and Child Protection Institution. This institution cares for 21,200 children and has given different kinds of aid in the form of food or money to another 16178 (Çocuk Vakfi Yearly Report, 2001). Even though its function is not directly related to women's problems, this institution lifts an important burden from the women and their families, since it accepts the children of poor families in desperate situations (even if their parents are alive). The state also runs homes for the elderly, where some women seek refuge.

8.77 Considerable efforts on the part of the state are also diverted to adult education centers for poverty alleviation. In the poor urban areas, there are community centers sponsored directly by the state where poor women are given training in various subjects from literacy to handicrafts, in order to improve their living standards. These centers target particularly the young women who have not had a chance to continue formal education. Community centers sometimes include health care services for women and children. Parallel kinds of activities are also carried out in Southeast Anatolia in Multi-focal, Multipurpose Community Centers (Çok Odaklı Çok Amaçlı Toplum Merkezi- ÇATOM) (Fazlıoğlu and Tuğrul, 1997).

8.78 The state's direct contribution to poverty alleviation is organized by the Social Assistance and Solidarity Encouragement Fund (Social Solidarity Fund) and the Green Card System. The activities of the Fund are not limited to direct transfers to poor families; but they also provide funds for such aids as scholarships, income generation projects, and dormitories for children. Between January 2001 and March 2001, 476,000 families received food and clothing, and 873,000 families received fuel for winter, from this agency (Basbakanlik Sosyal Yardimlasma ve Dayanismayi Tesvik Fonu Faaliyet Raporu, 2001). Even though there are no exact figures as yet, the authorities in the Fund say that there have been dramatic increases in these figures in 2002, which indicates the extent of the impact of the recent economic crisis on the poor.

8.79 The number of Green Card owners who are entitled to free medical services (but not medication) also reached 11 million in 2002 (Ministry of Health). Medication expenses for 3 million beneficiaries have also been supplemented by the Social Solidarity Fund. These figures are not classified on a gender basis, so it is difficult to estimate how many of the beneficiaries were women. However, a study in Ankara indicates that majority of the household heads who receive such benefits are women, and some are single parent families (Sallan-Gül, 2001).

8.80 Education benefits were also given to mothers of 1,050,000 children in the school year for 2001-2002. It is estimated that the greater part of the aid goes to the education needs of children, even though a portion may be spent on other necessities for the family such as food. That this aid was given directly to women was part of an innovative gender-sensitive strategy which had the secondary aim of empowering women. Women indeed responded very favorably to the fact that this subsidy was paid directly to them rather than to men. Arguing that otherwise it would be spent on things not directly related to the children, one woman said:

“How can a man understand the conditions at home and the problems of children?”

8.81 In summary, in Turkey, the majority of the poor families are supported through informal mechanism in which the most significant safety nets are relatives and neighbors. In the more organized and formal sector, privately initiated NGOs exist, including some self-help programs, but despite their own shortcomings the most widespread and effective programs are state initiated and directed. The interviews conducted by this researcher indicate that, in having access to benefits gender works in two ways. On the one hand, women can benefit from some degree of positive discrimination. Single women, widows and “desperate” mothers constitute the most vulnerable section of the poor. The social workers in the Social Solidarity Fund also realize the difficulties of women in getting employment and finding resources. Therefore, if women reach the authorities, they tend to have preferential treatment. In fact this preferential treatment tends to be abused by their male folk. Husbands send their wives to collect aid, arguing that their honor as men should be protected. They do not want to admit that they are incapable of taking care of their families. Often in such cases women face legal and procedural problems. Until very recently family law in Turkey operated on the basis of a concept of head of household in which the husband represented the family. Thus, the authorities would either require proof that the husband was dead or disabled, a situation that put women between two pressures (Ayata et al., 2002b). This legal requirement will no longer be valid since the new Civil Law has abolished the “head of the family's” concept.

8.82 Interviews also indicate that women usually do not have information on the resources available for the poor and they are not able to complete the necessary paperwork to have access to what they are entitled to. Unless they are directly reached by donor organizations, as in the case

of education benefits, women find it too difficult to deal with the bureaucracy. Even going to the Fund to get the benefits to which they are entitled may be difficult because they may not even know how to use the transportation system. In this case, problems encountered by rural women are even greater, because distances are longer, the transportation expenses may be higher and there is no significant mass of poor in the village to share the information. In urban areas, women get help mainly from their neighbors. They learn about the resources, they get information on the whereabouts of the places, and they learn the bureaucratic procedures. A few women may come together and go as a group to the Fund or they may take a child with them to direct them. We see that for a women access to almost all resources is realized through the neighborhood or relatives.

Conclusions

8.83 We may thus conclude that female-headed households are among the poorest and most desperate in Turkey. They have greatest difficulty in finding jobs and they suffer from extreme shortages of cash. They are also disadvantaged in the labor market, because of their low levels of education and skills. Moreover, women may experience significant social restraints in searching for work. I have argued that these social restraints stem from gender roles, which are reinstated, reinforced and reproduced in kinship and neighborhood communities. However, these communities also provide women with their most important social capital. Breaking with one's family and neighborhood is almost like committing economic suicide. Currently, these networks themselves are also experiencing significant strife and strain with economic crises. Not only do families have fewer resources to share, but also supporting others becomes a burden. This creates conflict within the families, causing social and psychological problems. Nonetheless, in cases of destitute members of the family such as widows, and the sick and disabled, there is still significant help coming from neighbors and relatives.

8.84 Poverty is a source of tension and conflict within the family. When men are unemployed and cannot fulfill their role as the breadwinner, their fatherly authority position is challenged within the household and the community. Endless arguments and quarrels about who is spending on what, who is guilty for the poverty, etc, create tension. This is frequently reflected in increasing intra-family violence, directed mostly at women and children.

8.85 Moreover, poverty may lead to a retreat from social relations. Embarrassed by their poverty and dependence on others, many men and women avoid close contact with others. The fear of not being able to reciprocate small favors may lead to staying at home, which in turn cuts off links to information. Many women (and men) have complained about anxiety, depression, and pessimism; some also express their despair as "wanting to commit suicide."

8.86 Even though the feminization of poverty is eminent, women do not seem to be specifically disadvantaged in having access to aid as long as they comply with their gender roles and patriarchal norms. That is to say, they will be taken care of by the community as mothers, widows or desperate wives by their relatives and neighbors. Even the state agencies give preferential access to such women as opposed to men, realizing the social difficulties women may encounter as single parents. However women are not encouraged to be independent by the community, and the state authorities do realize the tensions which may be encountered with such encouragement. Women also lack the capacity to function as independent individuals as they do not have the necessary skills, education, and knowledge of public interaction.

8.87 In short, being poor and dependent is socially much more acceptable for women than for men.

Some Policy Recommendations

8.88 In the short term, the most important safety net for the women is their neighborhood and family community, even though they do not empower women as individuals but on the contrary reinforce the stereotypical gender norms. Accordingly, policy measures, especially for highly traditional and conservative communities, such as Kurds, should take these parameters into account. An abrupt change that breaks the community networks would create a vacuum. Therefore, communities should gradually be transformed into more egalitarian forms where women can be empowered as individuals. Community centers should be used to strengthen internal solidarity within the neighborhood, creating some kind of mutual support group, or at least creating an awareness that most of the problems are shared by the neighbors. However, repressive networks should be discouraged by creating gender awareness and female solidarity. Some professional help may be provided here by the state agencies, which can guide the communities to a more egalitarian framework and create gender awareness and sensitivity.

8.89 The difficulties of access to information have already been discussed. To overcome these difficulties, women should be better informed about the availability of the aid-giving institutions as well as the public services. Community centers can be used for disseminating information on where and how to have access to services such as health care, and education, as well as where to get food supplements, fuel aid, etc.

8.90 Since women have very little access to cash, the practice of giving the education benefits directly to mothers should be continued. While this might help to empower women to some extent, it significantly reinforces women's role and responsibility in educating their children. Education is highly valued by women, especially for their daughters, and this small amount of cash goes a long way as an incentive to promote female education.

8.91 Employment has a major impact on poverty redemption, and therefore women should be encouraged to work. Despite its negative impact on reinforcing stereotypical gender roles and women's homebound existence in the city, working from home should nonetheless be encouraged. Ways and means to enable women to translate their limited skills in handicrafts into monetary returns should be sought. Skills that enable women to be gainfully employed should be taught and promoted through both short-term courses in the community centers and longer term formal education, with the aim of integrating more young women into the urban labor force.

8.92 The health problems of poor women themselves and their families constitute a major burden. Better and more extensive health care services should be available. An important dimension in lowering the costs of health care should be the provision of public health education, which may be supported by media programs.

8.93 Education is the most important asset for women, enabling them to have access to resources and to control them. The poverty redemption measures should include policies to improve the education levels of female children, so that poverty will not pass from one generation to another. Illiteracy and lack of education are the most important causes of poverty. Eradication of illiteracy should be the most important target in the struggle against poverty. To this end, authorities should adopt policies and measures and to put in place adult literacy programs for women in particular. In the long term, the target should be the empowerment of women as individuals in the family and in public life.

8.94 Through media programs and educational institutions, the culture of equality should be promoted. Within this effort, the social acceptance of women's employment should be

encouraged. The education and employment of women should be prioritized as a means of self-fulfillment, the improvement of life standards, and empowerment for women. Last but not least, women's participation in public life should be encouraged in the hope that this will lead to gender consciousness and self-help programs.

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9. WOMEN IN STATE, POLITICS AND CIVIL SOCIETY

Serpil Sancar-Üsür

Basic Facts Related to Women's Under-representation in Politics

9.1 Women are strikingly under-represented in political decision-making in Turkey. Considering the ratios of women's representation in parliaments around the world, Turkey ranks 110th among 173 countries (UNDP, 2002). The current female parliamentary representation, both at the parliamentary level (4.4 percent) and at the local level (less than 2 percent) remains below the average for European, American, Pacific and African countries (IPU, 2003). This low level of women's participation in national politics is even more significant if we compare it with women's participation rate in professional jobs (33.9 percent), in public office (17 percent) and as managers (11.5 percent) in Turkey (UNDP, 2000: 166 and United Nations, 2000: 171-5). These figures are clear evidence of an asymmetry between women's enhanced status in professional and social life and their participation in political decision-making.

9.2 For many aspects of political life, reliable gender-based data are not available in Turkey. Basic indicators of participation (i.e., figures such as percentages of women in membership in their political and their decision-making bodies; gender disaggregated data on voting for different political parties and in different regions) are still not available in statistics. Only the numbers of registered candidates in local and general elections, according to sex, are accessible. According to these figures, the chances of women candidates to be elected to office are four times less than those of men (Sancar Üsür, 2000b: 218).

9.3 Recent research also indicates that women MP's are usually educated women with successful professional careers who are often picked by party leadership as tokens and not necessarily with regard to their political experience in a party organization and even less for their competence in gender issues (KADER, 1999; 2002a; Kovanlikaya, 2001).

Social and Political Context of Women's Under-representation

9.4 The dominant family and marriage pattern in Turkey is based on the woman's role as wife and mother. The participation of women in social and political life without respecting this role is perceived to be destructive of family life. Because of this belief, the social and political activities of women are controlled and held back by their husbands, their male relatives, and some social/political actors. That is to say, one of the very first pre-conditions for gender equality is an enabling environment for women so that they can reconcile their social and family life. This can only be done by implementing policies that support the equal standing of both sexes in the family.

9.5 Generally speaking, charity work is deemed to be suitable for women in Turkey as a consequence of their gendered familial role. By reason of this perception, a large proportion of women's civil activities (Gökçe, 1998; Gökyay, 1998; Sallan-Gül and Aksu-Coskun, 1998) are concentrated in social charities. It should be pointed out that directing women's creative potential towards homeless children, the elderly and the handicapped outside the family may be beneficial

for the well-being of society, but it does not necessarily contribute to women's public visibility, nor does it empower them to voice their demands.

9.6 This pattern of female participation being restricted to "social" but not "political" activities is also prevalent in political parties. Not surprisingly, it prevents women from developing their skills in representing their gender-based problems on their own. And the result is a persistent lack of female power in political decision-making. Changing this reality requires a paradigm shift that includes setting up new organizations to empower women as citizens and voters.

9.7 When political decision-making processes are observed in Turkey, the "male dominated models" of participation and their discriminating effects become clear (Sancar Üsür, 1998a; 1998b; 2000b; Arat, 1987, 1989; Günes-Ayata, 1990;1998; Ari, 1998; Berktaş, 1998; Talaslı, 1996; Tekeli, 1982; Tekeli and Koray, 1991; Yaraman, 1998; 1999). Positive assets for political success, such as organizational, ethnic, regional or religious support bases, money, competence and the ability to challenge are often the results of male experiences. Women are often not familiar with such types of experience and continue to characterize politics as "dirty" and as something that belongs to the men's world.

9.8 For the political parties represented in Parliament, the notion of equality between women and men has no direct correspondence to democracy and social development. The issue of equality seems to be on the agenda only at the rhetoric level, and will be recalled during election campaigns. Some political parties, on the other hand, have come to recognize gender disparities and some of them have adopted more egalitarian language in their party programs, and a few have set rather restricted women's quotas¹ during the 1990s (Sancar Üsür, 1998b). It should be noted here that the activism of the women's movement of the 1980s (Abadan-Unat, 1998; 1999; Arat, 1991; 1994; 2000; Bora and Günel, 2002; Çaha, 1996; Ilkharacan, 1996; Ilyasoglu and Akgökçe, 2001; Kiliç, 1998; Koray, 1998; Tekeli, 1989; 1990a; 1998) has played a key role in these changes. In spite of these changing trends in political parties, a strong political intention to implement gender equality policies is still not present in the legislature.

9.9 Women's organizations and Women's Branches in political parties are mainly seen as instruments for the mobilization of female voters. Legally, "Women's Branches" of the political parties have very limited functions and capacities and thus are not effective in promoting the participation of women in the political decision-making process. Having neither representative authority nor an allocated budget renders Women's Branches ineffective in designing, proposing, implementing and monitoring gender-sensitive policies and measures. Women's Branches do not have the authority to nominate female candidates for either of the parties' executive boards (Sancar Üsür, 1998b). Therefore, the path that women must walk from Women's Branches to the party's decision-making bodies is indeed a very narrow one. The Political Parties Law (no.2820) is gender blind before these facts. There is still no statutory support for women who have been

¹ These political parties are: Freedom and Solidarity Party (ÖDP) (30 percent), Republican People's Party (CHP) (25 percent), **People's Democracy Party (HADEP) (25 percent)** and True Path Party (DYP) (10 percent). While for some of these parties the gender quota pertains only to positions in the internal decision-making bodies of the party, in the two part ÖDP and DYP gender quotas are to be applied for candidate lists for parliamentary elections too. Since their adoption, however, except for ÖDP and HADEP, actual implementation of gender quotas was lower than the designated figures. In the last elections (2002), AKP (Justice and Development Party) and CHP won seats in the Parliament. Neither of these parties had gender quotas for parliamentary candidates. For more information, see: Balta, 1997; Kiliç, 2001; and Sahin, 2001.

advocating an equal place and equal opportunities in Turkish politics for many years. What is more, in Turkey political parties and leaders are still not meeting gender inequality issues with a problem-solving approach.

