

Report No. 10299-TU

# Turkey

## Women in Development Report

(In Two Volumes) Volume I: Main Report

September 25, 1992

Country Operations Division  
Country Department I  
Europe and Central Asia Regional Office

MICROFICHE COPY

Report No.: 10299-TU Type: (SEC)  
Title: WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT REPORT  
Author: HADLER, S.  
Ext.: 32765 Room: H5 103 Dept.: EC1CO  
2 VOL.

**FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY**



**Document of the World Bank**

This document has a restricted distribution and may be used by recipients only in the performance of their official duties. Its contents may not otherwise be disclosed without World Bank authorization.

TURKEY

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT REVIEW

CURRENCY EQUIVALENTS

Currency Unit = Turkish Lira (TL)  
US\$1.00 = TL4100 (1991 Average)

ABBREVIATIONS LIST

CEDAW	-	Convention on the Elimination of All Discrimination Against Women
DGWSP	-	Directorate General for Women's Status and Problems
DI	-	Duncan or Dissimilarity Index
EDI	-	Economic Development Institute of the World Bank
ESC	-	European Social Charter
FRI	-	Family Research Institute
GAP	-	Southeastern Anatolian Project
GT	-	Government of Turkey
HIPS	-	Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies
IIBK	-	Turkish Employment Organization
ILO	-	International Labor Organization
IMR	-	Infant Mortality Rate
LFS	-	Household Labor Force Survey
MARA	-	Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs
MOE	-	Ministry of National Education
MOH	-	Ministry of Health
MOL	-	Ministry of Labor and Social Security
NFTW	-	National Foundation for the Advancement and Recognition of Turkish Women
NGO	-	Non-Governmental Organizations
SII	-	Social Insurance Institution
SIS	-	State Institute of Statistics
SPO	-	State Planning Organisation
SSCPA	-	Social Security and Child Protection Agency
TDF	-	Turkish Development Foundation
TFR	-	Total Fertility Rate
TRT	-	Turkish Radio and Television
TSI	-	Institute of Turkish Standards
TUBITAK	-	Scientific and Technical Research Council of Turkey
UNDP	-	United Nations Development Programme
UOE	-	Undersecretariat of Environment
WE	-	Women and Employment Index

## TURKEY

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT REPORTTable of ContentsVolume I. Main Report

<u>Executive Summary</u>	i-xv
<b>I. <u>The Situation of Women in Turkey</u></b>	<b>1</b>
A. Introduction	1
B. The Social, Political and Economic Position of Women	1
C. Legal Status	2
D. Fertility, Nutrition and Health	4
<b>II. <u>Women in the Labor Force</u></b>	<b>10</b>
A. Introduction	10
B. Labor Force Data: Sources and Issues	15
C. Trends and Patterns in Labor Force Participation	17
D. Gender Segregation in the Labor Force	24
E. Urban-Rural Differences and Dimensions	31
F. Hours of Work	39
G. Educational Attributes of the Labor Force	41
H. Male-Female Earnings Differences and Social Insurance Coverage	47
I. Policy Implications	47
<b>III. <u>Women in the Economy</u></b>	<b>54</b>
A. Introduction	54
B. Women's Work and Employment Patterns	54
The Agricultural Sector	55
The Industrial Sector	57
The Services Sector	61
C. Issues and Proposals Concerning Women's Productivity	63
Cross-Sectoral Constraints	63
Agricultural Sector Constraints	67
Industrial and Services Sector Constraints	69

This report is based on the findings of a World Bank mission that visited Turkey in July 1991. The mission consisted of Sandra Hadler, mission leader (EC1CO), Yasmeen Mohiuddin and Morton Stelcner (consultants). Background material was provided by Michael Mertaugh (EC1HR), Nedret Duratan (EC1TU), Bulma Aksit, Yildiz Ecevit, Omer Karasapan, Nurhan Sural (consultants). Secretarial support was provided by Barbara Mondestin.

<b>IV. <u>Education and Technical Training</u></b>	<b>71</b>
A. Introduction	71
B. Structure of the Education and Training System	71
C. Status and Trends in Female Education and Training	72
D. Attributes of the Out-of-School Population	78
E. Gender Aspects of Education and Training Programs	80
F. Conclusions and Recommendations	83
<b>V. <u>The Role of Government and NGOs in Women's Development</u></b>	<b>85</b>
A. Introduction	85
B. Development Plans and Government Policies	85
C. Current Role of Government in Women's Development	86
D. Non-Governmental Organizations	90
E. Conclusions and Areas for Intervention	92
<b><u>References &amp; Bibliography</u></b>	<b>94</b>
<b>Box 1: Employment Equity Programs</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>Box 2: Time Use Surveys</b>	<b>53</b>

**Volume II. Annexes**

<b>Annex 1: The Legal Environment</b>
<b>Annex 2: Fertility, Nutrition and Health Issues of Women</b>
<b>Annex 3: Labor Force Definitions</b>
<b>Annex 4: Women in Industry</b>
<b>Annex 5: Women in Agriculture</b>
<b>Annex 6: Credit Survey</b>

## List of Text Tables and Charts

### Chapter II

Table 2.1:	Trends in Labor Force Participation by Gender, 1955-90	18
Chart 2.1:	Trends in Labor Force Participation by Gender, 1955-90	18
Table 2.2:	Female Participation Rates in Turkey and Comparator OECD Countries, 1950-90	21
Chart 2.2:	Female Participation Rates in Turkey and Comparator OECD Countries, 1950-90	21
Table 2.3:	Female and Male Participation Rates by Age Groups, 1955-90	23
Chart 2.3:	Female and Male Participation Rates by Age Groups, 1955-90	23
Table 2.4:	Distribution of Total Labor Force by Worker Status and Gender, 1960-90	26
Table 2.5:	Distribution of Total Labor Force by Occupation and Gender, 1965-90	28
Table 2.6:	Distribution of Total Labor Force by Economic Sector and Gender, 1965-90	29
Table 2.7:	Participation Rates by Urban-Rural Areas, 1955-90	32
Table 2.8:	Urban-Rural Participation by Gender and Age Groups, 1988-90	33
Chart 2.8:	Urban-Rural Participation by Gender and Age Groups, 1988-90	33
Table 2.9:	Distribution of Urban-Rural Labor Force by Worker Status and Gender, 1990	35
Table 2.10:	Distribution of Urban-Rural Labor Force by Occupation and Gender, 1990	36
Table 2.11:	Distribution of Urban-Rural Labor Force by Economic Sector and Gender, 1990	37
Table 2.12:	Weekly Hours of Work in Main Job For Those Employed, 1990	40
Chart 2.12:	Weekly Hours of Work by Residence, 1990	40
Table 2.13:	Distribution of Total Labor Force by Education and Gender, 1970-90	42
Table 2.14:	Distribution of Labor Force by Education, Residence and Gender, 1990	44
Table 2.15:	Female Participation Ratio by Educational Attainment, 1990	46
Chart 2.15:	Female Participation Ratio by Educational Attainment, 1990	46

### Chapter III

Table 3.1:	Distribution of Labor Force by Economic Sector, 1990	55
Table 3.2:	Distribution of Employed Women in Community, Social and Personnel Services by Occupational Groups, 1990	62

### Chapter IV

Table 4.1:	Share of Female Enrollments in Education and Training by Level and Type of Program, 1987-88	73
Table 4.2:	Enrollment Deficits for Males and Females in Basic Education by Level and Source, 1987	75
Table 4.3:	A Regional Comparison of Female Schooling and Literacy	76
Table 4.4:	Promotion, Repetition and Dropout Rates by Grade for Males and Females, 1987-88	77
Table 4.5:	Growth of Enrollments in Formal Education and Training for Males and Females by Level and Type of Program, 1980/81-1987/88	78
Table 4.6:	Illiteracy Rates and Gross Enrollment Ratios by Region and Provinces for Males and Females	80

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

### TURKEY

#### WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT REPORT

1. This report is intended to serve as the basis of the World Bank's support to the Government of Turkey for implementing its policies to enhance the participation of women in the economic development process. It provides background information about the situation of women in Turkey, including legal and health issues, and examines Government strategies to incorporate women into national policies and programs. The main focus of the report, however, is on increasing and raising the quality of women's participation in the labor force. To this end, the report gives particular attention to enhancing women's labor skills and income-earning potential through education, technical training and credit; and to opening their access to higher paying jobs in industry and agriculture.

#### Strategic Considerations and Directions

2. Turkey can benefit significantly in terms of increased productivity, enhanced family welfare and reduced population growth by focussing more on the development potential of its women. To this end, the report advances three general propositions.

- ° Investments in women will promote economic development. Because of the critical role women play in their family's health and nutrition and in the education of children, the benefits from investment in women's development tend to be spread more widely throughout society and across generations;
- ° Women contribute far more to the economy and to the family than is reflected in official statistics. Recognizing the role of women in the development process (through the adoption of better statistical indicators) will help policy-makers in making informed decisions on resource allocation. Simultaneously, increasing the visibility and awareness of women's contributions in the public and private sectors, as Government has recently begun to do, and through the use of the media would facilitate the integration of women in the development process; and
- ° Although women's contribution is substantial their productivity remains low because of constraints of culture and tradition, even though the laws and policies are, in general, gender neutral. Easing these constraints, for instance through "moral suasion", would lead to productivity increases and increased household income.

3. Turkey's continued rapid development and integration into Europe will be facilitated if the constraints faced by women with respect to human and productive resource development are alleviated. Without appropriate

investment in women's education, training and health and increased female participation in production, the economy will bear the consequences in terms of foregone production, diminished family welfare and higher population growth.

#### The Situation of Women

4. The position of women in Turkey varies over an extremely wide range: from the highly educated, professional women in the major cities to the majority of women in the urban and rural areas who are caught between two different worlds - one, determined by culture and tradition that limits their activities to the family homestead, and the other, shaped in large part by the continuing migration that brings them into the modern, productive sectors. During the past decade, however, traditional norms relating to women have been breaking down. Nevertheless, Government has recognized that gender-neutral policies are not sufficient for fully exploiting women's potential contribution to the economy, and that women's issues thus warrant a specific focus. Notwithstanding the far-reaching reforms introduced in the early Republican era, women's access to services that can help them to acquire knowledge, obtain essential technical and social services to overcome gender-specific constraints to their labor force participation remain limited. Thus, the majority of women face limited economic opportunities and continue to occupy subordinate positions in the household and the economy. It is on this majority of women that the report focusses.

5. Although the life patterns of the majority of Turkish women remain conditioned by male-dominated institutions relating to the family, society and the economy, the traditional norm of a woman remaining inside the homestead, and of a male providing "protection", has been continuously changing as a result of economic and demographic developments. This evolution is resisted, however, by the more conservative elements of society, which have pushed during the eighties for a renewed emphasis on women's role as wife and mother. Women in Turkey continue to marry early and, despite declining national fertility rates, high fertility patterns remain the norm in some regions. Overall, the prevailing social norms still leave women dependent on men or at risk when deserted and continue to produce a strict division of labor and highly gender-segregated labor market.

6. Women make a major contribution to the economy and the family. Not only do they participate significantly in agricultural and industrial labor, but also they are charged with general household responsibilities, childcare and caring for the old and infirm. Nonetheless, women's contribution is seriously understated in the national accounts because it is unpriced and largely unmarketed. For the majority of women, their ability to be independent and take initiative, acquire new ideas, skills and contacts and to work outside the homestead remains restricted by tradition and culture. In their labor-force participation, women remain a largely unskilled or semi-skilled resource. Thus, the majority of women in Turkey have not benefitted to the same extent as men from the far-reaching reforms of the early Republican era or from economic development.

7. The issues Turkey faces in simultaneously increasing economic efficiency and the status of women are virtually the same as those faced by the OECD countries following World War II and, more recently, by the newly industrialized countries. With the transformation from a primarily agricultural economy to an increasingly industrialized one, and with the consequent changes in the social fabric over the past three decades, Turkey has experienced a decline in female labor force participation, which will likely be reversed. If the swing in labor force participation is to be accompanied by growing economic efficiency, measures are needed to increase the productivity of the female labor force. Thus, the focus of the report is on measures that will support both an increase in female participation, enhance women's skills, and open up productive and non-traditional occupations to women. Female labor force participation in Turkey is currently around 33%, compared to 74% for men. If female participation were to increase to 50% (somewhat lower than the current OECD norm), ceteris paribus, this would amount to an increase in the current female labor force from 6.5 million to 9.5 million. At the same time, increasing urbanization and educational attainment will result in significant changes in sectoral and occupational composition of the female labor force.

8. The implications of these changes are complex and will affect all aspects of Turkey's economic and social development. As a result, the coverage and the findings of this report are unusually wide-ranging, touching on cultural and traditional issues that are normally beyond the purview of Bank reports. The report offers a large number of proposals, but as noted above, priority is given to measures to support an increase in female participation and employment in productive, non-traditional occupations. To provide perspective, section A below assesses the position of women in Turkey today and in a group of middle-income comparator countries in terms of selected socio-economic indicators. Sections B-D summarize the main findings and recommendations of the report, focussing in particular on the participation of women in the labor force and on sectoral issues that can simultaneously strengthen women's standing and contribution. Section E addresses Government's strategies to incorporate women into national policies and programs.

#### A. Progress in Women's Welfare and Participation

9. According to almost every socio-economic indicator, the standing of women in Turkey has improved significantly in recent decades. Regional variation and comparison with a group of middle-income countries (see Indicators Table below) indicate, however, some areas where further improvement is desirable. Four groups of indicators, in particular, are useful in summarizing Turkey's progress. The first relate to life expectancy and the number of women living relative to men (the sex ratio). The second relate to health and fertility indicators - not only as a means of reducing population growth but also of giving women greater control over their lives. The third relate to human resource development and, in particular, education. The fourth group relates to women's participation in the economy and their contribution to household income.

Indicators of the Status of Women in Turkey and Selected Countries

Indicator	Year	Turkey	Colombia	Greece	Mexico	Portugal	Spain	
Population (m)	Mid-1989	55.0	32.3	10.0	84.6	10.3	38.8	
Population growth rate (%)	1965-80	2.4	2.5	0.7	3.1	0.4	1.0	
	1980-89	2.4	2.0	0.4	2.1	0.6	0.4	
	1989-2000	2.0	1.6	0.2	1.8	0.4	0.4	
Population (m)	2000	68	38	10.0	103	11	41.0	
GNP per capita (\$)	1989	1370	1200	5350	2010	4250	9330	
GNP per capita growth (%)	1965-89	2.6	2.3	2.9	3.0	3.0	2.4	
Daily Calorie Supply per capita	1988	3080	2561	3699	3135	3382	3543	
Life Expectancy at birth	Female	1965	55	61	72	61	68	74
		1989	69	72	80	77	78	80
	Male	1965	52	57	69	58	62	69
		1989	64	66	74	66	72	74
Total Fertility Rate	1965	5.7	6.5	2.3	6.7	3.1	2.9	
	1989	3.6	2.9	1.5	3.4	1.6	1.4	
	2000	2.7	2.2	1.6	2.4	1.7	1.6	
Married Women of Childbearing age using contraception (%)	1986	77	63	..	53	..	59	
Maternal Mortality Rate (per 100,000 live births)	1980	207	130	12	92	15	10	
Infant Mortality Rate (per 1000 live births)	1965	165	86	34	82	65	38	
	1989	61	38	11	40	13	8	
	1985	7	15	6	15	8	..	
Births Attended by Health Staff (%)	1985	78	51	..	..	..	96	
Adult Illiteracy Rate	Female	1985	38	13	12	12	20	8
	Total	1985	26	12	8	10	16	6
% of Age Group Enrolled in Primary School (1988)	Female	113	115	102	115	127	110	
	Total	117	114	102	117	126	111	
% of Age Group Enrolled in Secondary School (1988)	Female	34	56	93	53	63	111	
	Total	46	56	95	53	59	105	
% of Age Group Enrolled in Tertiary Education (1988)	Total	11	14	28	15	18	32	
% of Central Government Expenditure on	Health	1972	3.2	..	7.4	4.5	..	0.9
		1989	2.9	..	..	1.7	8.2	12.5
	Education	1972	18.1	..	9.1	16.4	..	8.3
		1989	15.7	..	27.5	12.3	10.0	5.1
	Total Exp. as % of GNP	1972	22.7	13.1	..	11.4	..	19.6
		1989	23.7	14.6	..	21.2	43.3	34.3
Female Labor Force (%)	1960-65	38.2	12.1	19.0	9.5	16.0	13.0	
	1988 g/	30.1	14.4	20.0	18.4	31.4	17.4	

Sources: World Development Report 1991, Social Indicators of Development, 1990  
g/ Most recent estimate.

### Life Expectancy and Sex Ratio

10. Women in Turkey constitute 49% of the population, compared to an average sex ratio in the industrialized countries of 52% and 48% in the low-income developing countries. This suggests that women are slightly disadvantaged compared to men in Turkey in terms of health and nutrition. The background health study (Annex 2) concludes that this is a result primarily of women's reproductive role. The life expectancy differential between men and women in Turkey, however, reveals a very rapid gain in female life expectancy. Recent data indicate a female life expectancy of 69 years against 64 years for men - compared to 59 and 58 years, respectively, in the early 1950s. The comparator data provided in the Indicators Table show that both the level and improvement in male and female life expectancy in Turkey are commensurate with that of the middle-income countries.

### Health and Fertility Indicators

11. General health indicators of women and their children have improved significantly since 1960. The infant mortality rate, in particular, has declined dramatically from 165 in 1965 to 61 in 1989 - although this remains higher than in the comparator middle income countries. Simultaneously, fertility rates have declined significantly. Women give birth an average of 3.7 times - down from 6.8 in 1960. This also is higher than for the comparator countries. Turkey has made strong progress in family planning since the introduction of the first Family Planning Law in 1965 and now has one of the highest contraceptive acceptance rates in the world (77% in 1988, which is on a par with Germany). The population growth rate, however, remains unchanged since the mid-1960s at 2.4% and suggests a margin for improvement. Fertility and health indicators, in general, show a continuing and significant regional variation that warrants greater attention in the design and implementation of health and information delivery services.

### Education

12. Universal education has been an important principle of the country since the founding of the Republic, and the Constitution assures equal educational opportunity for boys and girls. Since 1970, Turkey has made significant progress in reducing the gender gap in education and literacy. The proportion of illiterate women in the female labor force has fallen from 69% in 1970 to 29% in 1990; the corresponding percentages for men have also fallen from 29% in 1970 to 8% in 1990. Gender segregation however exists, particularly in vocational schools, and female enrollments decline with increasing grade level. At the secondary level (Indicators Table), Turkey lags behind the middle-income comparator countries in female enrollments.

### Participation

13. Female labor force participation in Turkey is 33% - significantly higher than in the comparator middle-income countries. Compared however to OECD countries, the female participation rate is one of the lowest. With a male participation rate of 74%, the gender differential in participation is also one of the highest in the OECD.