9.10 A male dominated model of participation is also prevalent in labor unions. In Turkey, only 14-15 percent of all registered women workers are organized in trade unions; this amounts to 100,000 women and to a 10 percent membership rate for all unions.² This low unionization rate for female workers is not just the result of the employment structure, but is also due to the patriarchal pattern of organizational participation in Turkey. When we consider the female representation in decision-making bodies in labor unions, the situation becomes clearer (Toksöz, 2002; Toksöz and Erdogdu, 1998). In TURK-IS (the largest labor confederation), none of the 27 labor unions have female members on their central executive committees. The situation is similar for two other smaller confederations, HAK-IS and DISK. However, it should be noted that in the last few years, with the affiliation of international workers' organizations such as ICFTU and ETUC and of women's movements, labor unions have felt obliged to give way to activities aimed at discussing gender discrimination in the workplace and in labor unions. In this way, gender equality seminars, special women's committee organizations and conferences on women's issues in which women's voices are being heard are for the first time taking place in labor unions. In these activities, gender issues gain visibility but mostly as complaints and not as formulated solutions covered in a concrete agenda. Meanwhile, the exceptional case of the public employees' union-KESK/Confederation of Public Employees Unions should be mentioned here. As one-third of total public employees, female employees are better educated and more conscious than private sector female workers, and are quite active in labor unions. And they are pushing for the conditions for further gender equality in decision-making bodies, with the agenda of affirmative action policies that involve women's quotas on central executive committees and women's commissions as means of facilitating female participation.

9.11 Owing to some outspoken NGOs whose mandates include women's increased representation in Parliament and other governing bodies, the issue of under-representation in politics was kept visible in the media throughout the 1990s (Yaraman, 1999). Despite these efforts by NGOs, the results are discouraging. This problem is closely connected to the characteristics of the women's movement, which includes political groups with different orientations (Esim and Cindoglu, 1999; Kardam and Ertürk, 1999). In this respect, the need for a common NGO political agenda that will advocate special positive measures such as quotas, voluntary agreements, and the creation of nationwide networks for the support of female candidates, has been indicated (STK Koordinasyon Birimi, 2000; DPT, 2000; KADER, 2002b; KESK, 1998; KSSGM, 1995; 1998a; 2001a; Uçan Süpürge, 2002).

9.12 Under the above environment of politics, being a candidate and being elected are simply unreachable targets for many women. Within this framework, the processes of candidacy and election ought to be discussed in detail. Along the same lines, providing equal opportunity to all women from different backgrounds is as important as providing equal opportunity to women and men. That is to say, the problem of powerless women from poorer areas should be specifically addressed. In the current situation, only a few powerful women from the elites can be part of the

² According to the official figures of the Ministry of Labor the number of registered female workers was 677,669 in 2000, and 46.6 percent of these women (315,772) are unionized (KSSGM, 2001c). In reality, these figures are not reliable because the registered people were not dropped from the register when they quit, resigned, or left both the job and union membership. Owing to this fact, the above estimated figures by gender experts should be taken as closer to reality.

political processes (KADER, 2002a). The presence of such women in politics may not guarantee that women's interests are voiced and heard.

State's Gender Equality Policies

9.13 In 1990, *The General Directorate on the Status and Problems of Women* (GDSPW) was established as a national machinery addressing the issue of gender equality. It was affiliated with the Prime Ministry in 1991; since then it executes its functions under the responsibility of the State Minister responsible for Family and Women's Affairs. The overall objectives of the GDSPW are to coordinate all the gender related activities of different governmental bodies and establish a policy dialogue with all relevant ministries in order to translate policy statements on gender equality into concrete policies (GDSPW, 2001; Acuner, 2002). Also in 1993, a new unit was established at the State Institute of Statistics to compile, produce and disseminate gender disaggregated data. This would be necessary for the formation and implementation of gender policies.

9.14 As mentioned above, GDSPW as a central coordinating unit operates with a limited staff and budget. Its share of the national budget has been about 0.0001 percent of the consolidated budget since its foundation in 1990 (GDSPW, 2001). Additionally, GDSPW is confronted with problems of legitimacy and is often considered a marginal body within the government. Despite its limited recognition, GDSPW was able to establish 14 Gender Focal Points in provincial cities in the absence of local branches of the State Ministry. These focal points have aimed to serve as centers of information dissemination and service provision (KASAUM, 1998).

9.15 In addition, the establishment of a Parliamentary Investigative Committee on the Status of Women in 1998, and its recommendation to establish a Standing Parliamentary Committee on Gender Equality, is an example of such efforts at mainstreaming gender at the highest political level (KSSGM, 1998b). This recommendation was later picked up by GDSPW, in collaboration with an NGO, KADER (the Association for Supporting and Training Women Candidates), submitted a proposal to the TBMM (Turkish Grand National Assembly) to establish a standing committee on gender equality at the parliamentary level.

9.16 As a body of coordination, GDSPW has carried out the follow-up activities for the UN Fourth World Congress of Women (1995) and its output document, the *Beijing Platform for Action*. The *National Action Plan* was prepared accordingly, with the contribution of relevant governmental offices and NGOs (KSSGM, 1998a). In this document the government committed itself to carry out vital measures to amend, create and improve legislative, official and policy areas, including the institutionalization of a gender quota in political decision-making bodies. The targets stated in the *National Action Plan* were restated, and parallel recommendations were made by the ad hoc Parliamentary Commission of 1998 (KSSGM, 1998a) and by the Commission of Experts established in 2000 in the State Planning Organization (SPO) (DPT, 2000: 42-5). A gender perspective is incorporated into the five-year development plans and annual programs published by the SPO. It is worthwhile to say that in the Special Session of the UN General Assembly entitled *Beijing+5: Further Actions and Initiatives to Implement the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action*, which met in 2000 in New York, the Turkish delegation was one of the prominent initiators of the request to insert gender quotas in political decision-making bodies in the text of the Outcome Document (KSSGM, 2001b).

9.17 Despite some important achievements in certain areas of concern defined by the *National Action Plan* (GDSPW, 2001), almost no improvement can be observed in women's equal participation in decision-making and the advancement of national machinery. Specific targets, namely, quotas, etc., are still waiting for the formation of a political will in Parliament. The

strong commitment of some women's NGOs to press for this issue and bring it to the parliamentary floor is continuing (KADER, 2002b).

9.18 Efforts to provide a new legal base for the GDSPCO, which have been continuing for the last five years, have been linked to the package of administrative reforms deemed necessary for accession to the European Union (EU). The adoption of the Draft Organizational Law of GDSPW has been placed under the short-term objectives of the National Program for the Adaptation of the Acquis (ABGS, 2001). It is therefore urgent to pass this draft bill, in order to comply with the Acquis.

9.19 Despite the weak governmental and parliamentary inclination to take up gender equality issues, the GDSPW, since its inception, has received strong support from different civil actors, especially voluntary and professional support of women's organizations and academics. The GDSPW has been successful in maintaining an open dialogue with the activists in the women's movement and pays special attention to involving NGOs in implementing regional, national and international commitments of equality politics. It has supported cooperation and networking between state agencies and civil society actors and has been able to follow international developments closely in this regard. All these actions have contributed to its enhanced capacity to shape gender policies together with NGOs and its success in setting a common agenda on gender equality (KSSGM, 1995; 2001a).

9.20 The GDSPW has also been playing a key role in channeling financial support to other state agency, university, or NGO projects aimed at developing gender expertise or improving gender-based data, and at sensitizing public officials to gender equality policies through training and other programs. The GDSPW has done this by utilizing resources from international funding agencies, notably from the UNDP and the World Bank. It has allocated these funds to its state, university and/or NGO partners whose mandates are to eradicate gender disparities and discrimination in education, health and employment, and to speak up for gender sensitive legislation and equal political representation.

9.21 Mainstreaming the gender perspective in all policies, plans and programs is targeted by the GDSPW and this has been an ongoing process in Turkey, although it faces strong resistance from the male-dominated outlook in the state bureaucracy. In the efforts to mainstream gender equality, some governmental bodies have been prioritized as targets to be made more receptive to and accountable for gender equality. The Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Justice are among those targeted governmental bodies. In this line, GDSPW worked very closely with the Ministry of Justice on the new Civil Code. The relentless efforts of NGOs for the adoption of the new Civil Code are worth mentioning here. In contrast, similar efforts by the GDSPW to produce gender guidelines for educational curricula in 2001, were not successful. Many gender training programs, some of which were facilitated by the Gender Training Manual which was produced by the GDSPW in 1998, have nonetheless been implemented by NGOs, governmental agencies, and universities and have made significant contributions to the creation of a more gender sensitive society (KASAUM, 2000).

Women's NGOs for Gender Equality

9.22 In Turkey, women's organizations for gender equality have a long history. While the experiences of Ottoman women from the middle of the nineteenth century on provides the background, the most important pillars of this history are the Republican Reforms. These reforms, accomplished in the 1920s and 1930s reflected "modern women" as a symbol and described the socially competing forces of Turkish society as traditional-religious and modern-Westernized forces (Kandiyoti, 1997).

9.23 During the twentieth century, the struggles of women's organizations continued to concentrate on the issues of the violation of women's human rights in the family, their visibility in the public realm and participation in social life. Such activism experienced a turning point after the military coup in 1980 (Abadan-Unat, 1998; 1999; Arat, 1991; 1994; 2000; Kiliç, 1998; Koray, 1998; Tekeli, 1998). During the military regime, while all political activities were banned, autonomous feminist groups gained new power to advocate for issues such as women against domestic violence, to push for gender-sensitive legislation, and to create non-hierarchical models of feminist associations. The activities of small and horizontally related groups of feminists, objecting to the patriarchal mentality in social life, resulted in partial victories for gender equality (Çaha, 1996; Sirman, 1989; Berktaş, 2001). Through these efforts, during the 1980s and 1990s, feminists facilitated the processes of creating some common goals for women's empowerment, in cooperation with other civil society organizations and governmental bodies such as the GDSPW. Campaigning for current issues, building shelters for battered women, consulting for women's human rights, training for empowerment and consciousness-raising, founding libraries and research centers and publications, were some of the feminist activities of this period (Tekeli, 1990b; Ilyasoglu and Akgökçe, 2001; Bora and Günel, 2002).

9.24 In the 1990s, in addition to the feminist organizations, Turkey witnessed the development of a multi-faceted women's movement with components of Islamist, Kemalist, leftist and Kürdist characteristics, matching the general political/ideological divisions in political life. These components initiated different efforts for different gender issues, which often not only diverged on solutions, but were also in conflict on the diagnosis of problems. Such incompatibility is particularly valid for political issues. Islamist women's organizations give priority to the issues of empowerment of women in family life, with strong reference to women's roles as mothers and wives (Acar, 1993; 1995; Arat, 1990). They succeeded in mobilizing a large number of women for the Islamist organizations and political parties without demanding any positions at the decision-making level in these organizations which remained exclusively occupied by men. Such non-traditional political participation of Islamist women as rank and file and as members of political parties, without the objections of conflict with their domestic role, has been deemed transformative by some who view such activism among Islamist women as carrying a crucial potential for future female empowerment (Göle, 1992; Push, 2000; Çakır, 2000; Ilyasoglu, 1994; Sefkatli-Tuksal, 2000; Arat, 1999).

9.25 Kemalist women's organizations, on the other hand, position themselves against traditional/religious emphases on women's modesty and veiling, and concentrate on the modernization of female images and secularization in Turkish society (Saktanber, 2001; Arat, 1991; 1998; Z. Arat, 1998; Ayata, 1998). Combating female illiteracy, increasing the enrolment of girls in primary and secondary education, and organizing income generating activities for poor women constitute their favorite issues.

9.26 Leftist women's groups have tried to define women's issues from the perspective of the working class, with special emphasis on female poverty and the low level of wages of women workers as well as female identities' articulation with ethnicity, gender and social class. The bases of their demands for emancipation and activities for the empowerment of women extend from leftist trade unions to ethnic political organizations. They ask for gender equality and demand "quotas" for women's participation in decision-making processes in professional and political organizations (i.e., KESK/Confederation of Public Workers Trade Unions). These groups also oppose patriarchal control of female identities and bodies, and, in line with discriminatory traditions that are overlooked by ethnic/nationalist movements, support efforts for the voices of marginalized women to be heard (IKD, 1996; Ilyasoglu, 1996; Yasar, 1990; Akal Aslan, 2001).

9.27 Kurdist women's organizations have been speaking out against specific issues, such as political violence, ethnic discrimination, and regional disparities that are considered to be the reasons for the deprivation of women (Açık, 2002; Yalçın-Heckmann and Gelder, 2000; Yasar, 2000). They also elaborate on the problems of being female in ethnic communities as well as issues related to state intervention in ethnic identities.

9.28 The differences among women's organizations are not limited to the issues they gave priority to, but also vary according to their organizational models; the scope of organization; leadership styles, membership profiles; whether or not they include male members; their patterns of cooperation with state agencies and other social actors. While some of these organizations are organized along nationwide formal and hierarchical lines, others prefer face to face, informal relations within small and activity-oriented groups. Some have "strong leadership" with some women leaders holding power for a long time, others incline towards open-ended participation and self-organized activities as their founding principle.

9.29 As a form of activity, some women's organizations prefer "loose" associations in the form of "platforms" and arrange "campaigns" that concentrate on a single gender-relevant issue such as violence against women, often with the purpose of reacting to some policy or action or of putting women's human rights issues on the national political agenda.

9.30 Despite these differences among women's organizations, some common characteristics also exist.³ Most organizations have been founded by urban middle-class and professional women, while their targeted groups are poor, lower class, rural women or housewives. The relationships between founders and beneficiaries of these organizations are mostly non-egalitarian, due to their vertical/hierarchical structures. These organizations are based on the efforts of few voluntary activists. Thus they face discontinuity and institutionalization problems and have limited access to national and international funds (Acar, 2000). They all suffer from a lack of a strong political will on the part of decision-makers in backing their gender equality perspective in society. Networking for better communication and agenda-setting among them remains ineffective and inefficient, despite many declarations of their will.

9.31 The urban, middle class and elite character of women's organizations prevents them from carrying out effective grass-roots activities dealing with female poverty and regional disparity. Only a few of these NGOs are engaged in such activities without recognition from governmental policies, and welcomed only by international donors (Uçan Süpürge, 2002).

9.32 Changing trends, prevalent in women's NGOs in Turkey, can be described as moving from service, elite, charity, volunteer-based organizations to organizations involved in self-help, advocacy, fund-raising, networking, professionally conducted joint activities, and globally oriented agenda-setting. This maturing state of the women's movement can be observed in women's NGOs' increasing capacity for public visibility, enhanced position in bargaining with

³ A full catalogue including up-to-date information on all women's NGO's is not available in Turkey. In the documentation of GDSPW, only those NGOs that have communicated are listed. Some NGOs, such as WALD (World Association of Local Democracy) and Uçan Süpürge, also have incomplete lists. According to the list of GDSPW, more than 200 women's NGOs exist, approximately 90 of which are recognized as currently functioning in the country.

governmental bodies and notable achievements in fundraising supported by international organizations like the UN, the World Bank, and the European Union.⁴

Proposed Measures for Gender Equality in Politics

9.33 As recommendations for solutions to gender inequalities, the basic suggestions (Sancar Üsür, 2000b), already discussed by NGOs (STK Koordinasyon Birimi, 2000; KADER, 2002b; KESK, 1998) and partly discussed by governmental bodies (DPT, 2000; KSSGM, 1995;1998b; 2001a) are the following.

Redefining the principle of equality

9.34 The very basis of democracy is the right to decide on one's own life. If men reserve the right to decide on the fundamental issues related to women's lives, including those aspects that men never experience, all we can expect to have excludes women. Thus, this concept should be replaced by a new definition of democracy, which respects, protects and promotes women's basic human rights. For a gendered democracy, the definition of equality should be enriched by the principle of equal opportunities for either sex measured in terms of de facto social results. Thus, the definition of discrimination as enshrined in Article 1 of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the perspective of "special temporary measures", as defined in Article 4a of CEDAW, need to be adopted to ensure and accelerate de facto equality between women and men.

Supporting the civil society organizations promoting gender equality

9.35 All kinds of civil society organizations, including women's organizations, aiming to create gender equality in the political sphere should be supported. The activities and projects of these organizations targeted at establishing and operate networks and acting as equality watchdogs over political decision mechanisms, to attain greater transparency and gender-sensitive monitoring of these mechanisms should be given priority. Policymaking bodies on such gender issues as child education, social security for women, prevention of familial violence and female poverty, gendered urban planning, should be made to incorporate gender sensitive NGOs with equal participant status. Those NGOs and grass-roots organizations, that not only help women avoid poverty and ensure their participation in safety nets or other poverty reduction programs, but also empower them as individual human beings in the private and public realms, should be supported.

Realizing gender sensitive legislation

9.36 Providing a solid legal base for gender equality is one of the commitments made by Turkey at national and international forums. To urge the government to fulfill this commitment, the following legal arrangements have been proposed by NGOs (KADER 2002b):

- A proposed amendment to Article 10 of the Turkish Constitution, aims at expanding the principle of 'equality in law' (de jure equality) to the principle of "equality in results", (de facto equality). If ratified, this amendment would enhance the possibility of putting in place "special temporary measures" for the very first time in Turkey. Such action is in line with the provisions of CEDAW Article 4a and Amsterdam Treaty Article 141 (para. 4).

⁴ For more information about the activities of women's NGOs, **Uçan Haber: Flying Broom Women's Bulletin**, is a rich resource in which one can observe the new organizations and orientations in the women's movement.

- An amendment in the Political Parties Law which will empower “Women’s Branches” in order to improve the representation of women within party structures as well as on candidate lists should be adopted. In particular, allowing Women’s Branches to be involved in the process of selecting women candidates can be a crucial factor in this. All these measures should be supported by the implementation of gender quotas in party organs and candidate lists for Parliament.
- The adoption of new financial criteria rewarding efforts towards more gender equality in political parties is necessary. According to the provisions of the Political Parties Law in Turkey, funds are allocated from the national budget to political parties that have received a certain percentage of votes in the elections. Part of such funds should be ... for activities supporting gender equality.
- The Election Law should be amended to provide, at least a one-third quota for the underrepresented sex in the candidate lists of general and local elections and should contain specific provisions to ensure their placement in electable positions in these lists.
- A provision should be incorporated into the relevant legislation to promote equal representation of women in all the decision-making boards/committees formed by governmental appointments.

Necessary institutional reorganization

- The National Mechanism of Turkey responsible for developing and coordinating gender equality policies (GDSPW), should be enhanced in terms of its legal authority and resources, both financial and staff wise.
- Coordination Units in the provinces should be established within the related ministries and public institutions, in collaboration with the GDSPW.
- The institutions and centers, including those in the universities involved in gender research and data collecting for gender and women’s issues, as well as the efforts of all parties collaborating on projects that increase the visibility and representation of women in politics, should be supported.
- Public institutions and civil service providers should redefine their perspective under the guidance of gender impact assessment methods in order to reach “equality in results.”
- Reorientation efforts towards creating gender sensitive organizational models and policymaking mechanisms in political parties should be supported.

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10. VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Canan Arin

10.1 While violence against women is widespread in Turkey, it is not possible to know the exact extent of its prevalence, kinds and occurrence patterns on the basis of official statistics. National data on violence are not collected by the State Statistical Institute, the main institution responsible for gathering and publishing statistics on a wide range of issues in Turkey. Therefore our information on the topic is limited to the figures based on state agencies and academic and other researchers' findings from surveys of different scopes and degrees of representativeness.

10.2 These findings as reviewed and evaluated in this chapter, reveal that there are many forms of violence against women in Turkey. Domestic violence, which primarily takes the form of "wife battering," also includes other physical, verbal, psychological and sexual violence including incest and marital rape. Additionally, "honor crimes" of all kinds; forced virginity control, forced and early marriage, and bride price, as well as murder as sexual harassment, sexual abuse, rape and trafficking of women are forms of violence against women that take place in the family or the community. The misrepresentation of women in the media through degrading images as well as stalking, intimidation and harassment of women in the workplace are other direct or indirect forms of violence that women encounter in the community. Finally, there also exist cases where women are subjected to violence by some state agents such as the police while in custody or detention.

10.3 All these forms of violence not only have diverse reasons but also have different direct and indirect outcomes. This chapter deals with the reasons, nature and implications of different kinds of violence against women in Turkey, on the basis of the available information and data.

Forms of Violence against Women in the Family and the Community

10.4 While conflicting figures exist with respect to the prevalence of intrafamily violence, there is sufficient evidence to believe that this kind of violence is common in most homes. A study conducted by the General Directorate on the Problems and Status of Women (GDSPW) in 1994 revealed that only 14 percent of households did not experience fights and tension, and 30 percent of couples said that in such cases husbands "hit" wives. This study also showed that violence against women in the family is often long term (61 percent) and starts as early as the first days of marriage (57.7 percent). Seventy-nine percent of those who were faced with violence from their husbands identified the form as "battering". In the study it was also found that 57 percent of women subjected to violence by their husbands did not consider the possibility of separation or divorce (KSSGM, 2001:111). These findings point to the rather "routinized" nature of intrafamily violence.

10.5 In another study, conducted by the Women's Solidarity Foundation in 1995, among women living in the gecekondu (urban migrant neighborhood) of Ankara, 97 percent were found to be subjected to violence by their husbands. Of those, 46.8 percent reported being subjected to "mild" forms of violence from time to time by their husbands, 34.6 percent said that their

husbands used violence of “medium severity”, while 15.6 percent reported being frequently subjected to violence (KSSGM, 2001:112)

10.6 Another survey conducted by the same foundation in 1996 provided data on violence among middle and upper-income level families. Despite the fact that the percentage of women who admitted to being subjected to violence from their husbands was 23 percent, for this sample, the figure increases to 71 percent when one adds together the responses of those who nonetheless answered the questions on the various forms of violence they experienced (KSSGM, 2001:113).

10.7 Such evidence indicates that often women, particularly women from higher socioeconomic strata, have difficulty in admitting to violence against them in the family and tend to hide what they experience.

10.8 Some studies have also indicated that 73.6 percent of university educated women and 90 percent of women living in *gecekondu*s are subjected to violence during the first three years of their marriage (Arin, 1998: 201).

10.9 Recently, the figures of 58 percent and 59 percent have been cited as reflecting, respectively, the proportions of women subjected to violence by husbands, fiancés, boyfriends and brothers as well as other family members, in two different national and provincial level studies (Ankara Tabipler Odasi, 2002; Ergin ve Bilgel, 2001).

10.10 Studies indicate that physical violence against women in the family can take various forms including pinching, punching, kicking, striking against walls, slapping, beating using a variety of instruments, and ultimately killing.¹

10.11 Physical violence at home is also often accompanied by economic violence (i.e., not letting women work outside the home). While such prohibition has no legal basis in Turkey, married women’s work outside is very often tied to their husband’s permission as part of traditional cultural demands and practices.

10.12 Such evidence indicates that often women, particularly those who are from higher socioeconomic strata, have difficulty in admitting to violence against them in the family and tend to hide what they experience. These surveys also found that women are often faced with violence in their homes and women living in “nuclear families” are more likely to be victims of violence.

10.13 Under these conditions, the causes of women being subject to economic violence are diverse. In the initial years of a marriage often it is the jealousy of the husband that is put forth as an excuse. Cultural values such as the seclusion and modesty of women also play an important role in this prohibition. Often the fact that the wife is working outside is viewed as damaging the reputation of the family, since it implies that the husband is not able to earn enough to look after his family. The husband who is ashamed of himself is then reluctant to allow his wife to work outside the home and earn a living. This attitude is sometimes expressed in the husband’s proud claim to be his wife’s sole “social security.”

10.14 Another reason is that when babies are born women themselves often do not want to leave them to strangers and want to rear them themselves. Child care facilities are not accessible

¹ For a detailed exposé of the different forms and means used in violence against women, see Mor Çati Kadın Sigınagi Vakfi (1996).

to many women since these are mostly run by private institutions or individuals and are thus very expensive. For many women working outside the home, this would mean that most or all of her salary would be spent on childcare services. Therefore she prefers to stay at home and look after the children herself, a situation that by definition renders her dependent on her husband and increases her vulnerability to abuses she might suffer at home.

10.15 Studies indicate that most women subject to violence feel helpless and hopeless about survival outside of the marriage and thus have no choice but to continue living in the violence-ridden relationships and families.

10.16 Forced and early marriages are themselves forms of domestic violence. Often, they also function as a foundation for violence-ridden family lives. Although the raising of the minimum age for marriage to 17 for both sexes in the new Civil Code (Article 124) constitutes a distinct improvement over previous requirements, not only is this still in accordance with international law standards, but it often does not reflect on-the-ground realities. In the rural areas, girls have often been forced to marry at ages as early as 13, regardless of the law. These marriages cannot be registered as official marriages. Since a girl under the age of 17 is not permitted to have a legal marriage, often a religious ceremony is organized where an “imam” sanctifies the conjugal relation. Not only is this a union that has no legal validity in Turkey, it is, under Turkish law, a punishable crime to have or to conduct a religious marriage in the absence of a legal registration. Nonetheless, according to surveys, 7.4 percent of couples are married only by religious ceremony (KSSGM, 2001:30). These percentages are higher among couples in the east and southeast of Turkey, where forced marriages of underage girls are also more common (Ilkcaracan, 1999). More than half of all 53 percent of unregistered marriages are in these regions (KSSGM, 2001:31). Forced and early marriages constitute a serious infringement of women’s human rights and endanger their health. Therefore they are themselves acts of violence against women. Furthermore, by placing women in positions of total dependence, they put women in situations in which they can be abused and violated by husbands and other family members for years to come.

10.17 Such marriages which are, by the nature of things, often without the informed consent of the young bride are often legalized after she comes of legal age. In some cases, however, they may also simply continue as they are. In these cases, because so-called “religious marriages” have no legal validity in Turkey and are simply treated as “de facto union” by law, women who are dependent spouses often suffer from further infringement of their rights. For instance, women who are not legally married, in case of the death of the husband, inherit nothing.

“Honor Crimes”

10.18 In Turkey, “honor crimes” constitute another very severe form of violence against women. They occur mostly in the eastern and southeastern regions of the country or among those who have migrated from these regions to urban areas. A proper definition of the honor crime is given in the following way:

“Honor crimes” constitute a major violation of woman’s human rights. The term “honor killing” is used to describe the murder of a woman suspected of having transgressed the limits of sexual behavior as imposed by traditions, for example engaging in pre-marital relationships or having extra marital affairs (Women for Women’s Human Rights New Ways, 2002: 55).

10.19 The criteria for “transgressing the limits of sexual behavior” can be anything, and often they are interpreted in a very broad manner. In Turkey, in recent years one young woman’s disobedience to the rules of her family and another’s request for a love song from a music

program on the local radio station have been cited as reasons for honor killings (the case of Sevda Gök [Kandemir, 2000:98-100] and the case of Hacer [Kandemir, 2000:90-93], respectively). In the latter case the family thought that the girl's behavior was sufficient to implicate her in a love affair with someone, a crime that deserved punishment by killing.

10.20 Under these traditional norms, women are not treated as individual persons; rather, they are seen exclusively as components of the family and their behavior is presumed to embody family reputation and honor. If a young woman falls in love or has a boyfriend, not only does her "market value" suffer, but also and, perhaps more prominently, the whole family is seen to be dishonored and its social position deteriorates. Such norms and values are so powerful that families are prepared to sacrifice the life of one of their female members in order to restore their family honor within the community. If a young woman is disobedient or if there is gossip circulating that she has a lover, her family may decide that they can no longer live in their community unless she is killed and their honor "cleansed". This decision on the fate of the young woman is often made by the male members of the family. The actual carrying out of the decision often falls on the shoulders of the youngest brother or cousin. It is preferable that the young man is below the age of criminal responsibility.