14. Gender participation rates by urban/rural residence show marked differences: the participation rates for women and men in rural areas are 51% and 78%, respectively, and in urban areas 15% and 70%, respectively. Given the urban migration since the 1950s - the proportion of Turkey's population living in urban areas has virtually doubled from 29% in 1955 to 59% in 1990 - the continuing low urban female participation rate is surprising. This is attributable, at least partially, to the omission from official labor statistics of informal sector workers, as well as more limited opportunities for women's employment in urban areas and social constraints to their employment (Chapters II and Annex IV).

15. Sectoral employment patterns for men and women also differ significantly. Approximately 74% of women in the labor force are employed in agriculture, 7% in industry and 12% in services, while men are more evenly distributed across sectors - 34% in agriculture, 24% in industry and 38% in services. Similarly, there is a marked difference in gender employment status: 68% of women in the labor force in 1990 were unpaid family workers and 25% were wage earners or self-employed, compared to 14% of men who were unpaid and 82% who were wage earners or self-employed. Analysis of data by occupation and economic sector show women concentrated in the lower occupational categories and performing work closely related to their traditional household duties.

16. When the lower educational attainment of the female labor force (almost 30% of the female labor force but only 8% of the male labor force were illiterate in 1990) is also taken into consideration, these differential patterns indicate a labor force that is markedly segregated by gender and in which women remain a largely unskilled or semi-skilled resource. The high proportion of women who are unpaid family workers also raises concerns regarding the recognition of women's contribution to household income and their influence in household decision-making.

## B. Women in the Labor Force

17. Increasing women's ability to contribute to a country's development plays a critical role in simultaneously increasing overall economic efficiency and improving the relative economic status of women. While Government recognizes the importance of women to Turkey's economic development there has been little consideration, to date, by policymakers as to how to further women's integration into the economy. This section briefly summarizes the major report findings concerning the labor force participation of Turkish women and policy responses that would enhance the ability of women to become effective agents in Turkey's development (Chapter 2). The major findings are:

- o There has been a sharp decline in female labor force participation in Turkey - from almost 70% in 1955 to 33% in 1990. This is consistent with the widely-documented U-shaped relationship between economic development and female participation observed in the OECD countries since World War II, and where female labor force participation now exceeds 50%. A comparison of the female participation pattern in Turkey with that of four southern European OECD countries suggests that

Turkey is likely to experience a secular upturn in female participation (paras. 2.13-19). How quickly the second stage of the U-shaped relationship materializes will depend largely on two considerations: the availability of employment opportunities for women and the supply of skilled and qualified women who could take advantage of these opportunities. Policy initiatives focussing on women's participation in non-traditional activities will be needed to support this upturn (paras. 2.55-62).

- ° The work force in Turkey is markedly segregated by gender, especially in urban areas, where people tend to have higher educational attainments and wider employment opportunities. While the gender segregation is similar to that observed in OECD countries, it is more intense and, as the experience of the OECD countries has shown, will be difficult to alleviate without policy interventions focussing on, inter alia, education and training, the introduction of employment equity programs and repeal of discriminatory protective legislation (paras. 2.22-32).
- ° In addition to the potential upturn in female participation, there are major policy concerns regarding the "stock" of women in the labor force. The impact of the increasingly educated female labor force has not been reflected in the labor markets, although this will be largely a matter of time (paras. 2.44-52). For instance in 1990, 50% of the urban female labor force but only 5% of the rural female labor force had more than a primary school education. Currently, the educational level of the rural women will constrain their labor force participation, regardless of the availability of employment opportunities. Based on current enrollment rates, the proportion of rural women with more than a primary school education will be significantly higher a decade from now, as will be their employment expectations. This underlines the need for policy measures designed to promote the employment of women in higher productivity jobs in both urban and rural areas. Such measures are important not only for women's employment but for regional development.

18. Policy initiatives that Government may wish to consider include the following:

- ° An important - if not the key element - is education, including all forms of schooling: formal and informal, adult education, vocational and on-the-job. Raising women's educational attainments or earnings capacity - especially at the post-primary levels and in programs, courses, and fields of study that would meet the skill requirements of industrialization - will improve both economic efficiency and women's economic status. Increased and improved education will raise their

participation rates, reduce the likelihood of unemployment and increase continuity in their labor force attachment. Moreover, changing the patterns of women's education will likely reduce the gender wage gap and segregation in the work place, as well as change attitudes towards the gender division of labor. Changing educational policies is a necessary but not sufficient condition for improving the status of women. If educational policies are to be successful in removing gender disparities in the work place, they must be complemented by labor market-related initiatives. To this end, there are several policy measures that could be pursued.

- ° Policies for integrating women in the development process need specifically to focus on broadening women's skill range. Much of the observed gender disparity in participation rates and earnings, and the persistence of segregation in the work force can be attributed to gender differences in education and training. Reducing these differences will impact favorably on the status of women and on Turkey's overall development.
- ° Progress towards eliminating gender segregation, can be promoted by the Government itself setting an example to ensure symbolically and substantively that gender segregation is not perpetuated. The implementation of employment equity initiatives, along the lines pursued in Canada (Chapter 2, Box 1), would also represent an important step in facilitating the equal access of women to employment opportunities. Employment equity programs, not to be confused with "affirmative action" or quota initiatives, aim at preventing or reducing disadvantages experienced by designated groups by designing and implementing agency-specific measures to overcome identified disadvantages. The programs are given "teeth" in both private and public sector agencies by being tied to federal funding. Action in this area, would need to be coordinated simultaneously with other initiatives.
- ° Inter alia, some protective legislation designed to ensure that women are not exposed to hazardous physical or moral conditions in the workplace has the unintended effect of restricting women's job opportunities. Consideration should be given to repealing measures that provide for differential treatment of workers by gender, with the exception of maternity protection (Annex 1). The experience of several countries suggests that the repeal of such legislation will play a significant role in changing the attitudes of men and women towards "suitable" women's work and will also influence women's career choices.
- ° There are also constraints emanating from the labor market that make it difficult for women to seek formal market work. Labor demand constraints, which generally arise from labor standards legislation and collective agreements, are reflected in minimum working hours and in rigid work schedules. These constraints

compound the difficulty of combining market work with household responsibilities. Encouraging (or mandating) employers to provide more flexible time arrangements by modifying labor regulations to permit flexitime and part-time would be a useful policy measure.

- ° Women's employment opportunities are further influenced by the costs of employment - the location of the jobs reflected in commute time and expenditures on clothing, childcare and meals. Enforcement of existing regulations regarding enterprise childcare facilities and encouragement to establish community or family childcare facilities, for instance, as in the Bank-supported day care project in Colombia, would be beneficial (para. 3.41 and Annex 4).
- ° A further and highly significant policy initiative to increase the awareness of women's contribution concerns the collection and publication of data. A comprehensive and up-to-date data base of socioeconomic indicators on the role and relative situation of women is a sine qua non for analyzing and formulating policy initiatives designed to improve women's relative economic status and for monitoring, inter alia, the impacts of such initiatives. Consideration should be given to both the regular publication of a statistical report on the socio-economic status of women (as SIS is now proposing) and the undertaking of policy-oriented research on a wide range of women's issues (paras. 2.62-64).

19. Additional recommendations to further women's participation, which Government may wish to address, include promotional and publicity campaigns (para. 2.65), and increasing the proportion of women with social insurance coverage (para. 2.61).

20. Chapter III identifies constraints to women's productivity in the agriculture, industry and service sectors and proposes alleviating measures. In agriculture, where almost 75% of women work, the extension and research delivery systems, with their focus on male activities are a major constraint to women's productivity (3.34-38). Inter alia, there are virtually no female extension agents - as opposed to home economists - outside the provincial directorates and extension agents are required to work with titled land owners. Within MARA, pilot programs are now being established to address these constraints through the re-training of home economists as field agents. The opening up of the agricultural extension training program, currently offered only in boy's vocational schools, and explicit consideration of women's role in agriculture in both the central and regional offices in planning, extension, technology and research would be useful first steps. The employment of female home economists throughout the country demonstrates the feasibility of finding women to also work as extension agents.

21. Although less than 20% of the female labor force is employed in the industry and service sectors, these sectors are of central importance to the integration of women in generating new (non-traditional) employment

opportunities (paras. 3.08-22). Since 1970, employment growth of women in the industrial sector has lagged behind that of men, while in the services sector it has significantly outpaced men's employment. The inclusion of the informal sector in official labor statistics would strengthen understanding of developments in these two sectors. Detailed analysis of employment trends and potential is also needed to underpin the formulation of policy measures to further women's participation in these sectors.

22. The major constraints identified to women's productivity in industry and services are the high degree of job segregation - 80% of women in industry work in the textiles and food sub-sectors and, of these, 80% work in the lower occupational (production) ranks - and labor market factors (para. 18 above). Proposed policy measures would focus on broadening training and employment opportunities in non-traditional occupations; facilitating access to resources, especially credit; a review of labor legislation and regulations and their enforcement; re-entry opportunities; and encouragement of childcare facilities (paras. 3.39-41). To overcome the relatively low proportion of women entrepreneurs and self-employed women in Turkey, training in basic business and management skills should also be encouraged. Programs to promote women's entrepreneurship developed with EDI may provide a useful model. Additional proposals focus on the need to reconsider Government support for homebased work and the urgent need for broad-based sectoral research on women's participation.

23. The legal environment and access to credit constrain women's productivity in all sectors, and therefore warrant specific consideration.

#### Legal Environment

24. The background legal paper prepared for this report (Annex 1) concludes that the legal status of women is at par with that of men, in that the Constitution and the Civil Code are, for the most part, gender neutral. However, these also acknowledge unequal status by reserving the right of making special provisions for women. In fact, under the Civil Code, women function under a "partial disability" (Law of Persons, Article 8) and until the National Assembly reviews the recommendations of the reform commission for the Civil Code, filed with the Ministry of Justice in 1984, men are designated the legal head of the household and have broader rights than women (Law of Family, Articles 152-158). Moreover, although laws relating to marriage, divorce, child custody, inheritance and maintenance are governed by the Civil Code, traditional practices continue in many areas. For instance, although the laws of property and inheritance are gender neutral (with the exception of agricultural land), the continuing practice of having immovable property acquired during the marriage registered in the man's name lends to difficulties in the case of divorce or death of the husband and, undoubtedly, also constrains the wife's access to credit (Annex 1).

25. Some of the existing labor legislation raises serious concerns regarding women's full participation (Annex 1, paras. 35-55). For instance, Article 13 of the Labor Law permits an employer to dismiss a woman worker on grounds of pregnancy, while some of the protective legislation in the industrial sectors contributes to confining women to traditional and low-

paying occupations. Once these concerns are addressed, consideration should also be given to extending labor legislation to the agricultural and informal sectors (which together employ more than 80% of the female labor force), where workers are currently without benefit of protective legislation or regulations regarding working conditions. Simultaneously, more vigorous enforcement of supportive labor and civil legislation would help alleviate constraints faced by women in their full participation. Women - and men - need assistance in understanding and pursuing their rights under the law; the establishment of legal advice bureaux and/or counselling facilities should be considered.

26. With a view therefore to furthering women's integration, Government may wish to consider the following actions:

- ° accelerate implementation of the Civil Code proposals of the reform commission;
- ° review existing labor legislation and, in particular, protective legislation to ensure its gender neutrality;
- ° consider extending labor legislation to the agricultural and informal sectors; and
- ° institute measures to enforce existing beneficial legislation, both civil and labor;

#### Credit

27. To facilitate their integration, Turkish women - and small enterprises, in general - need increased access to credit. In the absence of gender-specific data, a limited survey of women's access to credit was undertaken for this report (Annex 6). The results suggest that the access of women (and small enterprises) to credit in Turkey is constrained on the supply side by three factors: traditional collateral requirements of financial institutions based on land title; standard loan formalities, including lengthy application procedures; and an emphasis of financial institutions on providing credit for traditional entrepreneurial activities and, in agriculture, an emphasis on loans for commercial crops, which tend to be male-intensive activities. On the demand side, access is also constrained by the tendency of women to invest in activities with inherently low rates of return; exacerbated by their low-skill levels, particularly in business matters; and the prevailing view that finance is the prerogative of the male kin (paras. 3.28-31).

28. In recent years, programs have been initiated to address these constraints. Government has introduced a number of small credit programs, such as the Family Credit Program of Halk Bank, where 80% of credits have been for women involved in handicrafts in the home. The overhead costs of the programs, however, appear to be high, and the rationale for supporting women's homebased employment warrants reconsideration. NGOs, such as the Turkish Development Foundation and the Foundation for the Advancement and Recognition of Turkish Women have recently and successfully introduced limited cash and in-kind credit programs for women in non-traditional agricultural activities.

29. To ease the credit constraints facing women (and small enterprises generally), consideration should be given to:

- ° strengthening existing programs by simplifying and facilitating both delivery and recovery procedures;
- ° expanding and strengthening related non-credit activities, particularly in training and business know-how, possibly through entrepreneurship training courses tied to a revolving credit fund; and
- ° increasing the dissemination of information on existing credit facilities.

### C. Education and Training

30. The significant progress in reducing the gender gap in education and the central importance of education and training to the fuller integration of women have been touched on in sections A and B above: Chapter 4 and Annex 4 address in detail Government's education and training programs and their role in furthering women's opportunities for employment, in addition to the non-market and intergenerational benefits of furthering women's education. The major conclusions are:

- ° Notwithstanding the significant progress made in extending universal education and reducing the gender literacy gap, Turkey still lags behind middle-income comparator countries in the proportion of the school-aged population, and of girls in particular, enrolled in middle and secondary schools.
- ° Regional variations in gender enrollments and literacy rates are significant (Table 4.6). The recent Study of Factors Affecting Girls' School Attendance in Turkey concludes that economic, cultural and logistical (transportation) factors strongly influence girls' attendance and recommends that targeted interventions be designed to encourage their attendance in areas of deficient enrollment including, inter alia, consideration to establishing girls' middle and secondary schools for the current generation.
- ° Currently, one-third of vocational and technical schools are designated for girls. Courses offered focus on traditional women's occupations, with little potential for career growth and without consideration of skills needed for self-employment or business management. To address the bias in education/training which constrains women's labor force opportunities, consideration should be given to eliminating the designation of separate boys' and girls' vocational and technical schools and the corresponding distinction in the administrative structure of the Ministry of Education. Simultaneously, there is a need to set up programs to attract girls to non-traditional vocational programs and to programs

that are currently male-dominated, as has been successfully done in Morocco. Simultaneously, the expansion of job-oriented training for women, as has been introduced by the Turkish Employment Office (IIBK), warrants further support.

#### D. Fertility, Nutrition and Health Status

31. The background health study undertaken for this report (Annex 2) concludes that, while considerable progress has been realized in recent decades, women are slightly disadvantaged compared to men in Turkey in terms of health and nutrition, primarily as a result of their reproductive role. The major conclusions (Chapter I and Annex 2 present details) are:

- ° Women's health and fertility indicators show significant regional variation and suggest a need to strengthen regionally the delivery of health and family planning services. Family planning services, in particular, could be strengthened through a focus on modern methods, the use of languages that would be understood by local inhabitants and increased follow-up and counselling.
- ° Several factors suggest a strong need for improved information and education. For instance, a high proportion of contraceptive users rely on traditional methods, one-third of Turkish women are anemic, and one-third are obese. Consideration could be given to the promotion of media campaigns and community education programs addressing, inter alia, family planning, maternal care, nutrition and health.
- ° Simultaneously, there are several measures which could improve the health care of women and pregnant women, in particular. These include strengthening health delivery services, for instance through the distribution of iron tablets and iodine supplements, and strengthening the training of midwives and implementing systems of referral.

#### E. Government Plans and Programs for Women

32. Since the early years of the Republic, Government's view was that gender-neutral policies were sufficient to ensure what had been provided by law. Coinciding with the resurgence of interest in women's issues in the mid-eighties, however, there has been an acceptance within Government of the need for a special emphasis on women's issues (Chapter V). Thus, the current Sixth Five-Year Plan (1990-94) addresses specifically women's issues. Simultaneously, the Directorate General for Women's Status and Problems (DGWSP) was established in 1990, charged with improving women's status and promoting their full integration into the economy and the Family Research Institute, which also addresses women but as the central element of the family was established in 1989. To date, the former has been handicapped by institutional and physical relocations and budgetary constraints. Nonetheless, its establishment is a very positive step and sends clear signals of Government's intentions to strengthen the standing of women. The new Government in November 1991 created a separate Ministry of State for Women,

providing clear indication of commitment at the highest levels. In the near term, the Ministry will need considerable support to realize its advisory and catalytic role. In light of the experience with national machineries for women in the 1980s, and as a first step towards implementing policies and sectoral recommendations, the following should be considered.

- ° Ensure that all line ministries and agencies see women's development as an integral and priority element of national development and therefore as part of their own regular responsibilities - i.e., not a responsibility to be passed on to the Ministry of State for Women.
- ° Establish an inter-ministerial committee chaired, at least initially, by the Prime Minister with representatives from the line ministries and agencies. Each representative should present a timebound action plan for promoting the welfare and productivity of women in their ministry or agency and be required to report progress in its implementation to the committee on a regular basis.
- ° Establish women's units at the highest levels within the key line ministries (for instance, Labor, Education, Agriculture) responsible for implementing and monitoring the action plans and for ensuring that women's issues are integrated into all ministry programs and policies.
- ° Ensure that people of the highest caliber are appointed to key positions involved with the formulation, implementation and monitoring of policies and programs to improve the status of women.
- ° Ensure a sustained effort to raise the visibility of women's issues, in general, and their contribution, in particular. This can be realized through, inter alia, media campaigns, revision of curricula and textbooks, publication of an annual statistical report on the status of women and undertaking and publishing a broad-based program of research on women's issues.

33. In addition to the Ministry, there are a number of NGOs actively working on women's issues in Turkey (paras. 5.21-27). Greater support for their innovative activities and closer collaboration with Government agencies are indicated. Government also ratified the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1985 and the European Social Charter in 1989. Further progress in eliminating Turkey's reservations to these conventions is needed. The new Government has indicated its intentions to comply with CEDAW in the near future. Progress in compliance with the Charter, and the Charter's Action Program that is close to being finalized with far-reaching labor recommendations, will be important for Turkey's acceptance to the EC.

34. Notwithstanding the significant institutional progress that has been made, women's issues are not clearly addressed in Government's programs. For instance, the need for women to earn an independent income is not widely recognized. Men are seen to require employment to sustain the family, whereas women are seen as needing more income-generating activities to perform in their spare time as extensions of domestic activities to supplement family income. Women's contribution to both the economy and the household is not fully appreciated. There is an urgent need to assess the impact of structural changes in the economy that are causing more women to seek wage labor outside the home and to assess the impact on the economy through the longer term of the consequences of the current gender segregation of the labor force.