10.21 In Turkey in recent years there have been several "honor killings" that received a lot of media attention and strong negative societal response. The issue is openly and critically discussed in the public forums and remains high on the agenda of the women's movement. At the national and international levels, the state and the civil society organizations are highly sensitive on this topic. They have taken clear positions in denouncing "honor crimes" and any form of permissive stand that could be taken by law and law enforcement agencies in the punishment of such crimes. In this context there have been strong recommendations from women's NGOs and the legal community for the amendment of those articles of the existing Turkish Penal Code (Article 462) which offer leniency to perpetrators of "honor crimes". Similarly, Turkey has taken a very supportive stand in international efforts against "honor crimes". At the UN, among those countries in which "honor crimes" are reported, Turkey has been the only one to take an active denunciatory position on the issue and to be a co-signatory of the resolution against honor killings passed by the UN General Assembly in 2002.

Sexual Abuse in the Family and Incest

10.22 Sexual abuse in the family, though a very salient form of violence against women in the family context, is very difficult to research. In Turkey, while there are no official statistics on marital rape and/or other forms of sexual abuse in the family, including incest, a few research studies done by individual scholars indicate that such invisible crimes are to be reckoned with.

10.23 According to one study, the age of the victims of sexual abuse ranges from 4 to 17 years old. This study documents that 64 percent of the cases of sexual abuse are experienced by girls who are between 4 and 11 years old. The average age at which girls are subject to sexual abuse is 10. While the average duration of sexual abuse is 46 months, it can range from 1 year to 20 years. The average duration is 46 months (Sezgin, 1998:65).

10.24 Another study documented that 86.5 percent of incest victims are female and 13.5 percent are male and that 40.6 percent of the victims' ages are between 12 and 15; 21.6 percent of the victims are under the age of 11 and 94.6 percent of perpetrators are over 18 years old (Korkut, 1998: 95).

10.25 In yet another study, 27 child victims, who applied to the Fourth Specialization Board of the Council of Forensic Medicine with the claim of incest between 1992 and 1997, were studied. It was found that

“88.9% of the cases are female children and 70.8 are between 12 and 15 years old group. The most frequent type of crime is raping by vaginal way in the rate of 48.1%. It’s been observed that 37% of victims faced incest with their own fathers” (Korkut and Tüzün, 2001: 30).

Marital Rape

10.26 Though there is reason to believe that marital rape is quite common in Turkey, there are no statistics on the matter. Marital rape does not constitute a crime in the Turkish legal system, unless it is supported or carried out by physical violence. There are no special provisions of the Penal Code relating to marital rape. Existing patriarchal values account for women’s own reluctance to consider this form of violation “real rape” since they also see it as part of the duty of a wife (and the right of a husband) in marriage.

Virginity Testing

10.27 Virginity testing is another traditional practice resulting from the widespread belief in Turkish society that women’s sexuality should be strictly controlled and girls should remain virgins until they are married. In fact, in large segments of the Turkish population the virginity of the bride is so critical that if she is not a virgin on the wedding night this can lead to very serious consequences including divorce and/or violence against her. Against this cultural background, virginity testing, which is a clear violation of women’s human rights and is in itself a form of violence against women, has nonetheless been practiced often in breach of the existing constitutional rights and legal provisions in Turkey.²

10.28 Virginity testing is also an issue that has been strongly protested against by the women’s movement over the years, and several attempts to effectively eliminate the practice altogether have resulted in a statute passed on January 13, 1999 ruling out the practice. This statute clearly states that with the exception of court ordered vaginal and anal examinations, for cases where there are no other means of proving an alleged crime and/or providing evidence, women cannot be examined without their consent, in a manner that would hurt and torment them (Women for Women’s Human Rights, *New Ways*, 2002:55). This regulation clearly prohibits any form of virginity testing instigated by school officials and other authorities to determine chastity of girls and women for disciplinary and other purposes, as was the case in several instances between 1995 and 1999.

Bride Price

10.29 Finally, the bride price, which is the practice in which the groom’s family pays a significant amount of money (and/or valuables) to the bride’s family prior to the wedding, may also be considered a form of violence against women, since many see this as the woman being sold to her future husband for a price.

10.30 While some anthropological interpretations have accorded a functionalist meaning to the practice by arguing that the cash is in exchange for the labor power of the bride, who in the patriarchal, rural tradition goes to join the household of her husband after the wedding, there is

² For a discussion of the aspects of the issue see Cindoglu ().

increasingly little justification for the persistence of this practice in urban areas, in the face of modernization. Although the matter is often discussed in public forums and the media from a critical perspective, there is no specific legal regulation prohibiting the practice in Turkey. Interestingly enough, there is a legal discussion on the matter. Some lawyers claim that the sum of money paid for the bride should be reimbursed upon request; if not, the bridegroom has the right to go to court to get it back with the claim of unjustifiable enrichment. Others, however, claim that the bride price cannot be demanded back because the transaction is unlawful from the beginning, since human beings cannot be sold and the bridegroom already knew that this payment was illegal.

10.31 Rape, sexual assault, sexual harassment in and out of the workplace, trafficking in women and the degrading representation of women in the media are also prevalent forms of violence against women that occur in the family and the community.

Rape and Sexual Abuse

10.32 In Turkish society, sexual molestation or rape of women is often conceived as a violation of honor, reputation, purity, etc. and treated as a crime against morality rather than against the person. It is interesting in this context that there is not a proper word for rape in Turkish. The most commonly used expression actually means, “assault to cleanliness, assault against reputation”. No doubt this is indicative of the cultural connotation surrounding the offense. Legally speaking, rape and all sexual assaults are arranged in the Penal Code (Article 414-424) under the title of “Felonies Against Public Decency and Family Order”, this arrangement obviously indicating the cultural background and the patriarchal mentality of the law maker. Though any form of sexual assault against a woman should be seen as an assault directed to sexual and bodily integrity of a woman, here women’s sexuality is considered as part of family honor and public decency. All forms of sexual crimes committed against woman are thus seen as disturbing the community more than the woman herself and the perpetrators are sued in the name of the public because “community honor” is assumed to be damaged. Thus, what the law provides for the victim, the woman, is only compensation for emotional and psychological damage.

10.33 Furthermore, the definition of rape as developed by Criminal Court decisions covers only vaginal or anal penetration and is an extremely narrow and mechanistic interpretation of a most severe form of violence against women. In this view any other form of violation of the victim is not considered rape. For instance if any other instrument is used for the purpose of rape or if the victim’s body structure is unfit for penetration, the law is unwilling to punish this as rape.

10.34 Penalties are commensurate with the age of the victim and the use of “force”. If the victim is under the age of 15 the perpetrator will be charged not less than five years. If the offense is committed by any means of force, violence, threats, or abuse of minors, then the minimum sentence is ten years imprisonment. If the victim is over 15, then her “consent” becomes the subject of discussion. In this case, punishment depends on the misuse of power, threat, or physical violence, all of which have to be proven (Art.416) by the victim.

10.35 Admittedly, this is a far cry from the concept of sexual violence, defined as:

“any non-consensual activity including: sexual taunts and jokes, staring and leering, unwelcome comments, flashing (exposure), offensive phone calls, unwanted sexual propositions, forced viewing of/or participation in pornography, unwanted touching, coerced sex, rape, incest, being made to perform sexual acts the woman finds painful or humiliating, forced pregnancies, trafficking and

exploitation in the sex industry” (Group of Specialists for Combating Violence Against Women, 1997: 16).

10.36 There are no reliable data on the extent and types of sexual violence experienced by women in Turkish society. Court records and justice statistics only reflect reported cases of such violence and owing to the highly sensitive nature of the subject, few women report sexual violence to the authorities.

Sexual Harassment

10.37 Sexual harassment is also not properly defined in Turkish legislation. The existing conception is on the basis of Criminal Court decisions. In the Turkish Penal Code, sexual harassment is depicted as “throwing words” and “molestation” (Art.421), but sexual harassment in the work place is not indicated. Thus, the Turkish legal system is relatively more effective in dealing with sexual harassment on the street but entirely inadequate for sexual harassment in the work place. The need to have legislation for effective protection against sexual harassment in the workplace as well as for all conceivable forms of harassment on the street is obvious.

Trafficking in Women

10.38 Trafficking in women is also not openly defined in the Turkish Penal Code. This is due to the fact that the concept is relatively new with respect to the Penal Code which was accepted in 1926.

10.39 According to the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of the United States, “severe forms of trafficking in persons” include

“a) sex trafficking in which commercial sex is included by force, or coercion, or in which the person included to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age; or b) the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery” (U. S. Department of State, 2002).

10.40 In this type of trafficking Turkey, although not a major country of destination, is nonetheless both a receiving country and a “transit country to other European destinations, for women and girls trafficked into sexual exploitation” (U.S Department of State, 2002). For the time being it has been pointed out that while

“Turkey has no law against trafficking, draft anti-trafficking legislation is on the Parliamentary agenda and other laws against organized crime, pimping, child prostitution, and forced labor can be used against trafficker” (U.S. Department of State, 2002).

10.41 According to official statistics the number of women and girls trafficked have declined from 5,917 to 4,466 in the years 1997-2000, but trafficking in children recorded an increase from 94 in 1997 to 123 in 2000 (KSSGM, 2002:21).

10.42 While the current state attitude, as reflected in a circular of the General Directorate of Security in 2001, is that the perpetrators of organized crime (traffickers) rather than their victims (women) should be prosecuted,

“with respect to protection of victims, the government provides no social services or shelters. Foreign trafficking victims may use one of the eight government battered-women shelters for Turkish citizens, but in practice have difficulty gaining access.....”(U.S. Department of State, 2002).

10.43 The absence of a specific law on trafficking does not mean that there is no legal ground for prosecution or punishment for traffickers. Article 436 of the Turkish Penal Code may be used for these purposes for the time being. It states that,

“Whoever, with the purpose of prostitution, seduces, provides or sends from one place to another for another person, a virgin girl or a woman who has not completed the age of twenty-one, even by obtaining her consent, or a virgin girl or a woman over twenty-one years of age by using force, violence, threat or applying influence or fraud, shall be imprisoned for one to three years and ordered to pay a heavy fine of... to...liras.”

10.44 As seen here, the law once again discriminates against victims with regard to the protection accorded to them, on the basis not only of age but also of personal sexual history. This is in clear violation of women’s human rights and their right to non-discrimination under CEDAW and other international agencies.

Violence Against Women by the State Agents

10.45 Violence against women conducted by state agents primarily occurs under custody in such localities as police stations. Official figures or statistics do not exist on the subject but according to a report entitled “Legal Aid for Women Raped or Sexually Assaulted by State Security Forces” (Insan Haklari Dernegi, 2001) a total of 150 women, 19 of whom were at the time of research incarcerated in prisons in the country, have applied for such aid. These women complained about such forms of violence as “rape, forced prostitution, sexual harassment after being kidnapped, and sexual harassment” at the hands of security personnel (Insan Haklari Dernegi, 2001:1).

10.46 The report also states that

“Two of the victims of sexual assault committed suicide after having been raped, one woman was murdered as a result of torture, a 14 year old girl who was raped was subsequently murdered by her family in order to clean the “family honor” (Insan Haklari Dernegi, 2001:1).

10.47 According to the same report, while “80 cases are in trial, 65 women refused to launch a criminal procedure, due to their fear of reprisal or exposure” (2001:2) While the extent to which such complaints are widespread in society cannot be based on reliable statistics, such complaints constitute severe forms of violence against women that cannot be tolerated and perpetrators should be brought to trial and punished swiftly. Although the existing legislation in Turkey contains provisions against sexual abuse by law enforcement personnel, casual observation suggests that much remains to be done in the area of bringing perpetrators of these crimes to justice and punishing them seriously. In this context, public discussion and awareness raising need to be promoted and an enabling environment needs to be created for free discussion on these matters. For instance, when a court case was brought against some women who organized a panel on “sexual harassment and rapes under custody” recently, it was criticized as a negative impact on the creation of such an environment.

10.48 Affective combating of sexual violence against women under custody or by state security forces is contingent on securing reliable information in this area. At the present time, official figures are not available and the reliability of figures by independent sources is questionable.

Measures against Violence

10.49 In Turkey, women who are confronted with domestic violence may be protected in several ways. They can use their legal rights; including their right to divorce and their right to protection under Law No 4320 (The Law on the Protection of the Family), as well as their right to sue the perpetrator for a criminal offense; they can go to “shelters” or they can look for protection in the more traditional and family based mechanisms.

Legal Measures

10.50 As far as the legal measures are concerned, the “Law on the Protection of the Family” (Law no.4320) promulgated by the Turkish Grand National Assembly on January 14, 1998, provides a number of mechanisms for the protection of the victims and the punishment of the perpetrators. While Article 1 of this law states, “If a spouse or child or another member of the family living under the same roof is subject to abuse, and notification is made either by the victim or by the Public Prosecutor, a Justice of the Peace can pass one or more of the following rulings in addition to provisions of the Civil Code. A protection order can be ruled by the judge and the accused spouse can be ordered:

- a) not to use violence or threatening behavior against the other spouse or children (or another member of the family living under the same roof);
- b) to leave the abode shared with the spouse or children, if there are any, and not to approach the abode occupied by the spouse or their places of work;
- c) not to damage the property of the spouse or children (or of others living under the same roof);
- d) not to distress to the spouse or children (or others living under the same roof);
- e) to surrender a weapon or other similar instruments to the police;
- f) not to arrive at the shared abode while under the influence of alcohol or other intoxicating substances nor to use such substances in shared abode.”

10.51 These measures can be ordered for up to six months, and if the accused does not abide by them he/ she can be sentenced to a prison term of three to six months. The law also states that the judge can rule on maintenance payments in accordance with the standard of living of the victim. Victims of domestic violence are exempted from paying the fee that is normally charged for application to court.

10.52 Furthermore, under this law the court entrusts a copy of the protection order to the Public Prosecutor who is responsible for monitoring the order through the police. In a case of the breaking of the order, the police and the Public Prosecutor are to investigate the matter without an application by the victim and, if necessary, file criminal charges against the perpetrator (Women for Women’s Human Rights, *New Ways*, 2002:48).

10.53 The favorable provision of this law is that it is applicable to all those family members living under the same roof who may exercise violence. This is particularly salient because violence against women can be exercised not only by husbands and partners but also by fathers, brothers, sons, fathers or mothers-in-law or brothers- and sisters-in-laws. In the rural areas, many families are extended, with many relatives living under the same roof. Often, the young bride ranks at the bottom of the family hierarchy and is the weakest person in the household. In the patriarchal and patrilocal set up of the extended family she is called “daughter of stranger” and is

expected to serve and obey the members of the family. Her slightest disobedience can incite violence against her.

10.54 While the Law on the Protection of the Family provides an avenue of legal redress for women faced by the violence of any and all family members, it is a sociological and cultural reality that it is particularly difficult for the least empowered women living in the most “closed” family set ups to dare to report a case of violence. As can be expected, this Law is most likely to benefit more empowered urban women. Existing statistics prove that, according to a survey carried out by the Ministry of Justice, the geographical distribution of the cases brought to the court under the Law on the Protection of Family is as given in Table 10.1.

Table 10.1: Number of Domestic Violence Cases by Region(*)

Districts:	The number of Cases sued	The number of cases finished	The number of Plaintiff	The number of Defended
Mediterranean Region	149	113	149	150
Eastern Anatolia	139	75	139	139
Aegean District	564	642	573	570
Central Anatolia	223	231	225	243
Black Sea Region	157	129	157	171
The Marmara Region	440	503	454	468
Total for Turkey	1727	1747	1753	1796

(*) (The survey covers the cases between 1/10/1999- 31/12/1999).

Source: (KSSGM, 2001: 118).

10.55 As can be observed from Table 10.1, the largest number of cases of domestic violence in the courts have been in the Aegean and Marmara regions, and the smallest number in Eastern Anatolia and the Black Sea Region, respectively.

10.56 A particular deficiency of this Law on the Protection of the Family is its narrow coverage, which is limited to family members living under the same roof. This excludes former spouses. Evidence suggests that divorced or estranged husbands who, due to their right to have personal contact with their children, often have access to their former wife’s whereabouts and information on her life, are some of the most likely perpetrators of violence against women. News of violent crimes committed by such men who raid their former wives’ houses and harm them is frequently reported in the daily newspapers in Turkey. Moreover, since the wording of the Law uses the term “spouse”, those who are in “de facto” unions are not protected by this legislation.

Civil Code

10.57 According to the Civil Code, being subjected to physical, verbal or sexual violence gives one the right to ask for a divorce and the right to demand compensation for emotional and psychological damages.

10.58 With regard to forced and early marriage, the Civil Code (Article 151) stipulates that if the girl is underage and is forced to marry, she has the right to file for the marriage to be annulled, declaring that she was coerced into matrimony.

Penal Code

10.59 There is no specific provision in the Turkish Penal Code to respond to physical violence within the family. General provisions (Art.456-457) are applied to the subject. Article 456 of the Penal Code regulates the conditions of penalty for those who harm third persons without the

intention of killing them. Article 457 states that if the person mentioned in the previous article is one of those persons counted in Article 449 or 450, the main penalty should increase from one-third to one-half. This means that if the crime of violence is committed against a wife, husband, sister or brother, adopted father, adopted mother, adopted child or stepfather, stepmother or stepchild or against in-laws, the penalty will be increased.

10.60 There is another article of the Penal Code (Art. 478), which increases the penalty for maltreatment against family members under this provision. A woman who is subjected to violence can file a complaint if she receives a medical report approved by the court, showing that she has to rest for at least ten days as a result of an assault by her husband.

10.61 With respect to honor crimes, existing legal norms contain fundamental deficiencies, since there is no such crime and punishment explicitly defined in Turkish law. For instance, Article 462 of the Turkish Penal Code grants a reduction in a murder sentence if the murder is committed by a relative of the person who has been caught immediately before or during an adultery. The punishment for the murderer is reduced from a life sentence to four to eight years of imprisonment, or from the death penalty to five to ten years imprisonment. Other penalties are reduced to one-eighth of the original sentence. Although honor killings are premeditated murders and are not committed immediately before or during a woman's extra-marital sexual activity, many times this article continues to be wrongly applied to such killings. In any case, the above-mentioned article is designed for "passion crimes" not for "honor killings"!

10.62 Often, those who are known to have participated in the decision for the crime are not charged, and family members are rarely required to give evidence in court. When a statement is given to the police or prosecutors on behalf of the victim, often a retraction or amendment of the statement, when the case comes to court, takes place in several instances, indicating community pressure and/or inadequate witness protection by the courts.

10.63 It is a fact that honor killings persist where feudal patriarchal values remain, and such an ideology cannot be changed overnight. But the obligation of the states under international law requires that national laws be harmonized with international law and they should expect courts to interpret the existing law in ways that do not contradict human rights principles. When this is not the case, honor killings become a form of state-sanctioned femicide, even where the act is, in principle, treated as a crime.

10.64 Similarly, virginity testing violates Article 17 of the Turkish Constitution, which states that, with the exception of medical requirements and circumstances delineated in legislation, no one's bodily integrity may be violated. Yet in the recent past, relevant authorities have used various provisions in the law to justify forced virginity testing. Under existing laws in Turkey, virginity testing is unlawful unless there is a claim by a woman who accuses someone of removing her virginity by promising to marry her.

10.65 Under Article 423 of the Penal Code, this act constitutes a crime. Article 423 states that "Whoever removes the virginity of a girl who has completed fifteen years of age, with a promise of marriage, shall be imprisoned for six months to two years." If there is such an accusation against a man, then the accuser will be examined medically to ensure that the man will be punished accordingly. In case of marriage, however, the law says that the prosecution and the punishment shall be suspended.

10.66 Once again, the Penal Code obviously reflects a very out-dated, if not a grossly misguided, notion of fairness by encouraging the perpetrator of a crime (the rapist) to marry his

victim in order to escape punishment. The predicament of the victim is even further exacerbated when the Law also states that if a decree of divorce is rendered against the husband within five years after marriage, the public prosecution shall be restored or the punishment previously adjudged shall be executed. The probable implications of this legal provision against a traditional patriarchal cultural background are not difficult to imagine. Not only is the victim “encouraged” by law to consent to marriage with her rapist, but she is also “discouraged” from divorcing him for five years.

10.67 In conclusion, despite the positive changes that have taken place in the laws pertaining to women’s human rights in general (i.e., the recent constitutional amendments and Civil Law Reform) and violence against women in particular (i.e., Law for the Protection of the Family), the legal framework in Turkey continues to have gender discriminatory provisions (particularly in the Penal Code) and remains inadequate in terms of delivering effective punishment to perpetrators and redress to victims.

10.68 In this context, while legal reforms as reflected in the new Civil Code and the promulgation of the Law for the Protection of the Family indicate positive steps in the right direction, the existing Penal Code is clearly incompatible with international standards for the protection of women’s human rights.

10.69 It is nonetheless true that in Turkey, with respect to legal measures pertaining to many different forms of violence against women, one needs to be aware of the fact that a major part of the problem rests in institutional and cultural constraints. Thus, one needs to differentiate between deficiencies of the law as it is and its interpretation by the judiciary, which may even force the limits of reason. For instance, despite the existing legal provisions, in a case in which the author was lawyer for the plaintiff, the husband who broke his wife’s backbone in three places was sentenced to ten months and eight days of imprisonment. The prison sentence was then converted by the judge into a fine of 3 million Turkish liras, the equivalent of less than two U.S dollars (see decision number E. 1993/148; K.1996/37 of Van Criminal Court of First Instance).

Women’s Shelters

10.70 Another way of protecting women from mainly domestic family violence is through offering refuge in Women’s Shelters. In Turkey, the best known of these is Mor Çati Kadın Sigınagi Vakfi (Purple Roof Women’s Shelter Foundation). The shelter was founded in Istanbul as one of the first autonomous women’s shelters in Turkey in 1990. Another shelter was built by Kadın Dayanisma Vakfi (the Women’s Solidarity Foundation) in Ankara in the following year (in 1991), Purple Roof. The goals of these foundations expanded beyond providing shelters and supporting in different ways (hotlines, etc.), and establishing solidarity networks with those women who are subject to violence within or outside of the family.

10.71 Purple Roof works on a volunteer basis, providing psychological and legal consulting to women confronted with violence. It tries to meet women’s needs, including finding a job, assisting them at home or helping their children to attend a proper school. The primary demand of such women is a shelter, and legal consulting follows this. Purple Roof was able to open a shelter five years after its establishment, in 1995, and this refuge was in operation until 1998. In 1998, Purple Roof, due to lack of financial sources, had to close down the shelter. Now the foundation provides women only with consultancy services and is engaged in feminist political advocacy. The intention to reopen the shelter one day remains a high priority for the women who operate the foundation.

10.72 The records of Purple Roof indicate that approximately 6,000 women applied there during the 12 years (November 1990-June 2002) of its existence. Among these, 4,800 women applied by telephone; 1,200 women were interviewed both directly and on the phone; 4,000 benefited from legal consultancy, and 3,000 benefited from psychological consultancy. Between 1995 and 1998, 200 women and 130 children stayed at the shelter. These figures document the need for and the function served by the facilities, whose staff are merely able to “be there” for women faced with violence. They also point to the “fragile” nature of such services provided by NGOs and underline the need for the institutionalization of these services.

10.73 Purple Roof also functioned as a major awareness-raising center on violence against women in Turkey. For the last five year, it has organized sensitization seminars on November 25 each year. Many provincial women’s NGOs from all over Turkey participate in these seminars and have taken part in discussions of issues concerning women and violence and attempt to elaborate solutions to problems.

10.74 Another NGO working in the area is the Women’s Solidarity Foundation, which was started as a counseling center in October 1991 in Ankara, and later, in 1993, opened a shelter for women. According to its records, 1,173 women applied to this counseling center and 316 stayed in the shelter. It had to be closed down in 1999, basically on account of financial and operational difficulties. Women’s reasons for applying to this center were listed as: legal counseling, medical support, psychological counseling, job and shelter demands, financial aid, learning how to read and write, professional training and referral to another establishment.

10.75 Dissemination of information, awareness-raising, sensitization and network building were carried out in the activities of NGOs such as these in the 1990s. With regard to shelters in Turkey, while independent NGO-run women’s shelters have found it impossible to maintain their existence in the long run, they have paved the way for two other kinds of institutions, with different functions.

10.76 In many provinces throughout Turkey, women’s NGOs and/or professional associations were established in the latter part of the 1990s called Women’s Counseling and Solidarity Centers. Most of these centers also suffer from lack of financial resources and have to spend time and energy on projects deemed important for donors, rather than on independently selected work areas. These NGOs have nonetheless made ground-breaking contributions to advocacy of issues and have provided support services for victims of violence against women at the provincial and regional level throughout Turkey. The list of such centers is as follows:

Izmir Karsiyaka City Assembly Women Solidarity Center
Antalya Women’s Counseling and Solidarity Center
Ankara Bar Association Women’s Solidarity Center
Mersin Independent Women’s Solidarity Center
Adana Women’s Shelter and Protection Association
KA-MER (Diyarbakir)
Istanbul Branch of Contemporary Justice Association
Istanbul University Division of Forensic Medicine
Istanbul Bar Association Women’s Rights Implementation Center
Sahmaran Women Support Center
Çanakkale Women Counseling Center

10.77 On the state side, refuges were also established in recent years by the Institution of Social Services and Protection of Children under the State Ministry responsible for Women's Affairs and the Family.

10.78 Currently, there are seven of these refuges, called "guest houses" in Turkey, and their capacity is very limited. For instance, in the guest house of Istanbul there is space for only ten women. Under existing ordinances, when guest houses are full, women in need can also be accommodated in girl students' dormitories.

10.79 The so-called guest houses are criticized by the women's NGOs for many reasons. It is claimed that not only do they help conceal the reality of violence against women by being called "guest houses" and not "shelters", and thus undermine public awareness of the subject. Also, organizationally the guest houses have major shortcomings. They are usually run in a bureaucratic manner and have rules and regulations inappropriate and counterproductive for their *raison d'être*. For instance, women under the age of 18 are not accepted and applicants are asked to present an identity card. Such requirements render these places inaccessible to women who often forget their ID cards when they leave their homes under the exigency of a violent incident or its threat (to save their lives). There may also be cases where women do not possess an ID card at all. Furthermore, women who are in *de facto* unions cannot benefit from the state run guest houses because an official marriage certificate is required for admission. Also, it is very easy for the violent spouse to locate a woman at a guest house, because their addresses are publicly known and access to their records can be secured through a variety of formal or informal means. In fact, in a somewhat similar initiative in the early 1990s, when municipalities in Istanbul attempted to run shelters as part of local government services the experiment turned sour in a short time. Following elections when the conservative political parties, which considered women's shelters to be threats against the family institution and values, won power in local governments, these shelters were immediately closed down. Currently, there is only one women's shelter, run by the Küçükçekmece municipality in Istanbul.

10.80 Generally speaking, in Turkey, shelters for women who are faced with violence are grossly insufficient. Not only is the overall capacity far from adequate and the nature of the existing guest houses inappropriate to the need, but also the diverse nature of violence against women in the country necessitates different types of shelters for victims of different types of violence (for example, for those who are threatened by their family to be killed in the name of "honor", or for victims of wife battering etc.). If we consider that by European standards "at least one shelter/refuge is advised per 7,500 of the population" as an "absolute minimum" (Group of Specialists for Combating Violence against Women, 1997: 75), then Turkey would need more than 8,500 autonomous shelters. Thus, the absolute direness of the present situation, with only 7 shelters countrywide, becomes obvious.

Recommendations

- Violence against women should be officially recognized and state policies to implement the necessary measures to effectively combat violence should be adopted.
- A permanent equality commission in the Grand National Assembly should be formed and all laws should be checked from a gender equality perspective.
- Public awareness of violence against women should be raised through advocacy and campaigns by both the state and NGOs.
- As the Law on the Protection of the Family is relatively new, police forces, judges and public prosecutors need to be trained in it, and women also should be well informed about the law. This law and its implementation also needs to be reviewed. Since the

- existing evidence indicates that often ex-spouses are perpetrators of violence, it is recommended that the laws be amended to include them.
- All law enforcement and health personnel, including hospital staff, police and judiciary staff (judges, prosecutors and lawyers), should undergo regular training in gender sensitivity and equality.
 - In domestic violence cases, the perpetrator's penalty should not be converted into a fine.
 - The Penal Code should be amended in line with international obligations and with a view to eliminating discrimination and violence against women.
 - The NGOs working on violence against women for at least five years should be allowed to participate in criminal cases of violence, especially in cases of honor killings in order to support victims.
 - Effective measures should be taken to ensure the implementation of laws to prevent early and forced marriage and create a non-supportive cultural climate.
 - The number of shelters should be increased and NGOs should be supported and encouraged by the state to open and operate shelters.
 - The State Statistical Institute should collect and publish data on all forms of violence against women.
 - A gender sensitive approach should be incorporated into school curricula and teacher training, and women's human rights should be given special importance in textbooks.
 - The legal system should be transformed to allow for direct appeals and the use of international legal instruments such as CEDAW in courts.
 - Incentives and protective policies to reduce the vulnerability of women who are subject to violence should be devised. Priority allocation of cheap housing, health care and child care services and job opportunities for victims of violence against women can be considered in this context.
 - All obstacles preventing the personal development and empowerment of women should be removed.