35. Income-generating activities carried out by women in connection with Government training programs are generally characterized by low productivity activities that are an extension of women's traditional activities, low returns and weak demand in the labor markets. Training programs do not appear to generate substantial improvement in women's incomes. Evidence from small programs initiated by non-governmental organizations in non-traditional market activities (for instance, poultry and bee-keeping) demonstrate the potential to generate sustained and profitable employment for women and to increase productivity. However, outside of these limited projects in the agricultural sector, few instances of attempts to draw women into non-traditional activities were found in the ministries involved in training or the international agency programs. The need to introduce training programs that are in the interest both of the long-term development of Turkey's economy, and which create productive employment for women with potential for career growth, is one of the central themes of this report.

## **CHAPTER I: THE SITUATION OF WOMEN IN TURKEY**

### **A. Introduction**

1.01 In adopting the Swiss Civil Code in 1926, Turkey became the first Islamic country to eliminate the Sharia, the Islamic legal code that underlies the segregation of sexes and differential legal treatment. This step cleared the way for comprehensive changes in the status of women in Turkey. Nonetheless, more than half a century later, there are a multitude of issues relating to the role and status of women. In very general terms, these range from the extent to which legal reform and the separation of religion from state has affected the traditional life style of women in Turkish society, to major economic and social factors that are impacting on their role and ability to participate in the country's development.

1.02 This report is intended to serve as the basis of the World Bank's discussions with the Government of Turkey to enhance the participation of women in the economic development process. In light of these discussions, the Bank will prepare an action program, which would serve as the basis for its support to the Government to enhance women's participation. While touching on the general situation of women, the focus of the report is on women's labor force participation and the constraints they face therein. In this context, the report addresses issues concerning women in four major areas: education and technical training, agriculture, industry and credit, together with the impact of the legal framework on women's participation. In addition, the report addresses women's health, fertility and nutritional status. The role and impact of Government on women and its strategies to incorporate women into national policies and programs are also examined.

### **B. The Social, Political and Economic Position of Women**

1.03 As an Islamic country where religion and state are separate, the status of women in Turkey is perhaps more than in most countries, complex and multifaceted. The situation of women in Turkey covers an extremely wide range; from the highly educated, professional women in the major cities to the majority of women in the urban and rural areas, who are caught between two different worlds - one, determined by culture and tradition that largely restricts their activities to the family homestead and the other, shaped in large part, by the continuing migration that brings them into the modern, productive sectors.

1.04 Although the life patterns of the majority of Turkish women remain conditioned by male-dominated institutions relating to the family, society and the economy, the traditional norm of a woman remaining inside the homestead and of a male providing "protection" has been gradually changing as a result of economic and demographic developments. This evolution is resisted, however, by the more conservative elements of society, which have pushed during the eighties for a renewed emphasis on women's role as wife and mother. Women in Turkey, continue to marry early, particularly in the rural areas, and soon enter into a pattern of high fertility. Overall, the prevailing social norms continue to leave women dependent on men or at risk when deserted and produce a strict division of labor and highly gender segregated labor market.

1.05 Women contribute a great deal to the economy and the family. Not only do they participate significantly in agricultural and industrial labor but also they are charged with general household responsibilities (including in some areas, collecting firewood and water), childcare and caring for the old and infirm. Nonetheless, a woman's contribution goes unrecognized in the national accounts because it is unpriced (difficult to value) and invisible (consumed immediately). For the majority of women, their ability to be independent and take initiative, acquire new ideas, skills and contacts and to work outside the home is restricted by tradition and culture. Thus, the majority of women have not benefitted to the same extent as men from the far-reaching reforms of the early Republican era or from economic development and in terms of labor-force participation, women remain a largely unskilled or semi-skilled resource. It is on this group of women that the report focusses.

1.06 To better understand the position of women in Turkey, the impact of the early Republican era reforms need to be taken into account. Specifically, by eliminating segregation and differential legal treatment of women the reforms cleared the way for comprehensive changes in the position of women. In the 1920's, when even the BBC and many American radio stations would not consider the employment of a woman announcer, Turkish radio employed women as both announcers and technicians.<sup>1/</sup> In the 1930s, women began to enter public office and the professions and were given strong encouragement and support. In Parliament, the number of female deputies reached a peak of 18 (4.5%) in 1934. Although first admitted to academic positions in 1932-33, by 1946-47, 44% of all faculty in the Natural Sciences were women.<sup>2/</sup> Today, amongst the professions there remains a marked absence of gender-typing, which is thought to be the result of the encouragement to women in the early Republican era. Nonetheless, and while the educated urban Turkish women are well-represented in the professions and public office compared to many middle-income developing countries, there has been a decline in their participation since the mid-1940s. The position and status of the majority of Turkish women, however, appears to have changed little since the beginning of the Republican era.

### C. Legal Status

1.07 Notwithstanding the gender-neutral character of the 1982 Constitution and the 1926 Civil Code adopted from Switzerland, there are a number of areas in which the legal framework constrains women's full participation. Annex 1 examines in detail the treatment of women under the country's legal framework, both as the law is written and as it is carried out in practice, in light of traditional, cultural practices. An attempt is also made in the Annex to identify specific constraints to the ability of women to contribute to the development process that are imbedded in the legal framework and to indicate where remedial measures could improve the treatment of women. This section briefly summarizes the main issues.

---

<sup>1/</sup> Kirby (1960).

<sup>2/</sup> See Acar in OECD and GOT, 1989.

1.08 Within the Constitution two articles raise concerns: Article 41 on the Protection of the Family mandates that the State shall take the necessary measures and establish the necessary organization to ensure the peace and welfare of the family and the protection of the mother and children; and Article 50 on Working Conditions and the Right to Rest and Leisure states "minors and women" shall enjoy special protection regarding working conditions. While seemingly paternalistic, these articles are less than benign in practice. Although discrimination is proscribed under the Constitution, instances occur and underline the difficulties, in practice, of eliminating discrimination, obtaining legal redress and to the need for a legal mechanism to provide redress for employment discrimination.

1.09 The Civil Code also does not provide for the full equality of women. Articles 151-158 on the family define the husband as the head of household, who determines domicile and whose views prevail on family matters in case of dispute. The annulment in 1990 of Article 159 which required that a woman obtain her husband's permission to work, represents a major step forward for Turkish women. While the provisions of the Civil Code regarding women's issues were progressive at the time of adoption some have proved to be insufficient for society today. Accordingly, Switzerland passed significant amendments regarding women's rights in 1984. In Turkey, a commission was appointed to prepare amendment proposals (including Articles 151-158) and submitted its report to the Ministry of Justice in 1984. The proposed amendments have still to be approved by the National Assembly, but the current Government is proposing their early consideration.

1.10 The laws on Education, Property, Banking and Credit Regulation are essentially gender-neutral. However, the implementation of the laws relating to property and inheritance (particularly in the context of immovable property acquired during marriage), in effect, favor men and their access to credit (Annex 1). The Laws of Succession (in particular Articles 597-598, relating to agricultural land that give priority to male children) and the Nationality Code (notably regarding acquisition or loss of Turkish nationality other than by birth) do however treat women differently. The former especially, may constrain women's participation, given that women constitute 50% of the agricultural labor force.

1.11 The major concern of this report within the legal framework, however, is the labor legislation. While many of the labor issues relate to both men and women (for instance, job security) others, such as Article 13 of the Labor Law which permits an employer to dismiss a woman worker on grounds of pregnancy, constrain women's participation specifically. Currently a commission within the Cabinet is reviewing draft legislation pertaining to job security that will bring Turkish legislation in compliance with ILO Convention 158; enactment of the legislation is anticipated in the near future. Also, some of the protective regulations contribute to constraining women to traditional, and generally, low-paying occupations. In addition to a re-evaluation of discriminatory protective legislation, women would benefit from the extension of legislation concerning working conditions to all workers, particularly those in the informal and agricultural sectors, and to the introduction of legislation for part-time and flexitime employment. Enforcement of existing beneficial civil and labor legislation, also warrant further consideration as indicated, for instance, by the small number of

childcare centers in enterprises and the low proportion of civil marriages registered in rural areas.

#### D. Fertility, Nutrition and Health Status

1.12 The background health study (Annex 2) prepared for this report concludes that health indicators of women and their children have improved significantly since 1960 but that women are slightly disadvantaged compared to men in Turkey in terms of health and nutrition, primarily as a result of their reproductive role. Specifically, women in Turkey constitute approximately 49% of the population compared to an average of 52% in the industrialized countries and 48% in the low-income developing countries. Nonetheless, the life expectancy differential between men and women in Turkey reveals a rapid gain in female life expectancy that suggests the disadvantage may be short-lived. Recent data indicate a female life expectancy of 69 years <sup>3/</sup> against 64 years for men (the gender differential in the industrialized countries is also 5 years) compared to 59 years for females and 58 years for males in the early 1950s. Of particular significance in Turkey is the differential between urban and rural sex ratios, reflecting the continued urban migration since the 1950s. During the 1980's, this migration accelerated with the result that population growth in rural areas became significantly negative for the first time.

#### Mortality Rates

1.13 Mortality rates in Turkey have declined significantly in the past two decades, however, regional differences remain highly significant. Gender-specific differentials in infant/child mortality rates are not published in Turkey. However, recent studies (see Annex 2) indicate a sex preference for sons, such that parents give more attention to nutrition and health care for boys due, inter alia, to their contribution to family income and their importance as old age security. Although difficult to substantiate, Annex 2 argues that this preference affects both gender mortality and morbidity rates in Turkey.

1.14 Maternal mortality rates in Turkey are not readily available. Estimates based on hospital births are available but are inadequate, since approximately 60% of deliveries occur in hospitals. In 1989, a State Institute of Statistics (SIS) survey showed a maternal mortality rate of 132 per 100,000 births for 1981. This compares to a range of maternal mortality rates of 5-15 per 100,000 births in the industrialized countries. The mortality rates, however, are subject to major regional variation. For instance, community-based surveys conducted by the Ministry of Health (MOH) in 1986 in parts of eastern Turkey show a maternal mortality rate as high as 284.

1.15 Recent studies in Turkey indicate that the major factors contributing to high maternal mortality rates are frequent and young age of pregnancies. The average age of marriage for women in Turkey remains low - 18.2 years in 1988, slightly higher than in 1983 when the average age was 17.6 years. State Planning Organization (SPO) data show that in 1985 approximately

---

<sup>3/</sup> World Bank, WDR (1991).

41% of females aged less than 19 were married and 84% by age 24. The age differential between husbands and wives, although also narrowing in recent years, is on average 6 years for women aged 20 years or less, putting men at a considerable advantage in family decision-making. Other factors contributing to high maternal mortality rates include malnutrition (although in Turkey, with an average caloric intake of about 3,200 calories, this is largely a matter of education), the low proportion of women receiving any pre-natal care (43%) and poorly conducted abortions. In rural areas, in particular, communities still lack awareness that pregnant women are in need of special care and that they can be at risk. The 1988 Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies (HIPS, 1989) survey shows that in rural areas 53% of births occur at home and 35% of births are without health personnel. Also, obstetric techniques in these areas tend to be poor and access to lifesaving health facilities, including blood, are limited.

### Fertility

1.16 Fertility has declined significantly in recent years. The Total Fertility Rate (TFR), which is the average number of children that would be born alive to women living to the end of their childbearing years, has fallen from 6.8 in 1960 to 4.0 according to the 1988 HIPS Survey.<sup>4/</sup> Nonetheless, this is quite high when compared to the comparator middle income countries in the Indicators of Women's Development Table (p.iv).<sup>5/</sup> The TFR for Turkey, however, shows significant regional variation. Specifically, the urban TFR rose from 3.2 in 1983 to 3.8 in 1988 as a result of migration, while the rural TFR fell from 5.1 to 4.4 (HIPS, 1989). Across regions, the variation is even greater (Annex 2, Table 10). The causes of Turkey's continuing high fertility in the rural areas include, inter alia, the perceived economic and social utility of children, the strong preference for sons and the continuing prevalence of cultural and traditional beliefs and values.

1.17 Government's target in the Sixth Five-Year Plan is for a further reduction in the TFR to 3.46 for 1990-94, and is likely to be supported by the seemingly declining fertility aspirations in Turkey. Specifically, the HIPS surveys indicate a decline in the number of "desired" children from just over 3 in 1978 to just over 2 in 1988, with the mean number of children desired not varying significantly by either region or urban/rural residence. In the 1988 survey, 44% of all ever-married women responded that they had more children than their ideal or desired number. The mean number of children desired was found however to increase with the number of living children and the age of the woman and to fall as the educational status of the woman or husband increases.

1.18 To realize the fertility target, Government is endeavoring to increase the acceptance of modern contraceptive methods. Following introduction of the first Family Planning Law in 1965, the percent of exposed women using contraceptives increased rapidly from 22% in 1963 to 77% in 1988.

---

<sup>4/</sup> More recent, but unofficial data show a decline to 3.7 in 1989 (Population Reference Bureau, 1989).

<sup>5/</sup> Chile 2.6; Colombia 2.9; Mexico 3.4; and Portugal 1.6; (WDR, 1991).

This is one of the highest reported usage rates in the World (WDR, 1991). Nonetheless, a population growth rate of 2.4% suggests a margin for improvement. Specifically, while the use of modern contraceptive methods doubled between 1978 and 1988 to 38% of exposed women, the use of traditional methods also continued to increase and still account for 39% of exposed women (with withdrawal alone in 1988 accounting for 31%). Realization of the fertility target could be aided by strengthening family planning services and, in particular, through a focus on modern methods, the use of languages that would be understood by local inhabitants and increased follow-up and counselling. Studies in Turkey confirm, as in other countries, that increases in child survival rates directly contribute to increased acceptance and continued use of contraceptives. Even more important is the impact of education in reducing fertility and increasing contraceptive use. In addition, studies outside of Turkey indicate that gainful employment opportunities for women show a positive correlation with declines in fertility and that women who work outside the home practice contraception more and have lower fertility than those who work at home. In short, family planning helps women to develop or seize "modern" options - the rationale is not just one of health or demographics.

### Nutrition

1.19 While there are few studies on nutrition in Turkey, average caloric intake is sufficiently high (3,200 calories) to suggest that nutrition is a serious health concern only where incomes are low or unstable, or there is inadequate access to social services. Available data, however, provide no basis to determine caloric intake by age and sex and thus there is no basis on which to assume preferential intra-household allocation of food. To the contrary, studies suggest that obesity is a more widespread problem amongst women than men in Turkey (one recent study by Tönük in 1987 concluded that 32% of women and 13% of men are obese).

1.20 Limited regional studies (Annex 2) suggest that anemia prevalence in adult women exceeds 40% of the female population in large areas of Turkey and that it is highest in the peak child-bearing (25-34) age group. Studies also show goiter prevalence to be high for women throughout Turkey and that vitamin and mineral deficiency are much more frequent in women than men and particularly for pregnant and lactating women. Iron folate anemia can be effectively treated at low cost with iron and folic acid tablets or iron fortification of salt and other processed foods. Iodine fortification of salt or supplementation with iodized oil is also a low cost and effective treatment for goiter. Distribution of these treatments should be considered through the health care system.

1.21 Breastfeeding of babies in Turkey is almost universal. Both the 1983 and 1988 HIPS surveys show that the percentage of mothers breastfeeding the last child averaged 95% with little variation by region or rural/urban residence, age of mother or education. While the prevalence of breastfeeding is a positive aspect of nutrition, mothers in Turkey are not well informed as to an appropriate diet for infants and often nutrient-poor foods are chosen and prepared under unhygienic conditions.

1.22 Notwithstanding the high caloric intake, the importance of women's nutritional well-being needs emphasis in Turkey. In addition to the distribution of iron and iodine supplements, community education programs can play a crucial role in promoting women's good nutrition as well as that of infants and children.

### Adult Health

1.23 Following a decade of adjustment, during which the share of the Government budget for health expenditures fell from just over 3% of GNP to just over 2%, less is known about the prevalence of disease and illness in Turkey for the population as a whole than would be expected for a country at this stage of development. Available studies (Annex 2) suggest a marked difference in gender health problems; for instance, men's health is significantly more likely to be affected by addictives (tobacco, alcohol) than women's. For women, however, little is known about the prevalence of gynecological problems and diseases. In light of the fact that women's health problems affect not only their own well-being but that of their families, critical health needs of women in Turkey include increased availability of health facilities at the local level, dissemination of health information covering hygiene, nutrition (especially for infants and pregnant women) and food preparation.

### Health Care System

1.24 With the increased priority accorded to the health sector in the current, Sixth Five-Year Plan (1990-94), quantitative health sector targets are specified for the first time. In addition to a reduction in the TFR to 3.46, the most significant targets are an increase in life expectancy to 68 years (already realized for women) and a reduction in the infant mortality rate from 61 per 1,000 births to 50 by 1994. Amongst government agencies involved in the provision of health services, the Ministry of Health accounts for 51% of services; the Social Security Institution (SSI), 17%; the universities, 13%; and the Ministry of Defense, 12% with the balance provided by the SEEs, municipalities and the private sector, whose role has been encouraged since the Fifth Five-Year Plan (1985-89). There is little coordination of the various institutions involved and the Ministry of Health has only a guiding role. Each agency has its own standards and systems. From the standpoint of designing programs for the sector and addressing constraints, the current system has the disadvantage, inter alia, that there is little comparability in the recording of health data. In fact, statistics on morbidity and mortality are collected only in hospitals and data collection in primary health care facilities is not systematic.

1.25 Limited data on gender utilization of health facilities suggest that 61% of all in-patients are women, but that just over 30% of all in-patients were treated for pregnancy complications, deliveries or abortions. Recent studies (for instance, Ozcebe, 1990) suggest that women of reproductive age use primary health services more than men in the semi-urban areas, but that men use rural health facilities more and account for a much higher proportion of visits to private physicians and dentists. There remains a strong reluctance of women in many regions to visit a male doctor and also of male doctors to treat females. The studies also suggest a positive

correlation between educational level and willingness of women to seek professional medical care.

1.26 Little information is available as to the distribution of health personnel by gender. Although women account for 53% of employment in the public health sector (Citci, 1988), women account for only 26% of physicians and tend to be concentrated in the paramedical ranks.

1.27 Given both the projected population growth and the priority currently accorded to the health sector, not only do sector strategy, planning and coordination of resources require greater emphasis in general, but due attention to gender issues is crucial in all aspects of the health sector. As a first step, the establishment of a data base which permits analysis of health issues by gender is essential for sectoral planning and development; simultaneously, the introduction of uniform standards and recording systems for the various agencies involved in the provision of health services is needed. Available studies on the utilization of health facilities suggest that further consideration to the employment of women at all levels in the sector is needed and especially in the planning and administrative processes. The health services need also to consider more closely the social environment in which services are provided. For instance, consideration should be given to establishing gender-balanced health teams (physicians, technicians, nurses and support staff) that can provide services to both sexes and to the employment of social workers/sociologists who can help health workers understand the socio/cultural character of their community. The communication barrier between health provider and recipient is a cause for concern. The development of systems to facilitate communication with the local population is central to addressing women's health issues in the rural areas. To this end, consideration should be given to the use of languages that would be understood by local inhabitants for promotional campaigns, family planning programs and/or the training and assignment of health personnel.