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11. DISASTER ASSISTANCE

Nuray Karanci

11.1 Earthquakes, floods, and landslides are the most prevalent types of natural disasters in Turkey. Among these, earthquakes, which led to approximately 84,000 deaths in the twentieth century, are the most devastating for Turkey (Crisis Management Center of Prime Ministry of Turkish Republic, 2000). In order to reduce the impact of these natural events, prevention, mitigation and preparedness measures need to be taken. These measures involve the identification of risks, the mapping of physical and social vulnerabilities and the development of strategic plans to deal with them. Disaster management can be conceptualized as involving the phases of pre-disaster (prevention, mitigation and preparedness), crisis (rescue and relief), temporary settlement, reconstruction and development. These stages can best be represented as circular and overlapping.

11.2 Disaster assistance, the topic of this chapter, can be conceptualized broadly and comprehensively as any measure that enables the actors at the potential risk of experiencing disasters to develop capacities that will strengthen them in prevention, mitigation, preparedness and response to such devastating events. Effective planning and action for disaster management needs to involve various social units such as central and local governmental agencies, the private sector, NGOs, local communities, and international agencies (Bates, Dynes, and Quarantelli, 1991; FEMA, 2000). In strengthening the capacity of local communities and fostering community involvement, it is essential to institute gender equality through women's empowerment and involvement in disaster management.

11.3 The main focus of this chapter is to analyze the current disaster assistance situation in Turkey and how it relates to gender equality in order to draw guidelines for the future provision and organization of disaster assistance in Turkey. An analysis of the types and sources of disaster assistance in Turkey reveals that gender disaggregated data, when relevant, are not present (Crisis Management Center of Prime Ministry of Turkish Republic, 2000). This gap in statistics on women in disaster situations is not unique to Turkey but is a common problem for all disaster situations and needs to be modified in order to make a comprehensive analysis of gender in relation to disasters.

The Turkish Disaster Law and the Institutional Framework

11.4 In Turkey, the first law concerning disasters, which only covered earthquakes, was enacted in 1944. This law was a response to the devastating 1939 Erzincan earthquake and several similar subsequent earthquakes and it was the first law to stress the need for plans for rescue, material aid and temporary shelter, to be made prior to the occurrence of earthquakes. The law also had a clause that emphasized compensation for the loss of property. The formation and the funding of provincial rescue and emergency aid committees were also introduced. In 1959, a new comprehensive law (Law No. 7269) covering disasters other than earthquakes, such as fires, floods, landslides and similar disasters, replaced the 1944 law. In connection with the Law, a Disaster Fund was established to ease financial support in time of disasters (Ergunay, 1999).

11.5 After the Marmara-Düzce earthquakes, the legislation in relation to disaster management was modified extensively and new institutions were formed. A new draft comprehensive disaster law, incorporating prevention, mitigation, preparedness and response elements, was prepared by the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement to be debated and enacted in 2002. An examination of the draft reveals that there are no gender based provisions and no attention is specifically given to the situation of women either before or after disasters. Thus, it can be stated that Turkey has learned a variety of lessons from the recent earthquakes and the disaster management system has been substantially revised to incorporate a broader definition of disaster assistance.

11.6 In the area of disaster assistance, the legislation brings assistance for basic needs. Furthermore, financial aid is provided for those who lost family members and for those who were injured in disasters. In the long term, disaster victims who become right holders are provided with disaster housing or financial support. It can be generally stated that disaster assistance does not, despite a few exceptions, consider gender differences. In fact, the terms “disaster victims” and “right holders” imply a non-gendered view and an equality in the distribution of disaster assistance. Thus, it can be argued that although there does not seem to be an explicit gender inequality in terms of the provision of disaster assistance, inequalities can emerge due to the organization of assistance delivery and any existing gender inequalities within the household.

Post-Disaster Phase: Impacts of Natural Disasters and Assistance Needs

11.7 Natural disasters, such as earthquakes have extensive psycho-social impacts on the affected populations (Durkin & Thiel, 1993). Survivors of natural disasters have to adapt to drastically altered physical environments, economic losses, disruption of activities and social networks, and homelessness. They also have to cope with the emotional trauma of witnessing loss of lives, injury and property loss. Kasapoglu and Ecevit (2001) studied the assistance needs of the survivors of the Marmara earthquake and found that financial assistance (44.2 percent), assistance with the educational needs of their children (12.8 percent) and psychological assistance (6.7 percent) were the three most commonly expressed needs. In their analysis they also noted that women expressed the need for psychological assistance more than men. This finding is in agreement with previous studies on gender differences in psychological distress following earthquakes, in that women have been found to experience greater psychological distress as compared to men (Karanci and Rüstemli, 1995; Karanci, Alkan et al., 1999; Rubonis and Bickman, 1991). Karanci et al. (1999) found that there were gender differences in reported coping strategies following the Dinar earthquake, in that the “problem solving/optimistic approach” was the most frequently used coping strategy for men, whereas for women the “helplessness approach” was the most frequently employed coping strategy. Women reported experiencing more negative life-events since the earthquake. The results showed that for women the use of helplessness coping and lack of belief in control over the future were positively related to distress levels. Therefore, it is important to involve women as well as men in the post-disaster and pre-disaster activities and to make them active collaborators. This may enhance their sense of control as well as indirectly helping to modify traditional stereotypical gender roles, and may empower them to combat their sense of helplessness. In other words, the post-disaster period can be used as a valuable window of opportunity to combat existing gender inequalities.

11.8 After the Marmara-Düzce earthquakes, several public and NGO organizations, such as SHCEK and the Turkish Psychological Association, provided psychological support services in the region. The author during her field trips and clinical applied work in the region observed that mostly women and children utilized these services. Thus, the need for psychological support has been recognized in Turkey and based on this recognition psychological rehabilitation projects have been launched (Karanci, 1999). However, these projects seem to have no sensitivity to

gender issues and view men and women as facing the same kinds of stressors. Therefore, it is necessary to build a gender sensitivity perspective into these programs.

11.9 Disaster survivors have economic needs, and, furthermore they need to have social networks and they need to feel a return to normalcy. It has also been found that women report more change and loss in their social networks following disasters (Karanci and Aksit, 1999). Thus, assistance efforts need to be organized with a view to providing social networks and establishing pre-disaster routines and functions.

11.10 Disaster assistance following the Marmara-Düzce earthquakes has been massive (Crisis management Center of Prime Ministry of Turkish Republic, 2000). All national and international assistance has been coordinated and organized through the Crises Management Center of the Prime Ministry and the Crises Centers in the provinces. As many as 165,239 tents were distributed, 162 tent cities were formed, 42,161 pre-fabricated housing units were established and 8,590 earthquake survivors were placed in public guest houses. For health services, 7 pre-fabricated hospital units were established, and 14 hospital buildings and 20 health clinics were repaired. Since 1,605 school buildings were damaged, 61 pre-fabricated school buildings were established in the region and 43,224 students were given the opportunity to transfer to schools in other provinces. Also, 1,058 workers were offered new jobs and 4,117 individuals were given the opportunity to take part in the World Bank-supported Community Work Program (Crisis Management Center of the Prime Ministry of the Turkish Republic, 2000). As can be seen, although the list of assistance is vast, there are no data showing the gender breakdown for the assistance allocation. In addition to assistance with physical needs, assistance in the area of social needs was provided by the formation of community, women and child centers in the tent cities. In most of the 162 tent cities, social service tents were formed with the contribution of various NGOs and volunteers. These centers aimed at providing training and counseling to all victims regardless of gender, although some were designed specifically for women. An analysis of the training courses offered in some of the community centers shows that they were aimed at training in traditionally male tasks, such as building, carpentry and masonry. Some of the courses provided were in computers, foreign languages and financing. Since no gender disaggregated data are available on the participants in these courses, it is not possible to make an analysis of gender equality in using these opportunities. The only direct assistance that can be found for the empowerment of women is through the services of NGOs specifically targeting women, which is discussed in the next section.

Non-Governmental Organizations and Disaster Assistance

11.11 Following the Marmara-Düzce earthquake, a vast number of NGOs provided assistance to earthquake survivors. Among these, some focused specifically on providing assistance to women, children and youth by providing training opportunities. They enabled female survivors to learn skills and to become engaged in income generating activities. Furthermore, by bringing female survivors together, they served as a facilitator for the formation of social networks. Women shared their memories of the trauma and discussed ways of coping with their difficulties. They also provided childcare centers, which by serving the needs of children also decreased the stress of mothers. These NGOs, by creating education and income generating activity opportunities for women provided services to generally empower women. Some of them focused specifically on training related to disasters, such as first aid courses. For example, the Foundation for the Support of Women's Work provided collective public places for women and children and designed exchange meetings, training courses, study tours and community meetings for common problems in order to increase the capacities of women and to enable their active participation in decision making processes (Akçar, 2001). These are all remarkable efforts and are examples of using the post-disaster situation as a window of opportunity for the strengthening of the capacities

of women. The NGOs formed after the earthquake were especially sensitive and effective in promoting the capacity building of women and in providing social, psychological and legal support to the women of the region. Women are actively involved in these NGOs. Thus, it can be stated that the NGOs that specifically target women, and especially the ones formed and led by local women, have a strong potential for strengthening the capacities of women survivors, which may transform their social status, strengthen their psychological well-being and enhance their self-esteem.

Pre-Disaster Phase: Disaster Mitigation and Preparedness

11.12 For effective and sustainable disaster management, mitigation and preparedness are crucial. At the community level, belief in the possibilities of mitigation and skills is important in determining whether mitigation will take place. Karanci and Aksit (1999) found that, among the survivors of the 1995 Dinar earthquake, women tended to believe less in mitigation as compared to men. The differences in belief in mitigation were mainly due to the general belief about taking action and being in control, and this may be related to men having more access to information on earthquakes and construction methods by being in the public sphere more often, or to their generally greater belief in control. The results revealed that for women the number of years of education, and being employed, were significant predictors of belief in mitigation, whereas for men the only significant predictor for belief in mitigation was years of education. Similarly, Kasapoglu and Ecevit (2001) also found that education is the most important variable that is related to belief in mitigation. Thus, for both men and women, education seems to be an important variable related to mitigation belief. However, for women being employed is also important (Karanci and Aksit, 1999). Employment may enable women to have access to the public sphere and thus obtain more information with regard to what is being done and what can possibly be done, and thereby may increase their belief in the possibility of doing something for disaster reduction. This finding implies that for community participation it is important to build networks that can also reach housewives. Therefore, for future pre-disaster management planning, it may be valuable to develop and implement strategies that will increase the participation of women in disaster training programs. Women should be involved not only as recipients of disaster mitigation and preparedness training but also as active trainers and organizers (Wiest, Mocellin and Motsisi, 1994). There are several community training and organization programs targeting mitigation and preparedness in Turkey (Karanci and Aksit, 2000; CENDIM, 2002). These programs are good examples of encouraging community participation in the pre-disaster phase. The Bosphorus program is targeted to earthquake mitigation and preparedness in Istanbul. Karanci and Aksit (2002), targeted Çankiri, a province not recently struck by a major disaster and encompassed three major disasters, landslides, floods and earthquakes. Such programs need to be enlarged to cover all regions in Turkey and should become sensitive to including women as well as men as trainers and also as recipients.

Conclusions

11.13 Disaster assistance in general seems to be provided without gender considerations and thus can be taken as serving the needs of victims without special attention to differences in the needs of women and men. In the post-disaster stage it is vital to answer the basic needs of all survivors regardless of gender and the assistance seems to be given on a household-family basis. However, there may be some gender inequalities in the accessibility of some forms of assistance, such as health care. Furthermore, women may have difficulty in getting access to information about assistance. This information is usually disseminated in the Crisis centers, and more men than women go and wait in line in these centers for various assistance needs. Therefore, information dissemination methods need to be revised, so that women and men have the same ease of access to assistance information.

11.14 A broad approach to disaster management can be used to transform the role of women in society by actively involving them in prevention, mitigation and preparedness activities. Furthermore, the post-disaster environment can be used as a window of opportunity to empower women by giving them responsibilities in decision making, aid distribution and reconstruction choices and supervision.

Recommendations

11.15 Based on the previous analyses, the following recommendations can be made for the future:

- Research on community perceptions of risk and vulnerabilities, prevention, mitigation, preparedness and the needs of disaster survivors must be fostered. Gender disaggregated data need to be collected in order to bring light into the existing realities of women and men.
- Women need to be involved in community training programs for disaster mitigation and preparedness (how to reduce vulnerabilities, what to do before, during and after disasters) as trainers as well as trainees.
- Women need to be recruited to become local trainers who will subsequently deliver disaster coping skills to other women. Special quotas need to be used to ensure the participation of women as trainers.
- NGOs for the involvement and empowerment of women throughout the disaster cycle need to be supported and their activities need to be coordinated. In addition to focusing on strengthening the general capacities of women, NGO's need to devise programs specifically targeting the strengthening of the coping capacities of men and women with disasters.
- Community organizations, starting with neighborhood groups, can be vital to effective disaster management. Women should be encouraged to take an active role in these organizations.
- Disasters, and especially post-disaster situations, can be used as a “window of opportunity” for instituting gender equality. In this regard, women survivors should be taken on as active participants rather than passive beneficiaries. To do this, women need to be involved in decision making on matters related to disasters, such as aid distribution, reconstruction and schooling choices for their children.
- Institutions specifically dealing with the problems and the status of women, such as the General Directorate on the Status and Problems of Women, need to be strengthened to approach the situation of women both before and after disasters. An awareness of the strengths and vulnerabilities of women in relation to disasters needs to be developed with various in-service training programs.
- The organization of disaster assistance needs to be reviewed, to reduce gender inequalities in reaching and utilizing assistance. For example, health care facilities need to be located near the tent cities and should be equally and easily accessible to women and men. In this regard, it is important to examine local perceptions. For example, lack of female physicians may create problems in some areas.
- Information dissemination needs to be broad, making sure that it reaches all victims. Having radio stations in some tent cities for the dissemination of local news can be taken as a good example for this.
- Women need to be actively involved in the management of tent cities. Women suffer from psychological distress and feelings of lack of control and thus suffer a loss of self-esteem. Their involvement in the management will provide them with opportunities to feel in control, and will also increase their self-esteem and provide them a social network.
- Psychological support units need to be established and a broader psycho-social rehabilitation program approach needs to be adopted after the examination of the needs of disaster survivors according to gender, age and other social indicators.

- Training programs for psychological support needs and delivery methods need to be revised in order integrate a gender sensitive approach.
- Post-disaster assistance needs to be organized with the view of empowering women, men and children, making it possible for survivors to return to their normal routines as soon as possible and transforming the survivors by strengthening their capacities for dealing with future disasters.
- Individuals, particularly women exposed to disasters, should be taken as active collaborators in assistance rather than passive victims of disasters.

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12. CONCLUSION

Feride Acar

12.1 In this study, ten sectors were identified to reflect gender issues with special relevance to poverty. The information and analyses provided in these chapters indicate that there are indeed significant gender differentials with regard to women's and men's position in the different sectors in Turkish society. Each chapter contains sector-specific recommendations regarding the measures needed to combat gender inequality.

12.2 Although the emphasis in individual chapters is on the analysis and assessment of gender differentials with particular attention to women's conditions, as expected of a CGA, wherever it has been possible and relevant, the implications of gender disparity for poverty reduction have been addressed. In this context, it is feasible to analyze the findings of individual chapters along the lines of the components of poverty alleviation strategies in other words capability, opportunity, security and empowerment.

12.3 The present chapter, which will not repeat the recommendations of individual chapters, as those interested in the specific sectors may easily refer to the final section of each chapter, but will rather attempt an analysis of the information provided in each chapter in terms of the components of poverty alleviation strategies, with a view to underlining the gender dimension.

12.4 Several general observations regarding the gender picture in Turkey nevertheless deserve specific attention. As implicitly hypothesized in the design of this CGA, three cross-cutting themes – the state of the de jure versus the de facto rights of women and men; regional disparities; urban-rural differences – were found to be relevant in understanding, assessing, and responding to gender inequalities in Turkey.

12.5 Regional and rural-urban differences were relevant in all sectors (particularly in education, health, labor and social security, and violence) and they appeared to compound gender differentials. Moreover, not only were these two dimensions highly instrumental in analyzing gender disparities, but they also proved to be equally significant in understanding poverty. As expected, the highest levels of gender inequality were found to coexist with the worst cases of poverty in the society. Gender disparities reflected in women's unfavorable position are further magnified in all sectors in the Eastern, Southeastern and Black Sea Regions, which also suffer from deeper poverty. Moreover, the women in the "second wave" of migrants experienced pronounced forms of gender inequality, while the major transformation caused by this migration introduced new faces of poverty and disrupted the existing social safety nets in urban areas.

12.6 Several chapters comparing the de jure versus the de facto dimensions of gender equality reflect significant differences between the two. For instance, despite the Civil Law providing for equal inheritance and property ownership rights for women and men since 1926, women are estimated to own less than 10 percent of agricultural land and about 9 percent of urban real estate. In the Turkish case, despite the remaining pieces of gender-discriminatory legislation (particularly the Penal Code), the legal framework does not appear to be the major source of

gender discrimination. However, unlike those of earlier times, laws of the present do not represent a proactive vision of gender equality. They still do not embrace international standards fully and are far from functioning as precursors and/or promoters of gender equality and women's advancement.

12.7 In light of the analyses of gender disparity in each chapter, three main cross-cutting issues can also be identified. These constitute fundamental factors which are responsible for hampering women's attainment of equality with men in Turkish society. They are also inextricably linked to poverty, since they reflect women's inadequate access to opportunities and capabilities or the inability to attain the desirable levels of security and empowerment to escape poverty.

12.8 The economic dependence of women emerges as a primary problem area. It is reflected in different findings, such as the low and decreasing labor participation rates of women; their higher urban unemployment rates; their remarkably high proportion as unpaid family workers; their lower average wages; their high ratios in insecure jobs in the informal sector; their disproportionately low ownership of real estate; and their inability to provide collateral as entrepreneurs in the different sector analyses.

12.9 Women's lack of skills, as reflected mainly by education and employment data, constitutes another underlying force accounting for women's disadvantaged position in the society. This is not only demonstrated in women's lower levels of literacy and education or rural women's lack of access to technology and machinery, or urban migrant women's inability to join the formal labor market, but also in the difficulties experienced by different groups of women in accessing information and services in areas such as health, transportation, banking and dealing with bureaucracies.

12.10 Traditional values and cultural stereotypes pose a major obstacle for women in attaining equality with men. Reflections of discriminatory and debilitating traditions and gender stereotypes are observed in the whole range of sectors reviewed. Examples of these attitudes are: sex-typing of occupations and gender-segregated labor markets; the definition of women primarily as care givers and of men as breadwinners; women's lack of mobility; notions of women's outside work being considered incompatible with marriage and motherhood; these are only some examples of such beliefs and practices. Moreover, women's exposure to suppression and violence in the family and community, often legitimized on the basis of traditions and culture, is internalized by women themselves and functions as a self-limiting influence

12.11 Furthermore, as indicated above, the analyses and recommendations provided in the preceding chapters regarding the measures needed to combat gender inequality are informative for poverty reduction strategies. In this context, the targeting of poverty assistance schemes to vulnerable women (e.g., illiterate, non-working migrant women of the "second wave"; single migrant women; female-headed households; rural older women) appears as the most obvious need for the short term. Similarly, immediate attention is required to devise measures (e.g., insurance coverage) to reduce the vulnerability of unemployed/uninsured women in rural and urban areas

12.12 Short-term to medium-term measures are required to improve women's capabilities and opportunities. In order to address poverty reduction, informing rural and urban women of assistance and job possibilities, as well as providing know-how and facilitating application for assistance and jobs, promise significant benefits for the vulnerable groups. While neighborhood and community solidarity networks come across as important "safety nets" for needy women,

their potential to function as social control agents on women, thereby impeding women's empowerment, should not be overlooked. Literacy and vocational training of women to improve their chances of employment in better paying and secure jobs can be provided by state and civil society agents, with a view to promoting women's participation in unconventional areas. On the legislative front, the enactment of equal opportunity legislation as well as legislation to prevent sexual harassment and discrimination at the workplace and the establishment of new mechanisms (e.g., gender ombuds person) to monitor practices are deemed essential to ensure gender equality in the labor market.

12.13 Comprehensive and coordinated efforts by the state, the civil society, and the mass media, as well as international organizations, need to be expanded in the middle term to long term to effectively combat discriminatory traditions and practices that impede women's economic independence and perpetuate low status in the family and community. To this end, sustained programs to socialize and train women and men in a "culture of equality" will help ensure the improvement of women's equal opportunities and empowerment.

12.14 The preceding chapters attest to the multi-faceted, intricate and complex nature of gender issues. Therefore, combating gender inequality and poverty calls for a careful and detailed analysis of the myriad of policies, measures, and practices required for each sector.

12.15 Through an in-depth analysis of the material provided in the preceding chapters, it has been possible to generate a comprehensive list of indicators of gender disparity for each sector. These indicators, organized below along the four components of poverty reduction schemes (capability, opportunity, security, and empowerment), help paint a complete picture of the nature and extent of gender inequality in each sector. They may be used for designing measures that are aimed at eradicating gender inequality in general and engendering poverty reduction efforts in particular.

12.16 Below (Tables 12.1-12.10) is the list of major indicators identified for each sector, classified according to the four components of poverty reduction schemes. While these indicators cannot be claimed to be exhaustive, they reflect the arguments put forth by the individual authors in their analysis of each sector. In order to preserve a complete picture of each sector, indicators that recurred in several sectors have not been eliminated.

Table 12.1: Major Gender Disparity Indicators for “Legal Framework”

Comp.	Description
O	Lack of legal definition of direct and indirect gender discrimination
O	Laws silent on ‘special temporary measures’ such as ‘quotas’
O	Lack of legal provisions to prevent discrimination in the recruitment of pregnant women
O	Improper criteria in legal provisions regarding employer’s responsibility to provide child-care services
O	Protective legislation prohibiting women’s employment in certain jobs
O	Lack of proper Labor Code regulations of flexible and atypical types of work
O	Lack of legislation to prevent discrimination in recruitment and promotion in private sector
O	Absence of paid “parental leave”
O	Difficulty of combining paid work with domestic responsibilities
S	Social security laws not providing maternity protection in trades-artisans-self employed sector and to non-household heads in agriculture
S	Lack of legislation against sexual harassment at workplace
S	Sexual offences (e.g., incest, child abuse) not adequately defined as crimes in laws
S	Marital rape not constituting a crime
S	Reduced sentences in honor crimes and lineage offences

Table 12.2: Major Gender Disparity Indicators for “Education”

Comp.	Description
C	Higher illiteracy rates of women than men
C	Rural women in the Eastern and Southeastern regions most likely to be illiterate
C	Women’s illiteracy consistently increasing with age groups
C	Women’s higher illiteracy rates in rural than urban locations
C	Women’s literacy much lower than men’s in rural than urban locations
C	Remarkably high rates of illiteracy among migrant women
C	Women’s illiteracy particularly high in Black Sea, East and Southeast regions
C	Women’s access to primary education more limited than men
C	Women’s access to primary education much lower in Black Sea, East and Southeast regions as compared to other regions
C	Cost of schooling as the primary reason for girls’ non-enrollment in primary school in urban areas
C	Unavailability of proper school, housework chores, and lack of family permission to go to school as main obstacles to girls’ non-enrollment in primary school in rural areas
C	Women’s chances of having access to primary education declining with lower socioeconomic status
C	Working children are unlikely to continue education
C	Higher parents’ (especially mother’s) education beyond primary school increasing likelihood of child’s stay at school
C	Vocational-technical schools’ education typically reproducing traditional female roles
C	High percentage of girls in religious education
C	Religious education reinforcing stereotypical roles and falling short of providing with skills for income generating activities to girls
C	Lower proportion of girls continuing to secondary education than boys
C	Female enrollment in vocational-technical education lower than in general education
C	Sex-typing of vocational-technical education
C	Less female teachers in rural areas, especially in Black Sea, East and Southeast regions
C	School books depicting women and men in stereotypical gender roles

C	A small fraction of women enrolled in higher education
C	Lower percentage of women among university students especially in provincial universities
C	Higher presence of women in typically feminine or “low pay-low prestige” areas in higher education
C	Lower percentage of women among academic staff than men, declining further with rank
C	Women’s higher participation in public non-formal education than private
C	Public non-formal education typically offering vocation training in traditional fields
C	Women’s domination in Koran course enrollment
C	Women’s enrollment rates declining in non-formal education
O	Lack of higher education lowering female labor force participation
S	Female illiteracy in urban migrant communities making women more dependent on others, thus more vulnerable to social and economic risks
E	Female illiteracy limiting women’s chances of integration into a modern productive life, and hence the potential for empowerment

Table 12.3: Major Gender Disparity Indicators for “Health”

Comp.	Description
C	Inadequacy of access to maternal health services
C	Inadequacy of access to modern contraception methods
C	Lack of adequate access to reproductive/sexual health information and counselling
C	High ratio of teenage pregnancy due to early marriage
O	Economic dependence of women limiting their access to health services
S	Prevalence of virginity testing
S	Occurrence of honor crimes
S	Women’s exposure to STI and HIV/AIDS due to polygamy and male promiscuity
E	Number of births influenced by social pressure
E	Husbands dominant in decision making on family planning
E	Conservatism and tradition limiting access to information on reproductive/sexual health

Table 12.4: Major Gender Disparity Indicators for “Labor and Social Security”

Comp.	Description
C	Inadequate access of women to (gender-neutral) vocational training through formal or non-formal education
C	Inadequate access to social security benefits in the formal sector
C	Lack of social security in the informal sector
O	Decline in female labor force participation
O	Average female wage considerably lower than that of men partly due to gender-based discrimination in labor market
O	Majority of women working in the informal sector
O	Exclusion of women from certain jobs due to sex-typing by employers
O	Protective legislation prohibiting female employment in certain jobs
O	Gender-segregated labor market
O	Absence of (paid) parental leave
O	Indirect discrimination in public, and direct and indirect discrimination in private sector against women
O	Women primarily responsible for care of children, elderly and sick
O	Employer preference to recruit young and single women discriminating against married women

O	Limited supply of affordable child care services for working women
O	Failure to ratify relevant ILO conventions
O	Inappropriate criterion for work places to have childcare centers
O	Unemployment among urban particularly young women higher than men
S	Women facing discriminatory dismissal more than men; women laid off before men at times of economic squeeze
S	Increase in women's home-based work at times of economic hardship
S	Very limited access of women to insurance schemes
S	High and increasing rate of women's participation in informal sector
S	Absence of legal mechanisms or agencies to gender equality in working life
E	Patriarchal ideology attributing breadwinner role to men, viewing female earnings as supplementary
E	Women's inadequate presence in labor unions

Table 12.5: Major Gender Disparity Indicators for “Microenterprise Activity”

Comp	Description
C	Women entrepreneurs' lack of access to information about the banking system
C	Women entrepreneurs' lack of information about markets or new technologies
C	Women entrepreneurs' lack of knowledge about paperwork and bureaucracy
O	Women entrepreneurs' difficulty in access to credits due to lack of collateral
O	Women entrepreneurs' left out of established 'old-boy networks'
O	Women entrepreneurs overworked due to 'double burden'
O	Women entrepreneurs' limited mobility
S	Financial resources and family support likely to be withdrawn from women enterprises in economic downturn
S	Decrease in women entrepreneurs' applications for credit in economic crisis
E	Women's role confined to the family context curtailing entrepreneurship
E	Women's low rates of membership in occupational organizations

Table 12.6: Major Gender Disparity Indicators for “Rural Poverty”

Comp	Description
C	Rural women's lack of education and high rate of illiteracy
C	Lack of intrahousehold transfer of agricultural knowledge
C	Rural women's lack of access to information sources
C	Low rates of female membership in sales coops
C	Especially low rural 'hdi' in Black Sea and Eastern-South Eastern regions
O	Women's low access to land and collateral for credit with ownership limited to small plots; women's worsening access to finance with ceasing of Agricultural Bank lending
O	Women's lack of access to other productive resources (machinery and technology)
O	Rural women's low and declining rate of participation in labor force
O	Rural (agricultural) division of labor trapping women in labor intensive middle phases of crop production
O	Rural women working longer hours than men during peak seasons; lack of time for self-improvement
O	Unwillingness of rural men to take over 'women's' duties