1.28 A woman's health and status are intricately entwined. Improving the health of women requires addressing the social customs and cultural traditions of the region. Programs to improve the health of women need to proceed in the context of improving the overall status of women in the family and community and, in particular, of educating both men and women as to the benefits of addressing women's health concerns.

1.29 The significant regional variation in women's health and fertility indicators suggests the following interventions could further women's participation:

- ° strengthening regionally the delivery of health and family planning services. Family planning services, in particular, could be strengthened through a focus on modern methods, the use of languages that would be understood by local inhabitants and increased follow-up and counselling.
- ° simultaneously, developing systems to facilitate both the provision of health services in different regional environments and communication with the local population.

- ° promotion regionally of community education programs for men and women addressing the importance of family planning, maternal care, nutrition, health and hygiene issues;
- ° strengthen programs to reduce maternal mortality rates including: strengthening the training of midwives, particularly in the rural areas, to improve delivery practices and skills to detect conditions leading to complications; implementing systems of referral (including access to transport to reach district hospitals);
- ° development of a health sector data base (including personnel), with gender-specific information, to strengthen the health care system and, in particular, to underpin sector planning and research;
- ° undertaking research, with due consideration to socioeconomic and cultural factors of, inter alia, maternal mortality rates, fertility patterns, utilization of existing health care systems and the continued use of traditional practices with a view to strengthening the family health and family planning programs; and
- ° the distribution of iron tablets and iodine supplements through the health care system and the immunization of pregnant women for tetanus;

## CHAPTER II: WOMEN IN THE LABOR FORCE

### A. Introduction

2.01 The vital role of women in Turkey's economic development is well recognized by Government. However, to date, there has been little consideration by policy makers as to how to realize women's full integration into the economy. The enhancement of women's capabilities to contribute to a country's development plays a critical role in simultaneously increasing overall economic efficiency and improving the relative economic status of women - there is no "trade-off".

2.02 While both women's market and nonmarket activities are indispensable components in the development process, this chapter focuses on women's labor market activities and participation since 1955 with a view to formulating policy interventions that will not only increase women's contributions to economic development, but enhance their position within the family and society, taking into account changes that the economy will likely undergo in the course of the current decade. In the case of Turkey there has been considerable debate as to what has happened over time to women's labor force participation. This chapter, therefore, addresses in detail the differing statistical sources and the conceptual issues assessing labor market activities with a view to resolving the controversy. By reason of data availability, however, the focus here is expository and descriptive.

2.03 Although labor market activities do not fully capture women's contributions to development, a notable feature of economic growth in almost all countries and in the position of women in society and the household, is the shift of women's work activities from household-based, and generally unpaid, employment (housework, the family farm, or homebased production) to paid employment in a market economy. The economic history of industrialized countries shows a strong association between women's participation in the market economy and economic growth. Moreover, as succinctly put by Nieva (1985, p.164), "the independent financial base provided by employment provides women with an increased sense of competence, gives women more power within marriage, and increases her influence in decision making . . . Couples in which both husband and wife work are more likely to share decisions about major purchases and child rearing."

2.04 At the outset, it is useful to compare Turkey's experience as regards women in the labor market with that of the OECD countries where, for the most part, there has been a strong association between the expansion of the female labor force and economic growth.<sup>1/</sup> In the OECD countries, the growth in women's labor force participation is a fairly recent phenomenon, mostly since 1960.

---

<sup>1/</sup> Goldin (1991, 1989, 1986, 1983) performed a thorough analysis of the relationship between economic growth in the U.S. and the shift of women's work activities from the home to the labor market. One of the main conclusions is that the emergence of a visible female work force played a significant role in raising income per capita. Between 1890 and 1980, annual national per capita income would have been lower by at least 14% had the female work force not expanded.

Before World War II, female participation rates in the OECD countries were relatively low (15-30%), much lower than those of men (around 85%). The most notable feature of female labor force patterns in the first half of the century, in fact, was how little they changed. Following World War II, most OECD countries experienced dramatic changes in the position of women in the labor market - and unprecedented increases in living standards, in part, as a result of the labor force entry of married women.

2.05 In most OECD countries, the participation rate of women now exceeds 50% and continues to rise steadily, while the participation trend of men (which is declining, largely because of longer years of schooling and earlier retirement) is close to intersecting that of women. A constellation of well-known social and economic forces is strongly associated with the propensity of women to enter the work force. These include: sharply declining fertility, increased divorces, later marriages, increased educational attainment reflected in earnings capacity, improvements in the technology of household work, legislative changes, the feminist movement, increased availability of part-time work, urbanization, and changes in the structure of the economy reflected in the rapid growth of the industrial and service sectors and the decline in the importance of agriculture. In essence, the significant rise in women's participation rates in the OECD countries is essentially a post-war phenomenon, mainly concentrated during the last two or three decades, and, as will be discussed below, even later in the southern European OECD countries.

2.06 In contrast, the labor force participation of women in Turkey has declined sharply since the mid-1950s - from almost 70% to 33% in 1990. A participation rate that is not only much lower than that of Turkish men (almost 75% in 1990) but one of the lowest in the OECD. As in most developing countries and at an earlier stage in the industrialized countries, the types of labor force activities that Turkish women pursue differ considerably from that of men: women are less likely than men to work for wages, are employed mostly as agricultural workers, and have lower educational attainments, especially at the post-primary level. Nonetheless, and as will be demonstrated here, the Turkish patterns are similar to the pre-1960s trends in several industrialized OECD countries, and bear a very strong resemblance to the more recent experience of OECD countries in southern Europe.

2.07 The economic efficiency implications (societal rates of return) of gender disparities in a structural adjustment context are straightforward. Essentially, structural adjustment is concerned with the efficient mobilization and inter-sectoral mobility of a country's non-human and human resources. This suggests that the less than full involvement of women in the process reflects a misallocation of human resources. The resulting restriction of output results in an irretrievable deadweight loss to society due to allocative inefficiency, and is likely to act as a strong impediment to the fulfilment of the overall long-term objectives of the structural adjustment strategy. Thus, a review and assessment of the role of women can make an important contribution to both the development process and the status of women. At a minimum, this requires an awareness and understanding of the trends in women's labor force behavior in the Turkish economy. The assessment of these trends and patterns will provide useful information in designing overall labor market initiatives, especially appropriate female-oriented policies and programs.

2.08           Insofar as data permit, this Chapter analyzes for the past three decades:

- trends in women's labor force participation;
- patterns of gender segregation in the work place - by employment status, occupation and economic sector;
- hours of work among men and women;
- gender differences in the skill or educational content of the labor force;
- male-female differentials in earnings and social security coverage.

The analysis makes liberal use of comparisons with men and with other countries. The former provides a clearer indicator of "gender neutrality" and indicates areas for improvement, while the latter comparison of Turkey with several European OECD countries, whose development experiences and structural features are fairly similar, provides an important perspective on future developments in Turkey. The countries selected for the comparison are Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain.<sup>2/</sup>

2.09           The outline of this Chapter is as follows: after a discussion and assessment of the available data in Section B, Section C documents nationwide secular trends in labor force participation. Gender segregation in the labor market is examined in Section D, while Section E considers urban-rural differences in labor force behavior. Section F examines another dimension of labor supply - hours of work. Section G discusses gender differences in the educational attainment of the labor force. Gender differences in earnings and social insurance coverage are addressed in Section H. Based on the main findings, the concluding section proposes proactive policy responses that would further women's integration in the economy.

2.10           The main conclusions of the chapter are as follows:

- ° The sharp decline in female labor force participation in Turkey - from almost 70% in 1955 to 33% in 1990 - is fully consistent with the widely-documented U-shaped relationship between economic development and female participation observed in the OECD countries since World War II, and where female labor force participation now exceeds 50% (paras. 2.13-19). A comparison of the participation pattern in Turkey with that of four southern European OECD countries suggests that Turkey is likely to experience a secular upturn in female participation. Policy initiatives focussing on women's participation in non-traditional activities will be needed to support this upturn.

---

<sup>2/</sup> Greece joined the EEC in 1981; Spain and Portugal in 1986, and Italy was a founding member. These countries were chosen, rather than other middle income countries such as Chile, Colombia, Hungary, Poland, or Venezuela because Turkey is in the same geographical vicinity, a member of the OECD and a candidate for the EC.

° The work force in Turkey is markedly segregated by gender, especially in urban areas, where people tend to have higher educational attainments and wider employment opportunities. To a large extent, Turkish women work in different occupations and industries than men, and have a different worker status. In 1990, approximately 74% of women employed in the labor force worked in agriculture, 7% in industry and 12% in services, while men are more evenly distributed across sectors - 34% in agriculture, 24% in industry and 38% in services. As to employment status, 68% of women in the labor force were unpaid family workers and 25% were wage earners or self-employed, compared to 14% of men who were unpaid and 82% who were wage earners or self-employed. Analysis of data by occupation show women concentrated in the lower occupational categories and performing work closely related to their traditional household duties. While the gender segregation is similar to that observed in OECD countries, it is more intense, and as the experience of the OECD countries has shown, will be difficult to alleviate without policy intervention focussing on, inter alia, education and training, the introduction of employment equity programs and repeal of discriminatory protective legislation (paras. 2.22-32).

° And third, in addition to the potential increase in participation, there are major policy concerns regarding the "stock" of women in the labor force. Analysis of the gender segregation indices indicates that, the impact of the increasingly educated female labor force has not been reflected in the labor markets, although this will be largely a matter of time (paras. 2.44-52). For instance in 1990, 50% of the urban female labor force but only 5% of the rural female labor force had more than a primary school education. Currently the educational level of the rural women will constrain their labor force participation, regardless of the availability of employment opportunities.<sup>3/</sup> Based on current

---

<sup>3/</sup> Although hard evidence is not available, it appears that following migration to urban areas, these women resume their customary role as unpaid family workers, but in a different setting - homebased production. Unfortunately, very little is known about the work activities and well-being of Turkish women who migrate from the rural areas. According to Abadan-Unat (1986) the work situation of "gecekondu" women differs from those of their counterparts in Latin American "favelas" or "pueblos jovenes". While Latin American women are visibly engaged in the vibrant informal retail trade sectors (vending, street selling, and peddling), Turkish women are conspicuous by their absence in these activities, as well as domestic work in private homes. Moreover, fragmentary evidence suggests "gecekondu" women, who are often resettled from small villages and farms, respond to the difficult transitions to urban life by withdrawing from the urban labor market. This phenomenon, no doubt, contributes to the low labor force participation rates that are observed in urban areas, especially among women with low educational attainments. Similarly, little is known about the "returning migrant" women from Europe, who may well serve as a catalyst in the villages and towns. Research into these issues, including, in particular, the services and informal sectors, is essential.

enrollment rates, the proportion of rural women with more than a primary school education will be significantly higher a decade from now, as will be their employment expectations. This underlines the need for policy measures designed to promote the employment of women in higher productivity jobs in both urban and rural areas.

Specifically, in 1990, rural female participation was 51% compared to 15% for urban females. Thus, and while some 60% of Turkey's population lives in urban areas, 77% of the female labor force live in rural areas (paras. 2.33-34). Also, age, education and marital patterns differ markedly by urban-rural areas. For instance, in rural areas, female participation shows a mild M-shape, with participation remaining high until age 60, whereas the urban profile peaks at age 20-24 and declines steadily thereafter. The M-shaped female profile was found in most OECD countries during the 1960's and 1970's but has subsequently been replaced by the male bell-shape, which is observed in both rural and urban areas for Turkish males. These differences are extremely significant for the design of policy measures, not only for women's employment but for regional development, in the context of continuing urbanization and industrialization.

Closely related to the issue of urban-rural differences is that of interregional disparities. Turkey, the fourth largest country in the OECD, has an uneven spatial distribution of its population and economic activities. These issues have been discussed in detail in two recent reports by the OECD (1988) and UNICEF (1991). The main conclusions reached by these studies are that the provinces in the eastern region of Turkey are seriously disadvantaged in terms of public services, (e.g. education, health, transportation, water), actual and potential industrial production, as well as agricultural output. These disparities give rise to wide regional differences in educational attainment, fertility, mortality, employment opportunities and per capita income, underscoring the need for policy initiatives designed to reduce inter-regional disparities to also address gender issues.

Additional findings are that:

- ° The number of hours worked by employed women, which is in addition to household chores and childcare responsibilities, is high in Turkey. Employed women on average work 43 hours per week compared to 50 hours for men. The large amount of time devoted to market work partly explains their low participation rates, especially in urban areas. Inevitably, the competing demands of household responsibilities and market work may simply discourage women from entering the labor force.

- ° Wage data are available only for the small proportion (6%) of the female labor force covered by social insurance. A meaningful analysis of gender wage differentials is therefore not possible. Release of the LFS wage data would be a useful first step to remedy this deficiency.
  
- ° The data on the educational attainment of the labor force suggest that the gender gap in education has narrowed significantly during the past 20 years. The following considerations, however, should be born in mind. First, prior to the late 1980s the available education information is only for labor force participants, and thus excludes a high proportion of women who are nonparticipants, especially in urban areas. Second, there are pronounced differences between urban and rural areas as regards women's educational attainments. In rural areas, where 5% of the female labor force has more than primary schooling, education has currently little impact on participation since most women are unpaid family workers. By contrast, in urban areas where 50% of the labor force has more than primary schooling, education has a strong impact on participation. Third, in 1990 women accounted for almost two-thirds of the total labor force that is illiterate.

#### **B. Labor Force Data: Sources and Issues**

2.11 Statistics on women's labor force behavior in developing countries, in general, are plagued by conceptual problems and inadequate data collection methods. It is also increasingly recognized that conventional statistics tend to undercount the number of working women and their contributions to economic activity because of problems inherent in the definition of "economically active" population, the designation of "meaningful economic activity", and the implementation and timing of surveys or censuses. These shortcomings should be borne in mind when considering the patterns presented in section C below.<sup>4/</sup> In Turkey it appears that until recently, the development of a reliable labor market information system was a low priority when compared to data needs concerning population characteristics, international trade, national income and other macro indicators. The historical labor market data series are incomplete and unreliable: a careful examination of labor market and related data published by the ILO, the OECD and the Government of Turkey, revealed serious omissions and

---

<sup>4/</sup> Boulding (1983), Mueller (1983), Nuss (1989) and Standing (1978) provide excellent reviews of the limitations of official data collection systems in appropriately reporting women's contributions to the economy. A main source of the difficulties is that the data collection methodologies are often incompatible with women's work roles in the household and in the market. A particularly serious issue is the unreliable assessment of women's activities in the "informal" sector and as unpaid family workers, especially in agriculture. Existing instruments of data collection reveal little about the time which women devote to economic activities vis-à-vis their household responsibilities. Even less is known about their monetary worth. See also UN (1991) for a summary of estimates with housework included in the National Accounts for a number of industrialized and developing countries.

inconsistencies through the late 1980s, when the nationwide Household Labor Force Surveys were first implemented. In addition, the historical series provide only partial labor supply measures. Specifically they do not indicate hours of work, or even the extent of full- and part-time work among the employed. The amount of time devoted to work is an important dimension of labor supply behavior and particularly of women's work.

2.12 The analysis here is based primarily on two sources of data from the State Institute of Statistics (SIS): census data for the period 1955-1985; and for 1988-1990, the published compilations of the Household Labor Force Surveys (LFS).<sup>5/</sup> The latter provide more comprehensive and consistent coverage of various aspects of men's and women's work activities, including hours of work, than does the census data. It should be noted at the outset that there are significant discrepancies between all of the data sources.<sup>6/</sup> These discrepancies are partially attributable to differences in statistical definitions, measurement of the labor force and the population count (Annex 3). Defining the participation rate as the labor force (12 years and over, the age of eligibility to work in Turkey since 1970), the 1985 participation rates summarized below, serve to illustrate the problem.

DATA FOR 1985 FROM DIFFERENT SOURCES

	CENSUS	ILO	LFS	OECD
<b>Total</b>				
Population ('000)	50,664	50,664	50,959	50,664
Labor Force ('000)	21,580	21,580	18,203	17,894
Participation Rate	42.6%	42.6%	35.7%	35.3%
<b>Men</b>				
Population ('000)	25,672	25,672	25,685	25,782
Labor Force ('000)	13,933	13,933	12,712	11,550
Participation Rate	54.3%	54.3%	49.5%	44.8%
<b>Women</b>				
Population ('000)	24,992	24,992	25,274	24,882
Labor Force ('000)	7,647	7,647	5,491	6,344
Participation Rate	30.6%	30.6%	21.7%	25.5%

<sup>5/</sup> In addition to the State Institute of Statistics, agencies providing labor force related data in Turkey are the State Planning Organization (SPO), the Turkish Employment Organization (IIBK) and the Social Insurance Institution (SII). The historical Turkish data are reproduced with appropriate corrections and adjustments in various publications of the ILO and the OECD. For reasons illustrated above, the analysis here relies more heavily on these sources for the period prior to 1988 than on the original Turkish Census data. Data contained in Durand (1975) are also used for 1955 and 1965.

<sup>6/</sup> The Census and the ILO data agree, however, for all years, except 1965. The ILO reports a labor force of 12,993,245 (7,697,483 men and 5,295,762 women), while the 1965 Census shows a labor force of 13,557,680 (8,420,829 men and 5,137,031 women). The population counts are the same in the two sources - 15,996,964 men and 15,394,457 women. If one uses the Census data, the 1965 female participation rate is 37.8% compared to 39.0% from ILO data. Attempts to reconcile the two sets of numbers proved futile.

### C. Trends and Patterns in Labor Force Participation

2.13 This section reviews the secular patterns of labor force participation in Turkey since 1955. As noted in Section A, these patterns appear to follow those observed in both OECD and the more industrialized developing countries. Namely, that in the process of development female participation rates initially decrease and then increase with industrialization and that education plays a pivotal role in increasing women's participation rates.<sup>1/</sup>

#### Aggregate Participation Trends

2.14 Table 2.1 and Chart 2.1 show the labor force magnitudes and labor force participation rates for 1955-1990<sup>2/</sup> as reported in the Censuses (1955-1985) and the Labor Force Surveys (1988-1990). The overall participation rates of both men and women in Turkey have declined during the past three decades, but much more so for women - from 69% to 33%. This rate is in line with developing country female participation rates but well-below the OECD rates of 50% or more. The downward trend in the female rate is to be expected in a country that is undergoing a transformation from a primarily agricultural to an industrial urban economy. Some of the decline in participation rates may be attributed to social change, not least of which is rising school attendance and educational opportunities.<sup>2/</sup> Sectoral changes in the economy, however, are also a significant factor and, in particular, the agricultural sector which has been the traditional source of employment for Turkish women, albeit as "unpaid" family workers. While agriculture remains important to the Turkish economy, its importance in GDP and to employment (especially of men) has declined significantly during the past 30 years. The steady decline of agriculture does not necessarily imply that suitable employment opportunities open up for women in the expanding industrial and services sectors, located mostly in urban areas - at least not immediately and not without an appropriate incentive structure.

---

<sup>1/</sup> These are the conclusions of Psacharopoulos and Tzannatos (1989), using data from 136 countries in the early 1980s. They also provide a thorough discussion of the conceptual and statistical limitations of the labor force participation rate, especially of women.

<sup>2/</sup> Data from the 1950 census are excluded because, according to Durand (1975), the methodology and definitions used are substantially different from those of later censuses. Also, it appears that there are errors in the 1965 Census, which resulted in statistical anomalies. See, for example, Tables 2.5 and 2.6. The table and chart present participation rates normalized in different ways using an eligibility age of 12 years for 1970-1990 and one of 15 years for 1955-1965, following official Turkish definitions. The table and chart in Annex 2 show labor force trends based on an eligibility age of 15 years for the entire period.

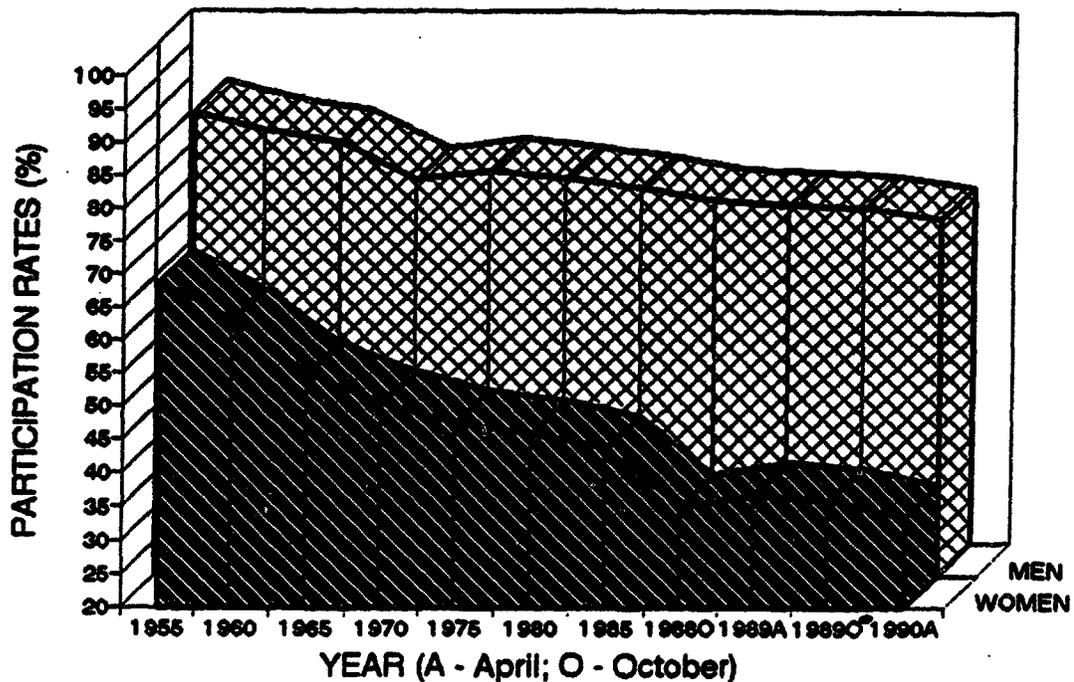
<sup>2/</sup> Illiteracy rates for women fell from 74% in 1955 to 32% in 1985 and to 30% in 1990; the corresponding values for men are 44%, 13%, and 10%.

**TABLE 2.1 TRENDS IN LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION BY GENDER**  
(Eligibility Age is 12 Years, 1970-90; 15 Years, 1955-65)

YEAR	MEN				WOMEN			
	LABOR FORCE '000	AS % OF MALE POPULATION			LABOR FORCE '000	AS % OF FEMALE POPULATION		
		12+	15-64	TOTAL		12+	15-64	TOTAL
1955	6944	89.6	99.7	56.8	5262	68.9	77.3	44.5
1960	7697	87.0	98.2	54.3	5296	62.8	68.3	39.0
1965	8472	85.2	98.1	53.0	5141	54.8	61.5	33.4
1970	9306	79.5	96.3	51.7	5813	50.3	61.2	33.0
1975	11180	80.9	97.9	53.9	6204	47.3	57.7	31.7
1980	12284	79.8	96.3	54.1	6928	45.8	55.6	31.4
1985	13933	78.3	93.3	54.3	7647	43.6	52.4	30.6
1988O	14083	76.5	91.0	52.3	6534	34.9	41.2	24.5
1989A	14175	76.0	90.6	54.1	6941	36.6	43.3	25.6
1989O	14253	75.4	90.6	51.7	6923	36.0	42.7	25.2
1990A	14165	73.9	88.5	50.7	6486	33.4	39.3	23.3

Sources: 1955-1985, Yearbook of Labor Statistics, ILO; 1988-1990, Household Labor Force Surveys, SIS.  
Notes: O - October; A - April

**CHART 2.1 PARTICIPATION RATES BY GENDER**  
LABOR FORCE / POPULATION 12 +



2.15 The declining trend in female labor force participation in Turkey, is entirely consistent with the widely documented U-shaped relationship between economic development (industrialization) and female participation rates that has been observed in most of the OECD countries and a growing number of the more industrialized developing countries.<sup>10/</sup> The key element in the U-shaped pattern reflects structural changes in the economy accompanied, inevitably by other social transformations (for instance, internal migration, urbanization, lower fertility rates, less stable family and kinship systems and higher educational attainment). As the locus of economic activity shifts from the family farm and homebased production into market-oriented industrial and service activities, there are significant changes in labor-demand requirements, reflected in employment opportunities and in their location - in urban areas. During the early phases of the process, there is often a "discouraged worker" effect and reported participation rates fall, especially among women, who were active as unpaid workers in agriculture and traditional nonagricultural activities. Moreover, women may also withdraw from the labor force into areas of employment which are not well enumerated by the official statistics, mainly seasonal work and homebased non-farm production.

2.16 At least two additional factors contribute to the labor force withdrawal by women. First, increased mechanization in agriculture reduces the employment of both men and women, but mostly women. Second, in the growing industrial and services sectors, women are at a disadvantage in competition with men for jobs because they generally have lower, or different, educational attainments and labor force qualifications, are constrained by family, tradition and culture, and compete with men who are more mobile and either unemployed or underemployed. As the nonagricultural sectors expand, the declining trend in male and female participation rates is arrested and then reversed. There is an increase in demand (higher wages) first for male workers, followed by that for female workers, especially in the service sectors. The rise in wages increases the propensity of women to enter the labor force which, in turn, is reflected in steadily rising participation rates. The labor force entry of women is further encouraged by declining fertility and smaller household sizes, increased educational attainment, urbanization, and changes in societal attitudes towards women who perform paid market work. Also, the character and substance of government policies can play a pivotal role in influencing women's labor force behavior.

---

<sup>10/</sup> Durand (1975) was probably the first to hypothesize the relationship between development and female participation in a cross-national context, and find some support for it. Using more sophisticated empirical techniques and cross-section international data, Pampel and Tanaka (1986) found strong support for the curvilinear relationship. Recent studies by Kottis (1990) on Greece and by Presser and Kishon (1991) on Puerto Rico add more convincing evidence for the U-shaped form, as does the study by Psacharopoulos and Tzannatos (1989) which uses data on 136 countries in the early 1980s. Sorrentino (1983) also provides data supporting the U-shaped pattern for Italy and Japan.

2.17 Finally, it is noted that it takes varying amounts of time for the U-shaped trend to materialize. In some countries the pattern emerges after three or more decades while in others it is telescoped into a comparatively short period of 20 years. Sorrentino (1983), in a nine-country comparison for the period 1960-81, observed a strong and sustained increase in female participation rates in Australia, Canada, Sweden, the US, and the UK since 1960. Participation rates in Germany, France, Italy, and Japan declined until the 1970s and then increased in the early 1970s in France and Italy, and the late 1970s in Germany and Japan. Greece, Ireland, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Spain appear to be "stage two" candidates for the 1980s.

2.18 The historical behavior of female participation rates in Turkey suggests it is likely to become a "stage-two" candidate beginning in this decade - particularly if accompanied by appropriate female-oriented policy initiatives. To see how this may develop, secular patterns in the southern European OECD comparator countries - Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain - were examined for the period 1950-1989. While there are many differences among the four countries, they also share a number of common characteristics: in comparison to other OECD countries, they are latecomers to industrialization and to export-led development. This shift in economic structure - as well as enactments of EC directives that promote gender equality - contributed to the comparatively late growth in female participation, reversing a trend which was falling, or flat, until the 1970s and 1980s. As expected, the rising trends in participation rates were accompanied by increased urbanization and educational attainment and by declines in fertility.<sup>11/</sup> Table 2.2 and Chart 2.2 suggest that the pattern of Turkish female participation rates is not markedly different from the recent historical experience of the comparators.

2.19 The available labor force survey data do not permit an analysis of female labor force participation in relation to background family characteristics, such as marital status and the number of children, while data from other sources provide essentially no information on the labor force behavior of married women. Although the Household Labor Force Surveys collect this information, the data are not made available. Nonetheless, it is useful to note that a high proportion of the female population aged 15 years and older is married. Between 1955 and 1965 just over 70% were married whereas between 1980 and 1985 just under 70% were married. According to the 1990 Household Labor Force Survey, 68% of the female population is married, wives comprise 65% of the female labor force 15 years and older and the participation rate of married women is about 33%. There is, however, an important difference between urban and rural areas, which can best be seen from the summary data on married women below.

---

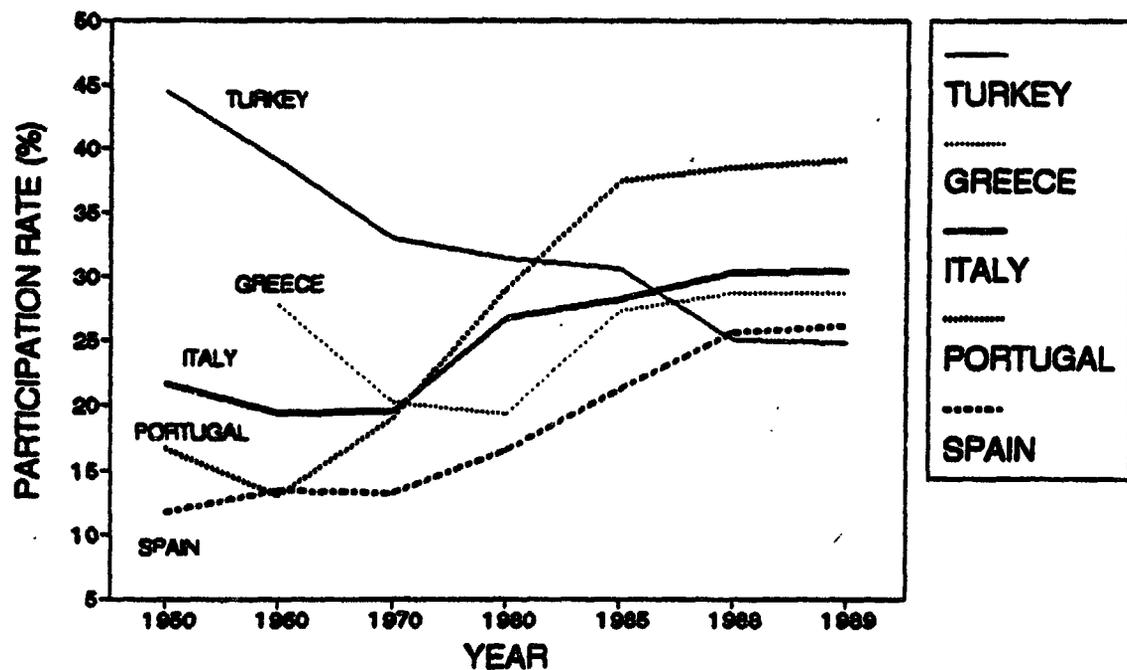
<sup>11/</sup> Larre and Torres (1991) present an analysis of the experiences of Greece, Portugal and Spain as regards their catch-up and convergence possibilities.

**TABLE 2.2 FEMALE PARTICIPATION RATES IN TURKEY AND COMPARTOR OECD COUNTRIES, 1950-1989.  
(FEMALE LABOR FORCE / FEMALE POPULATION)**

YEAR	TURKEY	GREECE	ITALY	PORTUGAL	SPAIN
1950	44.5		21.7	16.8	11.8
1960	39.0	27.8	19.5	13.1	13.5
1970	33.0	20.2	19.6	19.0	13.3
1980	31.4	19.3	26.7	29.0	16.5
1985	30.6	27.3	28.2	37.4	21.2
1988	25.0	28.7	30.2	38.6	25.6
1989	24.9	28.7	30.4	39.1	26.1

Sources: 1950-1985, Yearbook of Labor Statistics, ILO; 1988-1989, Historical Statistics, 1960-1989, OECD.  
Notes: The 1950 value for Turkey refers to 1955.

**CHART 2.2 FEMALE PARTICIPATION RATES  
BY COUNTRY**



	<u>Rural</u>	<u>Urban</u> (%)	<u>Total</u>
Residence of FLF	77	23	100
Wives in FLF	70	50	65
Participation Rate of Married Women	53	12	33

While the data on marital status of women in the labor force are incomplete, they nonetheless indicate that the trends examined in this chapter relate largely to married women, but also that there are significant urban-rural differences in the participation of married women that need to be addressed in terms of policy interventions, and specifically relating to visible urban employment, flexible formal employment and childcare.

#### Participation Patterns by Age Structure

2.20 A fuller picture of trends in male and female participation rates is gained by disaggregating by age groups. Table 2.3 and Chart 2.3 display the cross-section age profiles of participation of men and women between 1955-1990. Reflecting a combination of both life-cycle effects and time trends, both the male and female profiles have shifted downward over the past three decades, and have been transformed, markedly so for women. For the 1980-90 period, the male pattern assumed a bell or inverted-U shape, while the female pattern assumed a (mild) twin-peak or M-shape. The age profiles of women in recent years show that participation rates rise steadily among teenagers and young women (20-24) as they leave school and enter the labor force, decline during the 25-34 age interval because of marriage and childbearing rise between 35 and 50 as women are less burdened by young children. After age 50 the rate falls steadily. The male profiles tell a different story. The participation rate rises steadily through the twenties, as boys complete their education, peaks in the 35-39 age group and as with females, decline sharply after age 50.

2.21 The observed effects of age on labor force participation rates in Turkey since 1955 are consistent with patterns found in most OECD countries at a similar stage of development. Specifically, the profiles observed in the 1980s resemble those of many of the OECD countries during the 1960s and 1970s. However, more recently in the OECD countries, the twin-peaked female profiles have been replaced by patterns resembling the bell shape profiles of men.<sup>12/</sup>

---

<sup>12/</sup> See OECD (1989, 1985, 1975), and Sorrentino (1983).

TABLE 2.3

PARTICIPATION RATES BY GENDER AND AGE GROUPS

FEMALES						
AGE	1955	1960	1970	1980	1985	1990
12-14	0.0	0.0	45.0	42.3	36.1	21.0
15-19	74.4	68.2	54.4	51.8	48.0	40.0
20-24	73.4	65.8	53.1	49.5	48.2	40.3
25-29	72.5	66.6	51.9	44.7	43.4	36.3
30-34	72.0	65.2	50.9	44.6	42.3	36.2
35-39	71.9	63.3	50.3	47.2	43.3	37.7
40-44	73.5	66.5	53.7	49.4	46.2	38.8
45-49	71.4	64.5	52.9	50.5	46.8	36.5
50-54	73.9	68.2	53.6	49.5	48.2	33.5
55-59	67.7	62.5	50.0	47.0	44.9	30.6
60-64	71.1	66.8	47.6	43.7	39.8	21.3
65 +	63.4	60.0	35.1	23.8	23.2	9.0
ALL	68.9	62.8	50.3	45.8	43.6	33.4

MALES						
AGE	1955	1960	1970	1980	1985	1990
12-14	0.0	0.0	38.9	42.4	36.1	25.3
15-19	88.0	78.9	63.6	69.4	68.1	60.1
20-24	88.1	84.3	85.3	80.6	80.2	88.2
25-29	87.7	87.4	93.1	86.6	86.5	88.7
30-34	86.3	88.2	94.9	87.7	87.4	88.0
35-39	88.6	88.4	95.0	87.8	87.2	87.8
40-44	88.6	88.4	95.0	85.8	83.7	85.8
45-49	88.6	88.3	94.9	82.6	87.1	80.1
50-54	87.9	87.9	91.9	86.0	80.0	78.0
55-59	88.4	88.8	88.0	78.8	72.2	67.5
60-64	83.8	84.0	83.0	69.1	63.0	53.9
65 +	88.7	85.6	67.8	44.3	41.7	29.6
ALL	88.6	85.2	79.5	79.8	78.3	73.9

Sources: 1955-1985, Yearbook of Labor Statistics, B.O.; 1990, Household Labor Force Survey, B.O.

CHART 2.3 FEMALE PARTICIPATION RATES BY AGE GROUPS

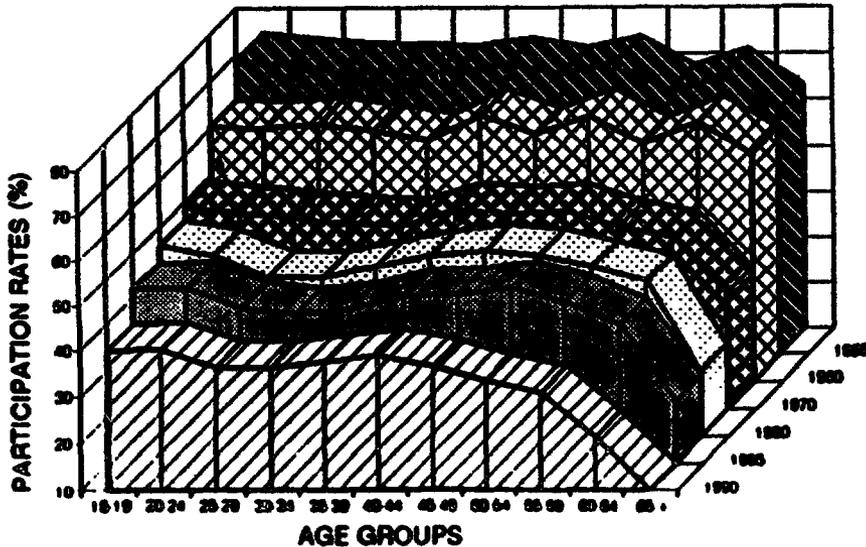
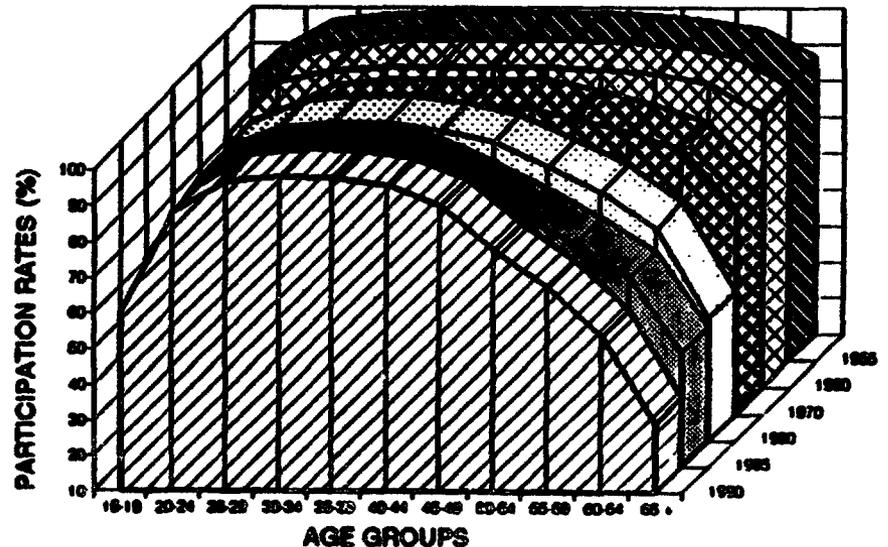


CHART 2.3 MALE PARTICIPATION RATES BY AGE GROUPS



#### D. Gender Segregation in the Labor Force

2.22 The economic status of women is influenced not only by their labor force participation, but also by the types of market work they perform and how much they earn. As this section will demonstrate, the work force in Turkey is markedly segregated and less than a third of women workers receive monetary payments. The gender differences in worker status, occupational, and sectoral distributions are also very striking. What is perhaps more remarkable, is how little they have changed over time. In short, since 1955 women workers have remained concentrated in the unpaid family worker category (two-thirds) and usually in agriculture (three-quarters). The gender segregation issues are examined by first discussing how segregation may be measured, and then by considering male-female disparities by worker status, occupation, and economic sector, or industry (Tables 2.4-2.6). The tables reveal several important trends in the gender composition of work, worker status, occupation and industry. They also show a strong and persistent imbalance in the types of labor force activities pursued by men and women.