O	Rural women's traditional place of work limiting mobility
S	Rural women having very low access to social insurance
S	Reduced need for female workers due to mechanization in some crops
S	Higher proportion of poverty among rural women; potential threat of deep poverty for non-migrating older rural women due to Agricultural Reform
S	Incentive schemes of current Agriculture Reform in Turkey still gender-blind; failure of 'dis' reform to target rural women
E	Women's very limited role in decision making in rural household and community

Table 12.7: Major Gender Disparity Indicators for “Migration, Poverty, and Social Protection”

Comp	Description
C	Migrant women's lack of familiarity with modern organizations and urban services
C	Migrant women having very low levels of education and skills
C	Migrant women's low participation in adult education courses
C	Most migrant women with no information about jobs and/or aid possibilities
C	Migrant women's lack of skills to complete paperwork needed to apply for assistance
C	Inability of rural women to travel long distances to reach assistance agencies
O	Most urban migrant women working in low-wage jobs, mostly in informal sector
O	Urban migrant women burdened with household chores
O	Single women and children of female headed households among migrants having low upward mobility
O	Ownership and wealth are concentrated in male hands among urban migrants
S	Intrafamily violence against women in migrant families
S	Honor crimes in migrant communities from Eastern-Southern Eastern Anatolia
S	Single, non-working women and/or female headed households among migrants most likely to be poor
S	High rates of sick and disabled in female headed migrant households, especially below poverty line
E	Religious and traditional networks of solidarity and assistance perpetuating traditional gender roles and discouraging migrant women's work outside

Table 12.8: Major Gender Disparity Indicators for “State, Politics and Civil Society

Comp	Description
O	Women's participation lower than men in the professions
O	Women's participation in the public sector low
O	Decreasing women percentages as one goes up the occupational ladder
E	Persistently low female representation at parliamentary level
E	Low female representation at local government level
E	Political participation component reducing GEM
E	Social and political activities of women controlled by their husbands and male relatives
E	Women's disadvantage vis -à-vis all assets needed for political access
E	Women's very limited representation in labor union decision making
E	Parliament membership attainable by women of higher socio-economic standing
E	Gender blind political parties and election laws

Table 12.9: Major Gender Disparity Indicators for “Violence”

Comp	Description
O	Socially accepted and personally internalized child-rearing role making women economically dependent
O	Lack of adequately paying jobs making women’s child-rearing role only feasible option
S	Prevalence of different kinds of physical violence against women
S	Economic violence prohibiting women’s paid employment
S	Forced and early marriage compounding women’s oppression family and community
S	Honor crimes in Eastern and Southeastern regions and among migrants from these regions
S	Greater prevalence of sexual abuse of girl children
S	Incest victims overwhelmingly female
S	Marital rape legitimized by patriarchal values internalized by women
S	Prevalence of virginity testing
S	Bride price particularly in rural areas and among urban migrants
S	Sexual and other violence against women in detention
S	Penal code and court decisions lenient on honor crimes
E	Cultural and traditional attitudes viewing women’s employment outside as damaging to family reputation
E	Forced and early marriage perpetuating women’s subservience and low status in family and community
E	Traditional cultural values limiting women to family context impede development of women’s identity as individuals
E	Behavior of the female victim questioned in sexual or honor crime cases

Table 12.10: Major Gender Disparity Indicators for “Disaster Assistance”

Comp	Description
S	Inadequate post-disaster access to psychological rehabilitation
E	Women’s low sense of efficacy in post-disaster circumstances

12.17 The indicators presented in Tables 12.1-12.10, when viewed in their totality for a sector, may be used to identify entry points and actors (stakeholders), define intervention measures, and coordinate activities. As an example of how the preceding list of indicators of gender disparity in each sector can be utilized in the process of working out a plan of intervention and action (possibly including a participatory exercise by relevant stakeholders) can be found in Appendix 1.

12.18 The matrices presented here juxtapose individual indicators of gender disparity in two of the reviewed sectors, “Rural Women and Poverty” and “Migration, Poverty and Social Protection”, against the major actors (stakeholders) in these sectors. These sectors were chosen as they, perhaps more than others, have direct links with poverty and span all four components of poverty reduction schemes. The matrices developed for these two sectors illustrate a comprehensive spectrum of indicators, actors and interventions. Needless to say, the entries in both matrices are not exhaustive; they merely stress the most obvious actors and actions. As such, the matrices are expected to be modified to incorporate the views and suggestions of interested parties.

12.19 When viewed row-wise the matrices show possible actions to be taken by relevant actors with regards to a specific indicator. Similarly, when viewed column-wise the matrices provide an overview of different types of action expected of a particular actor.

12.20 Such matrices can serve as a basis for individual concerned parties to develop action programs. They can also be instrumental in structuring and facilitating discussions and suggestions in a participatory medium such as a workshop of stakeholders.

Matrix 12.1: Indicators and Actors in “Rural Women and Poverty”

Indicators		MARA	NMfW	Parliament/ Government	Professional Org’ns/NGOs	Mass Media	Poverty Assistance Agencies	International Org’ns
C	Rural women’s lack of education and high rate of illiteracy	Insert literacy training into agricultural extension programs		Prioritize literacy training and school enrollment of girls in rural areas (MoEd)	Provide training programs and incentive schemes; advocacy to change traditional attitudes	Broadcast programs for awareness raising among women and rural population; encourage women’s participation; publicize best practices	Develop incentive schemes targeting participation of women and girls in training, extension programs	Support literacy training and education; monitor state commitments
C	Lack of intrahousehold transfer of agricultural knowledge	Mainstream gender into policies; provide technical training programs targeting rural women; support women’s equality in production	Help develop case-specific training material targeting women; monitor inclusion of gender-sensitive material in training, extension programs by other agencies					Support technical training programs; promote gender mainstreaming in all agricultural programs including extension
C	Rural women’s lack of access to information sources	Target women in providing information about training, extension courses and other support programs		Provide information to mothers through school children (MoEd)		Broadcast programs to inform women about assistance programs		
C	Low rates of female membership in sales coops			Adopt policies and incentive schemes in	Push for women’s membership		Introduce incentive schemes targeting	

				Agricultural Reform measures to promote female membership in sales coops	through 'quotas' and/or incentive schemes		women's membership	
C	Especially low rural 'hdi' in Black Sea and Eastern-South Eastern regions			Adopt policies and schemes prioritizing female population in these areas	Target efforts on female population and poverty groups in regions with low 'hdi'		Prioritize female population and poverty groups in regions with low 'hdi'	Work with government to identify and implement programs targeting female population in these areas
O	Women's low access to land and collateral for credit with ownership limited to small plots; women's worsening access to finance with ceasing of Agricultural Bank lending			Enact legislation to facilitate women without collateral to borrow from formal sources of credit; enforce equal rights provisions of Civil and Property laws; train the judiciary	Inform, train women on ownership and inheritance rights; advocate for community support; provide legal aid to women		Target women in providing subsidized credits	
O	Women's lack of access to other productive resources (machinery and technology)	Develop programs to build technical skills of rural women		Enact legislation to facilitate women without collateral to borrow from formal sources of credit			Target women in programs to facilitate access to technology and machinery	
O	Rural women's low and declining rate of		Research into reasons and					

	participation in labor force		repercussions of declining participation of women in rural labor force					
O	Rural (agricultural) division of labor trapping women in labor intensive middle phases of crop production	Provide technical training programs to enable and support equal participation of women in all stages and types of agricultural production	Help develop gender sensitive training material for use by MARA and MoEd programs; monitor inclusion of gender-sensitive material in training/extension programs by other agencies		Provide training programs and incentive schemes; advocacy to change traditional attitudes	Broadcast programs for awareness raising among women and rural population; encourage women's participation in all stages and types of agricultural production; publicize best practices		
O	Rural women working longer hours than men during peak seasons; lack of time for self-improvement		Integrate family planning information into literacy and technical training material	Prioritize family planning, literacy training, enrollment of girls and non-formal education to enhance women's status in family and community (MoH, MoEd)	Provide literacy training programs and incentive schemes for education of women; advocacy to change traditional attitudes to enhance women's status	Broadcast programs for awareness raising among women and rural population; promote change of traditional attitudes		
O	Unwillingness of rural men to take over 'women's' duties							
O	Rural women's traditional place of work limiting mobility	Promote women's roles and potential for employment outside home in			Develop and support projects promoting women's roles and employment			

		rural development projects			outside home			
S	Rural women having very low access to social insurance			Amend the relevant laws to remove household head reference to extend coverage to all family members			Target rural women (without insurance) for assistance	
S	Reduced need for female workers due to mechanization in some crops		Research into trends of mechanization displacing women work force; develop policies and measures to offset negative implications		Target efforts on female population in these regions		Target rural regions with higher rates of women outside labor force	
S	Higher proportion of poverty among rural women; potential threat of deep poverty for non-migrating older rural women due to Agricultural Reform		Research into effects of Agricultural Reform on poverty among rural women				Prioritize poor women in rural areas; monitor trends in gender-based poverty; monitor and assess gender-based impact of assistance programs in rural areas	Promote betetrment of rural women's conditions; monitor trends in gender-based rural poverty; mainstream gender in design and assessment of poverty assistance programs in rural areas
S	Incentive schemes of			Adopt gender-			Target women in	

	current Agriculture Reform in Turkey still gender-blind; failure of 'dis' reform to target rural women			sensitive approach to Agricultural Reform			distribution of 'dis' in rural areas	
E	Women's very limited role in decision making in rural household and community			Design and implement rural development projects viewing women as part of community; provide literacy training programs and incentive schemes for education of women	Promote socio-cultural transformation through training and action-based programs targeting women and community leaders; push for women's involvement in decision-making capacity in rural development projects			Support rural development projects that involve rural women in participatory and decentralized approach

Matrix 12.2: Indicators and Actors in "Migration, Poverty and Social Protection"

Indicator		NMfW	Local Govt's	Parliament/ Government	MoEd	Professional Org'ns/NGOs	Mass Media	Poverty Assistance Agencies
C	Migrant women's lack of familiarity with modern organizations and urban services	Support local govt and NGO activities	Organize/support information programs; provide space and support for community centers		Nonformal education courses; reach to mothers through school children	Carry out outreach and training programs; advocacy	Broadcast information programs; monitor and report on successful campaigns	
C	Migrant women having very low levels of education and skills	Mobilize for and coordinate literacy campaigns;	Offer/support training programs; provide space		Conduct literacy training in poor urban neighborhoods;	Carry out outreach and training programs;	Encourage women to participate in training	

		support needs assessment research and disseminate results	and support for community centers		non-formal education courses to provide marketable skills	advocacy directed at women, authorities and community leaders	programs; monitor and report on successful campaigns	
C	Migrant women's low participation in adult education courses	Develop women's rights material to incorporate into adult education programs	Encourage participation in adult education by providing information, support, and transportation		Offer courses to meet the needs of uneducated women; encourage participation through students	Offer courses; encourage participation in adult education by providing information, support, and transportation	Publicize available programs; air programs on success stories	
C	Most migrant women with no information about jobs and/or aid possibilities		Disseminate information through visits and local meetings; provide transportation		Provide information to mothers through students	Disseminate information through visits and local meetings; provide transportation	Broadcast information in women's programs	Active scanning of poor neighborhoods to reach needy women
C	Migrant women's lack of skills to complete paperwork needed to apply for assistance				Provide information to mothers through students	Provide assistance with paperwork at home or office	Broadcast information in women's programs	Simplify paperwork and procedure; provide assistance with paperwork at home or office
C	Inability of rural women to travel long distances to reach assistance agencies					Provide information on available aid and assist with transportation	Publicize available aid programs	Organize local visits to reach needy women; develop objective and reliable measures to identify needy
O	Most urban migrant women working in low-			Institute 'quotas' for	Offer courses to improve or give	Offer courses to improve or give		

	wage jobs, mostly in informal sector			women employees in formal sectors; enforce social security legislation	new skills to women	new skills to women; keep watch over and help improve women's working conditions		
O	Urban migrant women burdened with household chores		Provide affordable childcare services			Provide affordable childcare services; advocacy	Broadcast programs for sharing of domestic responsibilities	
O	Single women and children of female headed households among migrants having low upward mobility			Adopt legislative frame work for gender-based 'special temporary measures'		Concentrate efforts on these groups	Broadcast programs to attract attention and sensitize the public	Develop and implement priority assistance policies and measures targeting these groups
O	Ownership and wealth are concentrated in male hands among urban migrants	Develop and distribute information material on new Civil Law on marital property regime				Legal literacy training about new Civil Law provisions on marital property regime; advocacy on altering traditional attitudes; offer legal aid to women	Awareness raising about new Civil Law provisions on marital property regime; advocacy on altering traditional attitudes; disseminate information on available legal aid	

S	Intrafamily violence against women in migrant families	Disseminate information; raise awareness	Provide services, shelters	Enforce laws; train judiciary and security personnel		Raise awareness; train for legal literacy; provide services, legal aid, shelters to victims	Broadcast programs to attract attention and sensitize the public; adopt a critical attitude	Integrate violence into assistance distribution criteria; provide financial support to victims
S	Honor crimes in migrant communities from Eastern-Southern Eastern Anatolia			Amend Penal Code; train judiciary and security personnel				
S	Single, non-working women and/or female headed households among migrants most likely to be poor			Adopt legislative frame work for gender-based 'special temporary measures'	Provide assistance	Focus assistance programs on these groups	Broadcast programs to attract attention and sensitize the public	Develop and implement priority assistance policies and measures targeting these groups
S	High rates of sick and disabled in female headed migrant households, especially below poverty line			Develop targeted health scans and provide health services and care (MoH)	Provide assistance	Focus assistance programs on these groups	Broadcast programs to attract attention and sensitize the public	Develop and implement priority assistance policies and measures targeting these groups
E	Religious and traditional networks of solidarity and assistance perpetuating traditional gender roles and discouraging migrant women's work outside	Advocacy for increased state assistance funds; awareness raising for women's rights and economic independence	Cleanse school books of gender-stereotypes and promote a culture gender-equality	Allocate sufficient resources to state assistance schemes		Advocacy for women's empowerment through gradual transformation of community values and gender relations; push for increased assistance funds	Broadcast programs to: promote culture of equality and women's rights; emphasize family and community benefits of women's work outside; provide successful role models	Provide effective assistance to reduce dependence on religious and traditional networks