#### Measures of Gender Segregation

2.23 To obtain an idea of the trend in segregation during the past 30 years, Tables 2.4-2.6 include two summary indices (expressed as percentages): the Duncan or, "dissimilarity", index (DI) and the "women and employment" index (WE).<sup>13/</sup> The Duncan index shows the percent of women (or men) who would have to change jobs in order to eliminate gender differences in the distributions. The DI index has a range of 0%, when there is no gender segregation to 100%, when there is complete segregation in the sense that each category (workers status, occupation or sector) is entirely filled by men or women. The less familiar WE index varies with the distribution of total labor force and the distribution of women among categories. It shows twice the minimum proportion of women who would have to change jobs with men to eliminate segregation, taking into account female representation in the total labor force. WE has a minimum of 0% when there is no segregation (DI = 0%). If there is gender segregation (DI > 0), the value of WE increases with the male share of the work force; its maximum value approaches 200% when the DI equals 100% and the labor force consists of any number of men and only one woman: the higher the share of women in the labor force, the smaller the percent of women that would have to change jobs in order to remove gender segregation. In general, the DI and WE measures of dissimilarity may be interpreted as follows: the higher the value the greater the degree of gender segregation.

---

<sup>13/</sup> The dissimilarity or Duncan index is fairly common in the literature, while the WE index was presented in an OECD report on Women and Employment in 1980. For details see Duncan and Duncan (1955) and OECD (1985).

2.24 The formulae for the indices are as follows:

Let:  $F_i$  = the number of females in category  $i$ ;  
 $F$  = the total number of females in the work force;  
 $M_i$  = the number of males in category  $i$ ;  
 $M$  = the total number of males in the work force;  
 $T_i$  = the number of persons in category  $i$ ;  
 $T$  = the total number of people in the work force.

$$DI = 100 \times \sum^i | F_i/F - M_i/M | / 2; \quad i = 1 \dots n.$$

$$WE = 100 \times \sum^i | F_i/F - T_i/T |; \quad i = 1 \dots n.$$

The relation between the two indices is:  $WE = (M_i/T) \times (2 \times DI)$ , so that the WE index is the male proportion in the work force multiplied by twice the DI index.

2.25 The indices, which are calculated from data provided by the ILO (1990) and the 1990 Labor Force Survey, are based on one-digit classifications for occupation and industry. For the period 1970-1990, these classifications strictly conform to the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO) and Industries (ISCI), while for 1965 minor adjustments were made to the data, so that they would conform to the ISCO and ISCI format. It should be noted that the index values reported here understate the extent of gender segregation because they are based on broad (one-digit) definitions of occupational and industrial categories. More narrowly-defined classifications - in terms of, say, tasks would result in higher magnitudes of gender segregation.<sup>14/</sup>

#### Gender Composition of Work Categories

2.26 As seen in Table 2.4 below, the share of women in the total labor force declined steadily from 41% in 1960 to 31% in 1990. It is noteworthy that, over the same period, the female proportion of unpaid family workers fell from 75% to just under 70%, while that of wage earners rose from only 11% to 16%, indicating that unpaid family workers remain largely women, while wages earners remain mainly men. As regards self-employment, which includes both own-account workers and employers, the small female representation has changed little over time (7-10%).<sup>15/</sup>

---

<sup>14/</sup> By way of clarification, the terms "gender composition" or "gender representation" refer to the proportion of women (or men) in a given work category, say in the clerical occupation. By the term "segregation" we mean a noticeable imbalance in the male and female distributions across work categories, for example, all occupations.

<sup>15/</sup> Historically, the proportion of employers among the self-employed has been relatively small for both men and women. But, the number of women who are employers is negligible in comparison to men. The 1990 Labor Force Survey shows that there were 665,042 men who were employers (13% of the male self-employed), but 12,313 women (3% of the female self-employed), so that the representation of women among employers is negligible - less than 2%. In 1980 there were 7,218 female employers (2% of the self-employed) versus 169,241 men (4% of the self-employed), while in 1960 there were 5,569 female employers (1.5% of the female self-employed) compared to 150,539 male employers (4% of the self-employed). See Yayan (1984).

TABLE 2.4 DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL LABOR FORCE BY WORKER STATUS AND GENDER, 1960-90.

WORKER STATUS	1960		1965		1970		1975		1980		1985		1990	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
	(000)													
TOTAL	7997	5298	8472	5141	9308	5813	11180	6204	12284	6928	13033	7647	14165	6486
% female		41		38		39		36		36		35		31
SELF-EMPLOYED	3468	371	3577	150	3748	397	4008	302	4123	331	4493	362	5197	377
% female		10		4		10		7		7		7		7
EMPLOYEE	2177	280	2755	308	3578	595	4510	877	5216	946	5908	1072	6396	1211
% female		11		10		14		16		15		15		16
UNPAID WORKER	1561	4660	1739	4682	1984	4820	2849	5022	2324	5536	2663	6058	2006	4438
% female		75		73		71		65		70		69		69
UNKNOWN	491	5	101	4	0	0	13	4	621	116	670	155	557	460
% female		1		4		0		24		16		15		45

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MALE AND FEMALE LABOR FORCE BY WORKER STATUS

WORKER STATUS	1960		1965		1970		1975		1980		1985		1990	
	MALE	FEMALE												
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
SELF-EMPLOYED	45.1	7.0	45.8	2.9	40.2	6.8	35.8	4.9	33.8	4.8	32.3	4.7	36.7	5.8
EMPLOYEE	28.3	4.9	32.5	5.9	38.4	10.2	40.3	14.1	42.5	13.7	42.4	14.0	45.2	18.7
UNPAID WORKER	20.3	68.0	20.5	91.1	21.3	82.9	23.7	80.9	18.9	79.9	19.1	79.2	14.2	68.4
UNKNOWN	6.4	0.1	1.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	5.1	1.7	6.2	2.0	4.0	7.1
DI INDEX	67.7		70.5		61.6		57.2		61.0		60.1		57.4	
WE INDEX	80.2		87.8		75.8		73.6		78.0		77.6		78.7	

Sources: For 1965-1985, Yearbook of Labor Statistics (1990), ILO; for 1990, Household Labor Force Survey, SLS.

Notes: The 'unknown' category includes first time job seekers. DI is the Disparity Index; WE is the Women and Employment Index. See text for description.

2.27 The representation of women within occupations and economic sectors (Tables 2.5 and 2.6), however, reveal diverging patterns; namely the female share of agricultural workers remained essentially constant; the proportion of women in professional occupations rose steadily (from 21% in 1965 to almost 30% in 1990); the share of women among service workers almost doubled (from 7% in 1965 to 12% in 1990) and that of clerical and sales workers also increased dramatically. The share of women in managerial and administrative occupations, however, remained unchanged<sup>16/</sup> - at about 6% between 1970 and 1990 - as did that of women among production workers - about 8%-10% over the period.

2.28 As regards female presence in different economic sectors (Table 2.6), significant increases are found only in women's share in the manufacturing and services sectors (both business and personal services). Women's share in trade, transport, mining and construction remained low throughout.

### Gender Segregation

2.29 Analysis of trends in the gender composition of work activities is useful, but does not reflect differences in the size of the male and female labor forces and, hence, their participation rates. The shares of men and women cannot be expected to be the same within, say, each economic sector if there are more men than women in the total labor force. Thus, it is useful to compare the work activity distributions of men and women, i.e. the proportions of all men and of all women in various categories. The lower halves of Tables 2.4-2.6 show these distributions and the corresponding DI and WE indices of segregation and they reveal clearly substantial gender differences. The major changes by gender that have occurred since 1965 can be summarized as follows:

	1965		1990	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
% of Male/Female LF in Agriculture	58	95	34	74
% of Male/Female LF that is unpaid	21	91	14	68
% of Male/Female Workers that receive a wage	33	6	45	10
% of Male/Female Workers who are self-employed	46	3	37	6
DI/WE Index by Worker Status	70.5/87.8		57.4/78.7	
DI/WE Index by Occupation	36.2/45.0		41.8/57.3	
DI/WE Index by Economic Sector	37.4/46.6		42.8/50.7	

<sup>16/</sup> In 1965, clerical workers are included in the "administrative" category.

TABLE 2.5 DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL LABOR FORCE BY OCCUPATION AND GENDER, 1965-90.

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	1965		1970		1975		1980		1985		1990	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
	('000)											
TOTAL	8472	5141	9306	5813	11160	6204	12284	6928	13933	7647	14165	6486
% female		38		38		36		36		35		31
PROFESSIONAL	236	62	415	140	468	173	585	255	714	298	830	328
% female		21		25		27		30		29		28
ADMINISTRATIVE	305	46	80	5	71	4	149	8	158	10	306	15
% female		13		6		6		5		6		5
CLERICAL	0	0	273	73	401	133	438	211	496	238	676	419
% female		0		21		25		32		32		38
SALES	375	5	446	17	536	34	757	34	921	57	1428	113
% female		1		4		6		4		6		7
SERVICE	442	33	510	47	528	56	847	67	1023	88	1488	252
% female		7		8		10		7		8		14
AGRICULTURE	4903	4836	4949	5153	5905	5430	5123	5832	5806	6484	4813	4806
% female		50		51		48		54		54		50
PRODUCTION	1690	156	1106	262	3270	375	3777	305	4140	340	4512	525
% female		8		19		10		7		8		10
UNKNOWN	520	4	1526	116	0	0	607	116	875	155	115	28
% female		1		7		0		16		15		20

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MALE AND FEMALE LABOR FORCE BY OCCUPATION

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	1965		1970		1975		1980		1985		1990	
	MALE	FEMALE										
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
PROFESSIONAL	2.8	1.2	4.5	2.4	4.2	2.8	4.8	3.7	5.1	3.9	5.9	5.1
ADMINISTRATIVE	3.6	0.9	0.9	0.1	0.6	0.1	1.2	0.1	1.1	0.1	2.2	0.2
CLERICAL	0.0	0.0	2.9	1.3	3.6	2.1	3.6	3.0	3.6	3.1	4.8	6.5
SALES	4.4	0.1	4.8	0.3	4.8	0.5	6.2	0.5	6.6	0.7	10.1	1.7
SERVICE	5.2	0.6	5.5	0.8	4.7	0.9	6.9	1.0	7.3	1.2	10.5	3.9
AGRICULTURE	57.9	94.1	53.2	88.6	52.8	87.5	41.7	85.6	40.2	84.5	34.0	74.1
PRODUCTION	20.0	3.0	11.9	4.5	29.3	6.0	30.7	4.4	29.7	4.4	31.9	8.1
UNKNOWN	6.1	0.1	16.4	2.0	0.0	0.0	4.9	1.7	6.3	2.0	0.8	0.4
DI INDEX	38.2		35.5		34.7		43.9		44.3		41.8	
WE INDEX	45.0		43.7		44.6		56.2		57.2		57.3	

Sources: For 1965-1985, Yearbook of Labor Statistics (1990), ILO; for 1990, Household Labor Force Survey, SIS.

Notes: 'Professional' includes technical & related; 'Administrative' includes managerial, and in 1965 clerical; 'Production' includes transport equipment. 'Unknown' includes first time job seekers. DI is the Dissimilarity index; WE is the Women and Employment index. See text for description.

TABLE 2.6 DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL LABOR FORCE BY ECONOMIC SECTOR AND GENDER, 1965-90.

ECONOMIC SECTOR	1965		1970		1975		1980		1985		1990	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
	000's											
TOTAL	8472	5141	9308	5813	11180	6204	12284	6928	13933	7647	14165	6486
% female		38		38		38		38		35		31
AGRICULTURE	4879	4886	5031	5200	6210	5484	5156	5949	5634	6484	4884	4802
% female		50		51		47		54		54		50
MINING	84	1	107	4	110	1	131	1	135	2	177	2
% female		1		4		1		1		1		1
MANUFACTURING	868	78	998	290	1200	257	1672	304	1853	332	2177	437
% female		8		23		18		15		15		17
UTILITIES	28	0	14	1	18	2	31	2	22	1	41	0
% female		1		6		12		6		5		0
CONSTRUCTION	352	1	422	9	527	5	780	5	744	7	979	16
% female		0		2		1		1		1		2
TRADE	384	21	646	27	757	47	1034	50	1301	82	2006	145
% female		5		4		6		5		6		7
TRANSPORTATION	278	6	344	16	465	18	505	28	585	31	774	34
% female		2		4		4		5		5		4
BUSINESS SERVICES	697	103	115	31	168	53	218	76	291	99	296	109
% female		13		21		24		26		25		27
OTHER SERVICES	0	0	1376	181	1556	272	2067	359	2406	441	2284	480
% female		0		12		15		15		15		17
UNKNOWN	906	49	255	54	168	63	710	157	962	168	567	480
% female		5		18		27		18		15		45

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MALE AND FEMALE LABOR FORCE BY ECONOMIC SECTOR

ECONOMIC SECTOR	1965		1970		1975		1980		1985		1990	
	MALE	FEMALE										
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
AGRICULTURE	57.6	95.0	54.1	89.5	55.5	88.4	42.0	85.9	40.4	84.8	34.3	74.0
MINING	1.0	0.0	1.1	0.1	1.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.3	0.0
MANUFACTURING	10.2	1.5	10.7	5.0	10.7	4.1	13.6	4.4	13.3	4.3	15.4	6.7
UTILITIES	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.3	0.0
CONSTRUCTION	4.2	0.0	4.5	0.2	4.7	0.1	6.2	0.1	5.3	0.1	6.9	0.2
TRADE	4.5	0.4	6.9	0.5	6.8	0.8	8.4	0.7	9.3	1.1	14.2	2.2
TRANSPORTATION	3.3	0.1	3.7	0.3	4.2	0.3	4.1	0.4	4.2	0.4	5.5	0.5
BUSINESS SERVICES	8.2	2.0	1.2	0.5	1.5	0.9	1.8	1.1	2.1	1.3	2.1	1.7
OTHER SERVICES	0.0	0.0	14.8	3.1	13.9	4.4	16.8	5.2	17.3	5.8	16.1	7.4
UNKNOWN	10.7	1.0	2.7	0.9	1.5	1.0	5.8	2.3	6.9	2.2	4.0	7.1
DI INDEX		37.4		35.4		32.8		43.9		44.4		42.8
WE INDEX		46.6		43.6		42.3		56.1		57.3		58.7

Sources: For 1965-1985, Yearbook of Labor Statistics (1990), ILO; for 1990, Household Labor Force Survey, SIS.

Notes: 'Utilities' include electricity, gas & water; 'Trade' includes wholesale/retail trade, restaurants & hotels; 'Business services' include finance, insurance and real estate; 'other services' refers to community, social & personal services; 'unknown' includes first time job seekers.

DI is the Dissimilarity index; WE is the Women and Employment index. See text for description.

Thus, while there have been some changes in the types of work that women do, the majority of women continue to work in agriculture, as unpaid family workers.

2.30 While the gender distributions in nonagricultural occupational and sectoral groupings (Tables 2.5-2.6) suggest a small shift in the position of women, both the DI and WE indices show not only considerable, but increasing gender segregation over time.

2.31 When compared to the data for other OECD and developing countries, summarized below, the data for Turkey indicate a high and persistent degree of gender segregation in the workplace in Turkey:

<u>DI Occupational Values</u>	<u>1980<sup>1/</sup></u>	<u>1987<sup>2/</sup></u>	
Australian	49	Spain	37
Sweden	42	Portugal	27
USA	42	Greece	26
Canada	39	UAE (1975)	64
West Germany	36	Kuwait (1981)	66

<sup>1/</sup> OECD, 1985.

<sup>2/</sup> Blau and Ferber, 1990.

Given also the observed increase in the indices of dissimilarity in Turkey over time, it is unlikely that gender segregation will be reduced without policy initiatives designed to encourage women to enter non-traditional work activities.

2.32 Recognizing that there are many complex factors that generate and perpetuate the gender differences in the distributions of work activities, there are, nonetheless, several areas where policy initiatives could reduce gender segregation. For instance:

**Education and Training:** The types of work that people perform are related to the skills that they bring to the labor market. Gender differences in education and training levels and in the content of courses and programs are significant determinants in channelling men into one set of work activities and women into another. Reducing these differences can play an important role in modifying the gender division of the labor market.

**Protective Legislation:** Some of the existing protective legislation, which prohibits women from working in "unsuitable" jobs or working at certain hours, also contributes to segregation. Repealing the women-specific provisions of such laws will have both a symbolic and substantive impact on women's work choices, as well as their educational choices.

**Employment Equity Programs:** The introduction of "employment equity" programs could also be beneficial (see Box 1 below).

**BOX 1: EMPLOYMENT EQUITY PROGRAMS**

Employment equity legislation, which should not be confused with "affirmative action" or quota initiatives, was introduced in Canada in late 1986. The main objective of employment equity programs is to prevent or reduce disadvantages experienced by designated groups - women, native people, visible minorities, and the handicapped - because of past or present discriminatory practices. The policy was first implemented at the federal government level in 1987; most provincial and municipal governments, as well as large private sector organizations and universities, have also adopted employment equity. There are two important features in the program. First, it is based on a "good-faith-effort" approach rather than mandatory quotas. The main goals in this regard are to identify existing practices within an organization that may have contributed to the exclusion of the designated groups from certain jobs; then, to eliminate these barriers along with the implementation of feasible proactive measures such as, training, targeted advertising for job openings, and flexible working hours for women with young children. Second, private sector participation in the program is not compulsory. However, the program is given "teeth" by a federal contract compliance policy, whereby firms with 100 or more employees are not eligible for bidding on government contracts in excess of \$200,000 unless they implement employment equity. To date, the employment equity program affects about 17% of employees. Although it is too early to evaluate empirically the impact of employment equity on gender segregation, the program is considered to be one of the stronger initiatives introduced anywhere to reduce segregation.

**E. Urban-Rural Dimensions and Differences**

2.33 In light of Turkey's increasing urbanization - the proportion of population living in urban areas has virtually doubled from 29% in 1955 to 59% in 1990 - a consideration of urban-rural labor force patterns is important, particularly from the standpoint of designing policy measures to alleviate gender segregation in the labor force. In the absence of reliable historical urban-rural labor force data the analysis here is based on the 1988-1990 Household Labor Force Surveys.

**Trends in Urban-Rural Participation Rates**

2.34 Table 2.7 shows the evolution of participation rates by gender in rural and urban areas. A notable aspect is that the participation rate of rural women remains significantly higher than that of urban women - 51% against 15% but that the rural participation rate has fallen from 90% in 1960 while the urban participation virtually doubled.

**TABLE 2.2:** Participation Rates in Rural and Urban Area, 1955-90

YEAR	URBAN		RURAL	
	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN
1955	78.7	6.3	93.0	92.3
1960	75.2	8.3	91.8	90.4
1965	73.7	8.2	90.8	88.6
1982	68.6	11.2	n.a.	n.a.
1983	69.9	12.0	n.a.	n.a.
1984	68.9	13.1	n.a.	n.a.
1985	69.9	13.7	75.1	47.4
19880	72.9	16.9	80.4	51.8
1989A	71.9	16.5	80.2	55.6
19890	71.0	17.2	80.1	54.3
1990A	70.3	15.2	78.0	51.2

Sources: 1955-1965 Durand (1975, P. 166); 1982-1990 Household Labor Force Surveys.  
 Notes: 1955-65, the eligibility age is 15 years, otherwise 12 years. A - April; O - October.

**Age Structure Patterns of Urban-Rural Participation**

2.35 Table 2.8 and Chart 2.8 show the cross-section age profiles of participation for men and women according to place of residence based on the Labor Force Surveys. The profiles show that the female participation rate is much higher among the rural population than among the urban population and that the rural profile shows a fairly distinct M-shape, while the urban pattern has a small peak at age 20-24 and then declines steadily thereafter - reflecting the reluctance of employers to hire women with children. It is also significant that there is little variation in the participation rates of rural women between 15 and 55 years - from 55% to 63%. The urban and rural male profiles have the expected "male" bell shape and show little difference except for the relatively sharp decrease in participation rates of urban men after age 45 years, whereas in rural areas it only starts to decline significantly at age 60.

2.36 The urban-rural differences in participation rates, especially among women, can be explained in terms of differences in labor market conditions of rural and urban areas namely: differential unemployment rates, the "mix" of economic sectors and occupations, earnings prospects and work opportunities compatible with educational attainments and skill levels. The low participation rates of urban women (who are generally more educated than their rural counterparts) may also reflect the "discouraged worker" phenomenon documented

TABLE 2.8.

URBAN-RURAL PARTICIPATION RATES BY GENDER AND AGE GROUPS

FEMALES								
AGE	URBAN				RURAL			
	1988	1989	1989	1990A	1988	1989	1989	1990
12-14	6.2	6.6	7.2	5.3	40.9	39.4	36.7	36.7
15-19	21.8	18.9	21.6	16.0	59.9	61.6	62.8	60.5
20-24	26.6	25.9	26.0	24.6	56.8	64.2	59.7	57.6
25-29	21.7	22.9	21.7	20.9	55.2	57.2	56.9	55.1
30-34	22.3	22.7	23.2	20.5	57.3	62.8	58.9	55.6
35-39	18.6	22.7	21.3	21.2	60.7	66.8	64.3	58.4
40-44	16.9	15.8	17.2	18.8	57.1	66.5	66.6	62.9
45-49	11.4	11.5	11.0	9.6	59.0	70.9	58.7	62.3
50-54	9.6	9.3	6.1	6.5	55.6	59.4	59.3	55.2
55-59	6.2	4.3	8.4	4.1	47.0	51.5	56.9	48.2
60-64	3.7	3.5	5.6	2.9	32.8	39.2	44.6	34.0
65 +	1.5	1.1	2.9	1.1	16.9	17.2	18.0	14.5
ALL	16.9	16.5	17.2	15.2	51.8	55.6	54.3	51.2

Sources: Household Labor Force Surveys, SIS. A - April; O - October.

MALES								
AGE	URBAN				RURAL			
	1988	1989	1989	1990A	1988	1989	1989	1990
12-14	21.2	20.6	23.0	18.5	39.4	38.5	36.2	32.8
15-19	56.0	52.6	53.1	52.9	73.2	68.7	70.2	68.3
20-24	83.8	84.3	82.1	84.1	91.5	91.3	91.7	92.9
25-29	98.2	97.3	97.1	96.8	97.4	96.6	96.6	96.6
30-34	98.8	98.0	98.4	98.5	98.2	97.9	98.6	97.5
35-39	98.5	97.9	98.1	97.8	98.4	98.0	97.9	97.8
40-44	95.1	96.9	96.0	95.4	96.6	96.1	97.8	96.3
45-49	85.0	87.9	85.2	86.4	94.1	94.4	96.4	94.3
50-54	72.9	73.5	67.8	66.0	91.8	92.7	95.5	90.5
55-59	56.1	56.4	50.5	50.3	82.8	84.5	85.5	81.4
60-64	39.7	38.1	35.4	32.0	74.5	76.0	77.0	68.3
65 +	17.4	19.1	18.1	14.2	43.7	45.0	47.9	39.9
ALL	72.9	71.9	71.0	70.3	80.4	80.2	80.1	78.0

CHART 2.8 FEMALE PARTICIPATION RATES URBAN AND RURAL - BY AGE GROUPS

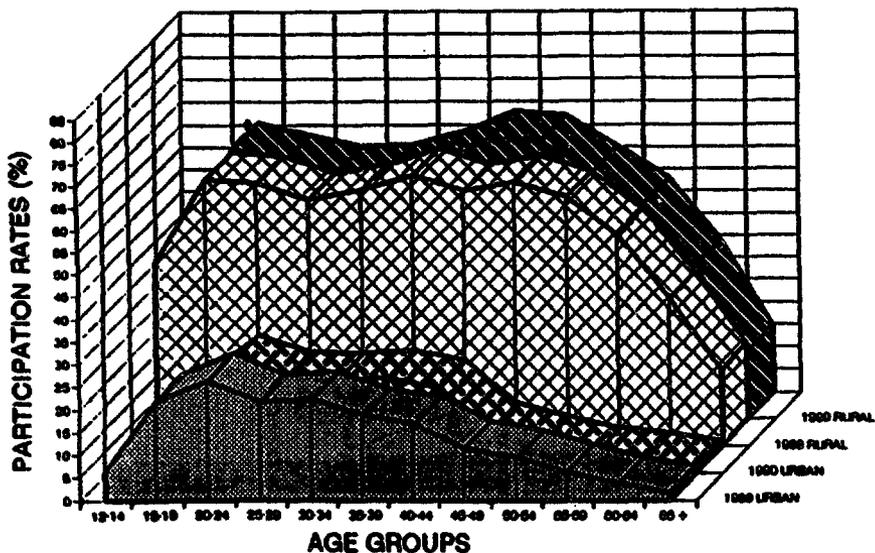
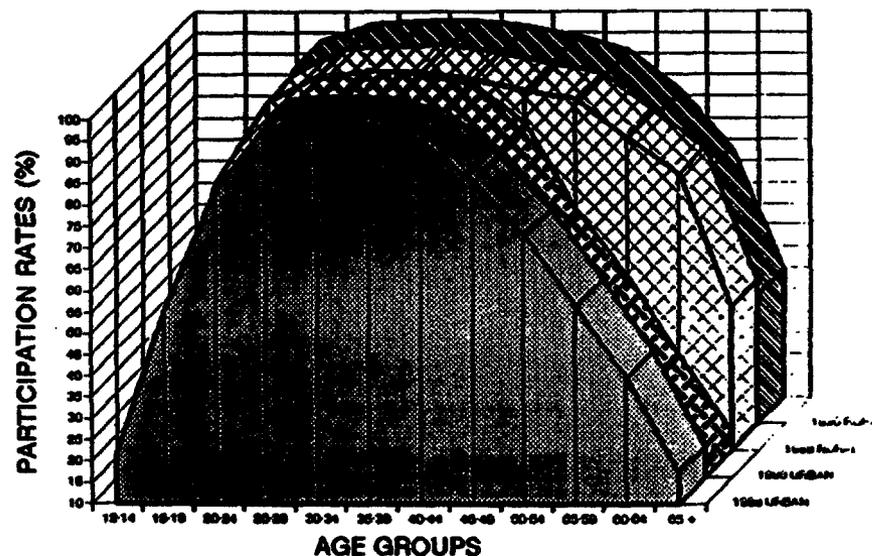


CHART 2.8 MALE PARTICIPATION RATES URBAN AND RURAL - BY AGE GROUPS



elsewhere, (i.e., urban women may forego participating in the work force if they do not find appropriate employment, at an acceptable wage, in a favorable work environment or in a reasonable period of time). The low rates may also reflect prevailing cultural norms that preclude women from associating with non-kin males. The low rates, however, also reflect the failure of official labor statistics to include workers in the informal sectors.

Urban-Rural Patterns of Activities in the Labor Force

2.37 Tables 2.9-2.11 consider the gender composition and distribution and segregation measures by residence across worker status, occupation and sector for 1990. Essentially there are three relevant measures - women's share of the urban/rural labor force; the urban/rural share of the female labor force and the urban/rural female participation rate - with similar measures by worker status etc. For simplicity, the key measures contained in Tables 2.9-2.11 are summarized below. In terms of gender composition, the urban-rural patterns reveal few surprises. It is significant to recall that 77% of the female labor force is in the rural areas, that the female share of the total rural labor force is 41%, but only 17% of the urban labor force and that in rural areas, 71% of unpaid workers are women, compared to about 33% in urban areas.

	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>
Proportion of Female Labor Force	23	77	100
% of LF that is Female	17	41	31
Female Participation Rate	15	51	33
Proportion of FLF that is unpaid	3	97	100
Females as % of all unpaid workers	33	71	69
% of FLF that is unpaid	10	86	68

TABLE 2.9

DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN-RURAL LABOR FORCE  
BY WORKER STATUS AND GENDER, 1990

WORKER STATUS	URBAN		RURAL	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
	(000)		(000)	
TOTAL	7060.0	1466.6	7105.2	5020.5
% female		17.2		41.4
REGULAR EMPLOYEE	3960.4	615.0	1312.2	169.4
% female		17.0		11.4
CASUAL EMPLOYEE	615.9	97.1	467.4	129.9
% female		13.6		21.0
EMPLOYER	557.1	11.6	125.2	1.3
% female		2.1		1.0
SELF-EMPLOYED	1262.6	101.9	3221.7	261.6
% female		7.3		7.5
UNPAID WORKER	262.9	144.5	1722.7	4293.2
% female		33.6		71.4
UNKNOWN	330.9	265.3	236.0	165.0
% female		47.2		41.1

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN-RURAL LABOR FORCE  
BY WORKER STATUS AND GENDER, 1990

WORKER STATUS	URBAN		RURAL	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
REGULAR EMPLOYEE	56.4	56.6	18.5	3.4
CASUAL EMPLOYEE	8.7	6.6	6.9	2.6
EMPLOYER	7.9	0.8	1.8	0.0
SELF-EMPLOYED	18.3	7.0	45.3	5.2
UNPAID WORKER	4.0	9.9	24.2	85.5
UNKNOWN	4.7	20.1	3.3	3.3
DI INDEX		21.3		61.3
WE INDEX		32.3		71.8

Source: Household Labor Force Survey (1990), SIS.

Notes: The 'unknown' category includes first time job seekers. DI is the Dissimilarity index; WE is the Women and Employment index. See text for description.

TABLE 2.10

DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN-RURAL LABOR FORCE  
BY OCCUPATION AND GENDER, 1990

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	URBAN		RURAL	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
	('000)		('000)	
TOTAL	7060.0	1465.6	7105.2	5020.5
% female		17.2		41.4
PROFESSIONAL	560.5	242.2	235.3	53.9
% female		30.2		18.6
ADMINISTRATIVE	226.5	13.2	84.0	0.0
% female		5.5		0.0
CLERICAL	460.3	247.5	124.4	34.6
% female		35.0		21.7
SALES	1104.7	86.7	308.2	14.6
% female		7.3		4.5
SERVICE	950.1	126.8	342.6	19.9
% female		11.8		5.5
AGRICULTURE	262.2	184.8	4587.8	4614.8
% female		41.3		50.1
PRODUCTION	3130.8	256.9	1168.9	111.8
% female		7.8		8.7
UNKNOWN	364.9	307.5	253.9	171.1
% female		45.7		40.3

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN-RURAL LABOR FORCE  
BY OCCUPATION AND GENDER, 1990

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	URBAN		RURAL	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
PROFESSIONAL	7.9	16.5	3.3	1.1
ADMINISTRATIVE	3.2	0.9	1.2	0.0
CLERICAL	6.5	16.9	1.8	0.7
SALES	15.6	5.9	4.3	0.3
SERVICE	13.5	8.7	4.8	0.4
AGRICULTURE	3.7	12.6	64.6	91.9
PRODUCTION	44.3	17.5	16.5	2.2
UNKNOWN	5.2	21.0	3.6	3.4
DI INDEX		43.7		27.3
WE INDEX		72.3		32.1

Source: Household Labor Force Survey (1990), SIS.

Notes: 'Professional' includes technical & related; 'Administrative' includes managerial; 'Production' includes transport equipment. 'Unknown' includes first time job seekers. DI is the Dissimilarity index; WE is the Women and Employment index. See text for description.

TABLE 2.11

DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN-RURAL LABOR FORCE  
BY ECONOMIC SECTOR AND GENDER, 1990

ECONOMIC SECTOR	URBAN		RURAL	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
	('000)		('000)	
TOTAL	7080.0	1465.8	7105.2	5020.5
% female		17.2		41.4
AGRICULTURE	247.5	185.0	4616.3	4617.4
% female		42.8		50.0
MINING	77.2	0.0	100.2	1.5
% female		0.0		1.5
MANUFACTURING	1811.4	328.0	385.1	111.2
% female		15.3		23.3
UTILITIES	20.9	0.0	20.5	0.0
% female		0.0		0.0
CONSTRUCTION	624.5	13.6	354.7	1.9
% female		2.1		0.5
TRADE	1588.0	124.3	418.2	21.0
% female		7.3		4.8
TRANSPORTATION	517.9	28.1	255.8	5.9
% female		5.1		2.2
BUSINESS SERVICES	252.7	95.8	43.7	13.5
% female		27.5		23.7
OTHER SERVICES	1888.9	397.4	694.6	83.0
% female		20.0		10.7
UNKNOWN	330.9	295.3	238.0	165.0
% female		47.2		41.1

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN-RURAL LABOR FORCE  
BY ECONOMIC SECTOR AND GENDER, 1990

ECONOMIC SECTOR	URBAN		RURAL	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
AGRICULTURE	3.5	12.6	65.0	92.0
MINING	1.1	0.0	1.4	0.0
MANUFACTURING	25.7	22.2	5.1	2.2
UTILITIES	0.3	0.0	0.3	0.0
CONSTRUCTION	8.8	0.9	5.0	0.0
TRADE	22.5	8.5	5.9	0.4
TRANSPORTATION	7.3	1.9	3.6	0.1
BUSINESS SERVICES	3.6	6.5	0.6	0.3
OTHER SERVICES	22.5	27.1	9.8	1.7
UNKNOWN	4.7	20.1	3.3	3.3
DI INDEX		32.1		27.0
WE INDEX		53.2		31.6

Source: Household Labor Force Survey (1990), SIS.

Notes: 'Utilities' include electricity, gas & water; 'Trade' includes wholesale/retail trade, restaurants and hotels; 'Business services' include finance, insurance and real estate; 'other services' refers to community, social and personal services. The 'unknown' category includes first time job seekers.

DI is the Dissimilarity index; WE is the Women and Employment index. See text for description.

2.38 The urban and rural patterns of gender segregation by worker status, and the measures of dissimilarity reveal some interesting differences. These can best be summarized as follows:

<u>% of LF classified as</u>	<u>Rural</u>		<u>Urban</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Unpaid worker	24	86	4	10
Employee	25	6	65	62
Self-Employed	45	5	18	7
Employer	2	0	8	1

In short, there is a marked difference in employment status between urban-rural females and rural males and females, but a greater similarity between urban males and females. Given the continuing urbanization of Turkey's population, this pattern has important implications both for the regularization of female employment conditions with urbanization and for agricultural production. The urban-rural differences in the gender distributions of worker status are reflected in the indices of segregation and, not surprisingly, show a much higher degree of segregation in rural areas - the DI index in urban areas is 21% compared to 61% in rural areas).

2.39 As regards occupations and sectors, the tables show a higher degree of gender segregation in urban areas than in rural areas because farming is the main activity of both working men and women in rural areas - 92% of women and 65% of men work in agriculture. As a result, the segregation measures are relatively low (less than 30%) in rural areas. Gender segregation in urban areas for occupation and industry is higher, in part, because women comprise only 17% of the urban labor force. In terms of occupations, the share of women in the more "modern" activities (professions, clerical, sales) is significantly higher in the urban than in the rural areas.

2.40 Thus, the data indicate that, notwithstanding the differences in the urban and rural patterns, the work activities of men and women are markedly segregated in both urban and rural areas. The urban-rural distribution of the female labor force, in conjunction with the differences in gender segregation, and the declining rural, but rising urban participation rates, is of special policy importance - it indicates the existence of two largely self-contained female labor market segments. Hence, the policy initiatives that would enhance the employment standing of the two groups of women are likely to be different.

## F. Hours of Work

2.41 The accurate measurement of labor supply requires information on various dimensions of work behavior. In addition to labor force participation, data on hours of market work are especially important.<sup>17/</sup> It is possible for participation rates to vary over time and between groups because of differing amounts of time worked - hours per week, weeks per year, and over the life cycle, as well as because of unemployment spells. For instance, the continuing growth of female labor force participation in the OECD countries has been accompanied by a general reduction in average annual hours worked and by a pronounced increase in part-time employment. Women account for most of the growth in part-time work, which is concentrated in typically female activities - clerical, sales and services.<sup>18/</sup>

2.42 Until the implementation of the revised Household Labor Force Surveys in the late 1980s, the measure of labor supply in Turkey was limited to one dimension - labor force participation. The surveys now provide information on weekly hours worked in the main job by those who are employed.<sup>19/</sup> This information, displayed in Table 2.12 and Chart 2.12 reveals several important points, especially as regards working women. First, as can be seen there are no major gender differences in the average weekly hours of work among the employed. Women on average work 43 hours per week compared to 50 hours for men, with slight variation across urban and rural areas and age groups. The percentage distribution of working hours by gender is also noteworthy: most men work at least 40 hours per week: nationwide, 90%; urban, 95%; and rural 83%. The pattern for women is somewhat different: nationwide, 32% of women work 35 hours or less and 36% work at least 50 hours, whether wage earners or unpaid family workers. It is also important to note that 50% of unpaid family workers work more than 50 hours a week.

---

<sup>17/</sup> Ideally, a measure of labor supply would include information not only on the proportion of people seeking or engaged in market work (labor force participants) and hours worked, but also on the level of skills and competence that workers bring to their jobs, the continuity of labor force attachment, and the effort devoted at the job. Skill levels are measured imperfectly by educational attainment, while information on work continuity or inter-labor force turnover is generally not available in developing countries, and measures of effort are basically nonexistent.

<sup>18/</sup> For example, in Canada, prime-age women represent about 75 percent of part-time employment. The other important groups of part-time workers are youth and older men. The Canadian pattern is typical of other OECD countries. See OECD (1985).

<sup>19/</sup> The inclusion of multiple job holders does not change the magnitudes because less than 3 percent of men and almost no women hold more than one job. However, there are no data on inter-labor force turnover, i.e. the number of weeks per year worked.

TABLE 2.12 WEEKLY HOURS OF WORK IN MAIN JOB FOR EMPLOYED, 1990

AGE GROUP	TOTAL				URBAN				RURAL			
	MALES '000 HOURS		FEMALES '000 HOURS		MALES '000 HOURS		FEMALES '000 HOURS		MALES '000 HOURS		FEMALES '000 HOURS	
12-14	360.1	48.8	302.7	42.1	124.0	53.2	31.6	44.8	236.1	46.5	271.1	41.8
15-19	1417.7	49.9	1008.8	43.1	628.6	52.3	125.5	45.9	789.2	47.9	883.3	42.7
20-24	1296.8	50.4	783.1	44.2	623.9	50.1	177.2	45.1	672.9	50.7	585.9	44.0
25-29	1798.6	51.2	842.3	43.9	1003.9	51.7	183.5	43.6	792.9	50.5	478.8	43.9
30-34	1698.2	50.1	614.6	42.4	976.8	49.9	170.9	41.3	721.4	50.3	443.7	42.8
35-39	1640.3	50.5	587.2	43.5	929.3	50.5	164.2	40.6	711.0	50.5	423.0	44.7
40-44	1222.1	49.4	459.4	43.1	715.9	48.6	106.9	39.6	506.2	50.5	352.5	44.1
45-49	939.1	50.4	396.5	42.0	471.1	50.0	44.1	42.0	468.0	50.7	354.4	42.0
50-54	822.7	49.6	372.9	41.6	336.7	51.2	27.5	41.4	498.0	48.4	345.4	41.6
55-59	674.8	49.2	329.5	43.2	214.9	51.1	15.8	47.2	459.9	48.2	313.7	43.0
60-64	484.8	49.1	188.7	40.5	101.8	52.2	9.1	49.2	363.0	48.2	179.6	40.0
65 +	378.7	44.0	106.5	37.0	73.5	49.5	5.4	50.3	303.2	42.7	101.1	36.3
ALL AGES	12710.1	49.9	5774.1	42.9	6200.4	50.6	1041.7	42.9	6509.7	49.2	4732.4	42.9

Source: Household Labor Force Survey (1990), SIS.

Note: Numbers may not add due to rounding.

CHART 2.12A HOURS OF WORK - TURKEY  
BY GENDER AND AGE GROUP

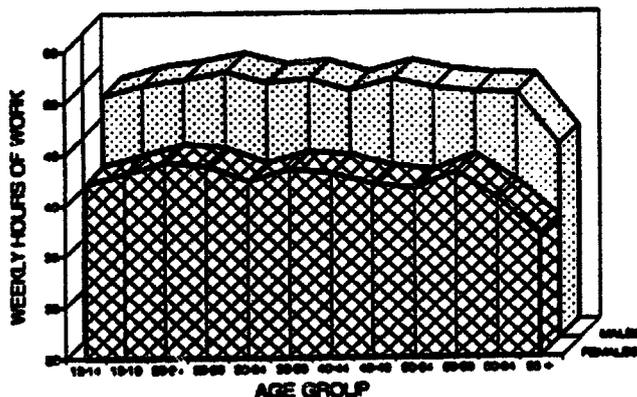


CHART 2.12B HOURS OF WORK - URBAN  
BY GENDER AND AGE GROUP

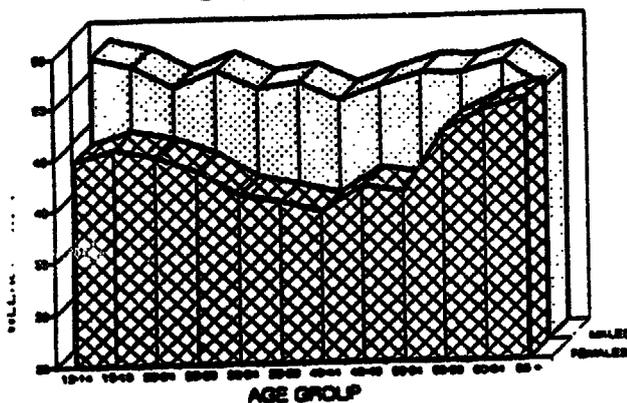
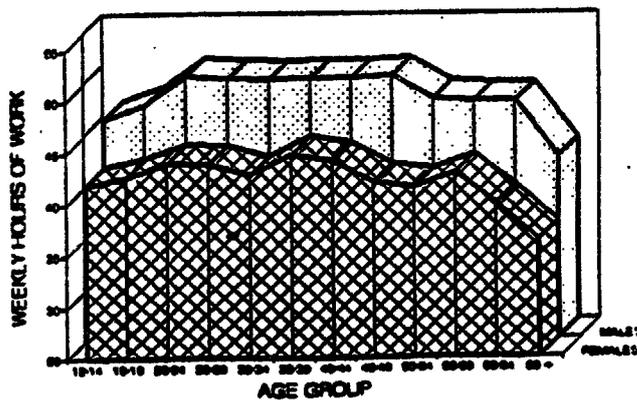


CHART 2.12C HOURS OF WORK - RURAL  
BY GENDER AND AGE GROUP



2.43 Thus, the hours worked dimension of labor supply suggests that female labor force participants devote a considerable amount of time to market work, which is in addition to household chores and childcare responsibilities. The hours worked dimension may partially explain the relatively low participation rates of women in Turkey. This underscores the usefulness of time-use data to assess how women allocate their time between nonmarket and market work, and to determine the extent to which the household responsibilities act as deterrents to employment opportunities in the labor market. Moreover, time-use information would be valuable in designing policy initiatives that would reduce women's workload in the home and in the market. These policies, in turn, could result in significant productivity increases in both the household and the workplace, as well as creating employment opportunities.

#### G. Educational Attributes of the Labor Force

2.44 The economic significance of educational attainment, as a proxy for labor force qualifications and skills, is widely recognized. It is perhaps the most important determinant of individuals' labor market outcomes - participation, type of job, unemployment and earnings. Thus, this section considers gender differences in educational attainment in the labor force for the period 1970-1990.<sup>20/</sup> During this period, significant progress has been realized in reducing the gender gap in education. Table 2.13 presents the statistical information for the country as a whole, while Table 2.14 displays urban-rural differences for 1990.

#### Nationwide Patterns

2.45 Several interesting trends emerge from the Table 2.13. Although literacy rates of women have increased sharply during the past few decades, women comprise a significant share of the labor force that is illiterate. The female portion of the illiterate work force rose slightly from 60% in 1970, to 63% in 1990. The female share of the "functionally" illiterate (literate but no diploma) work force also rose from 23% in 1970 to 30% in 1990. Women's representation in the labor force with primary schooling rose from 21% in 1970 to 27% in 1990. The patterns for junior high school and high school show a relatively constant female representation - junior high school, 13-15%; high school, 24-27%. The proportion of women in the university-educated labor force fluctuated between 1970 and 1990 but in 1990 was about 26%. In sum, the results show that the illiterate labor force is dominated by women, while the labor force with schooling consists mainly of men.

2.46 Examining gender differences in the distributions among different levels of education shows more positively the progress in women's education. The proportion of illiterate women in the female labor force has fallen dramatically from 69% in 1970 to 29% in 1990; the corresponding values for men have also fallen from 29% in 1970 to 8% in 1990. At the same time, the proportion of women with primary schooling rose from 20% in 1970 to 48% in 1990, while that of men increased from 46% to 60%. The proportion of women with post-primary schooling rose from 4% in 1970 to 15% in 1990, compared to 9% and 24% for men. These statistics on male-female trends in educational attainment suggest declining gender differences, which is confirmed by the marked decline in the DI and WE indices between 1970 and 1990.

---

<sup>20/</sup> Information was not available for the years prior to 1970.

TABLE 2.13

DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL LABOR FORCE BY EDUCATION AND GENDER, 1970-90

EDUCATION LEVEL	1970		1975		1980		1985		1990	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
	('000)									
TOTAL LABOR FORCE	9306.3	5812.5	11179.5	6204.3	12284.3	6927.9	13932.7	7647.3	14165.3	6486.2
% female		38.4		35.7		36.1		35.4		31.4
NOT REPORTED	0.0	0.0	29.3	6.6	578.1	116.2	870.7	155.7	0.0	0.0
% female		0.0		29.9		26.3		24.6		0.0
TOTAL REPORTED	9306.3	5812.5	11150.3	6197.7	11706.2	6811.7	13062.0	7491.5	14165.3	6486.2
% female		38.4		35.7		36.8		36.4		31.4
TOTAL LITERATE	6566.2	1777.1	8614.2	2805.7	9658.1	3086.1	11605.4	4604.9	13046.7	4585.9
% female		21.3		23.2		24.2		28.4		26.0
ILLITERATE	2740.2	4035.5	2536.1	3392.0	2048.1	3723.7	1456.6	2886.6	1118.6	1900.2
% female		59.6		56.6		64.5		66.5		62.9
LITERATE NO DIPLOMA	1440.6	429.5	1262.0	351.5	937.8	300.2	911.0	609.2	1192.8	499.8
% female		23.0		21.8		24.2		40.1		29.5
PRIMARY SCHOOL	4254.9	1136.8	6006.4	1919.1	6589.7	2230.8	7861.5	3294.8	6519.4	3123.8
% female		21.1		24.2		25.3		29.5		26.8
JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL	357.9	51.5	561.6	96.4	738.8	108.1	1014.3	156.6	1276.7	212.3
% female		12.6		14.7		12.6		13.4		14.3
HIGH SCHOOL	344.7	106.6	546.1	167.6	841.2	280.4	1201.2	374.8	1341.5	499.7
% female		24.0		25.6		25.0		23.6		27.1
UNIVERSITY	188.1	50.6	236.0	51.1	550.5	168.6	617.4	169.5	716.3	250.4
% female		23.2		17.6		23.4		21.5		25.9

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MALE AND FEMALE LABOR FORCE BY EDUCATION

EDUCATION LEVEL	1970		1975		1980		1985		1990	
	MALE	FEMALE								
TOTAL LABOR FORCE	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
NOT REPORTED	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.1	4.7	1.7	6.2	2.0	0.0	0.0
TOTAL REPORTED	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
TOTAL LITERATE	70.6	30.6	77.3	42.0	82.5	45.3	88.8	61.5	92.1	70.7
ILLITERATE	29.4	69.4	22.7	58.0	17.5	54.7	11.2	38.5	7.9	29.3
LITERATE NO DIPLOMA	18.5	7.4	11.3	5.7	6.0	4.4	7.0	8.1	8.4	7.7
PRIMARY SCHOOL	45.7	19.6	53.9	31.0	56.3	32.7	60.2	44.0	60.1	48.2
JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL	3.8	0.9	5.0	1.6	6.3	1.6	7.8	2.1	9.0	3.3
HIGH SCHOOL	3.7	1.9	4.9	3.0	7.2	4.1	9.2	5.0	9.5	7.7
UNIVERSITY	1.8	0.9	2.1	0.8	4.7	2.5	4.7	2.3	5.1	3.9
DI INDEX		40.0		35.2		37.2		28.5		21.4
WE INDEX		49.2		45.3		47.0		36.3		29.4

Sources: For 1985-1988, Census of Population (1988), SIS; for 1990, Household Labor Force Survey, SIS.

Notes: For 1990, 'Junior High School' and 'High School' include vocational schools at the respective levels.

The 'reported labor force' is used in the calculations. DI is the Dissimilarity index; WE is the Women and Employment index. See text for description.

**Urban-Rural Differences - 1990**

2.47 As expected, there are significant urban and rural differences in educational attainment of men and women (Table 2.14). In rural areas, the female share of the illiterate labor force is 68%, but only 35% in urban areas. The corresponding rural and urban portions for the functionally illiterate labor force is 36% and 13%.

2.48 There are also notable urban-rural differences in the educational distributions of men and women, which can be summarized as follows:

% of Labor Force that is:	Rural		Urban	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Illiterate	12	35	4	11
Functionally Illiterate	11	9	6	4
Completed Primary School	63	52	57	34
Total of Above	86	96	67	49

It is surprising to note that a significantly higher proportion of the rural rather than the urban female labor force completed only primary school and that in the urban areas, the female labor force beyond junior high school has a significantly higher educational level than their male counterparts. However, it needs to be remembered that women account for only 17% of the urban labor force.

2.49 This apparent decline in gender differences in schooling, however, conceals some important differences that may impact on women's labor market outcomes. First, the information on educational attainment concerns only people in the labor force; it thus excludes the large numbers of women who are not in the work force, especially in urban areas. Unfortunately, except for 1988-1990, there is no historical information on schooling attainment of the economically inactive population.<sup>21/</sup> Second, the data on educational attainment are used as "ersatz" indicators of labor market qualifications and skills. A serious drawback of the schooling measure is that it does not reveal either the quality of schooling, the types of courses that men and women take, and their fields of specialization or programs, especially at the post-primary levels. A related important information gap concerns the nature of formal or informal vocational and technical training acquired by men and women. Here too, there is no detailed information on aspects where there are likely to be substantial gender differences.

---

<sup>21/</sup> The Household Labor Force Surveys do not provide information on participation rates cross-classified by age, marital status and educational attainment.

TABLE 2.14

DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL LABOR FORCE, 1990  
BY RESIDENCE, EDUCATION AND GENDER

EDUCATION LEVEL	URBAN		RURAL	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
TOTAL LABOR FORCE	7080.0	1485.6	7105.2	5020.5
% FEMALE		17.2		41.4
TOTAL LITERATE	6781.0	1304.6	6285.7	3281.4
% FEMALE		16.2		34.3
ILLITERATE	299.0	181.1	819.5	1739.2
% FEMALE		35.0		68.0
LITERATE NO DIPLOMA	391.4	57.1	801.4	442.8
% FEMALE		12.7		35.6
PRIMARY SCHOOL	4049.2	502.0	4470.2	2621.8
% FEMALE		11.0		37.0
JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL	772.3	131.5	428.1	59.3
% FEMALE		14.6		12.2
VOCATIONAL JUNIOR HIGH	45.2	15.3	33.1	6.2
% FEMALE		25.3		15.7
HIGH SCHOOL	602.3	272.5	250.3	81.9
% FEMALE		31.2		24.7
VOCATIONAL HIGH SCHOOL	342.2	111.7	146.7	33.5
% FEMALE		24.6		18.6
UNIVERSITY	558.4	214.4	157.9	35.9
% FEMALE		27.7		18.5

Source: Household Labor Force Survey (1990), SIS.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF LABOR FORCE, 1990  
BY RESIDENCE, EDUCATION AND GENDER

EDUCATION LEVEL	URBAN		RURAL	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
TOTAL LABOR FORCE	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
TOTAL LITERATE	95.8	89.0	88.5	65.4
ILLITERATE	4.2	11.0	11.5	34.6
LITERATE NO DIPLOMA	5.5	3.9	11.3	8.8
PRIMARY SCHOOL	57.4	34.3	62.9	52.2
JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL	10.9	9.0	6.0	1.2
VOCATIONAL JUNIOR HIGH	0.6	1.0	0.5	0.1
HIGH SCHOOL	8.5	18.6	3.5	1.6
VOCATIONAL HIGH SCHOOL	4.8	7.6	2.1	0.7
UNIVERSITY	7.9	14.6	2.2	0.7
DI INDEX		26.7		23.1
WE INDEX		44.2		27.1

Source: Household Labor Force Survey (1990), SIS.

Note: DI is the Dissimilarity index; WE is the Women and Employment Index.

### Educational Attainment and Female Labor Force Participation

2.50 Table 2.15 and Chart 2.15 shows the relationship between schooling and female labor force participation rates. One would expect labor force participation rates to vary more by educational attainment among women than among men. It has been found in numerous econometric studies of female labor supply, in both developing and industrialized countries, that schooling is a consistent and among the most effective determinants of female participation, but much less so of men. The effects of schooling are reflected in two general ways. First, since schooling is an important determinant of market wages and work opportunities, this makes it more attractive for women to perform market rather than nonmarket work. Second, education can affect female labor supply, independent of influences through wages, by breaking down the noneconomic constraints related to the woman's (as well as her family's and society's) attitudes (or so-called "tastes") toward market work as opposed to housework. Therefore, one would expect that higher educational attainment would induce greater participation among women.

2.51 As seen in Chart 2.15 the expected relationship between educational attainment and participation rates is clearest for women in urban areas, but the pattern differs in rural areas. The data for urban areas shows that schooling has a powerful effect on the participation status of women. The participation rate of urban women with less than primary schooling is about 8%, but it rises steadily and dramatically with increased education - to 11% for those with primary education; 16% with junior high school (22% with vocational training); 39% with high school (44% with vocational high school), and 78% with university education. It is clear that urban women who have more schooling are much more likely to be in the labor market than their less-educated counterparts. The proportion of women in the working age population (12 years and over) in urban areas with less than secondary schooling, however, is large - almost 80% (23% are illiterate, 7% are functionally illiterate, and 48% have completed primary school).

2.52 In rural areas, the relationship between education and participation is different. Participation rates are relatively high among illiterate women (47%), literate women with incomplete schooling (48%), and among primary school graduates (57%). The proportion of women in the labor force in rural areas with post-primary education is very small - less than 5% - but their participation rates are higher than those of their urban counterparts.

TABLE 2.15

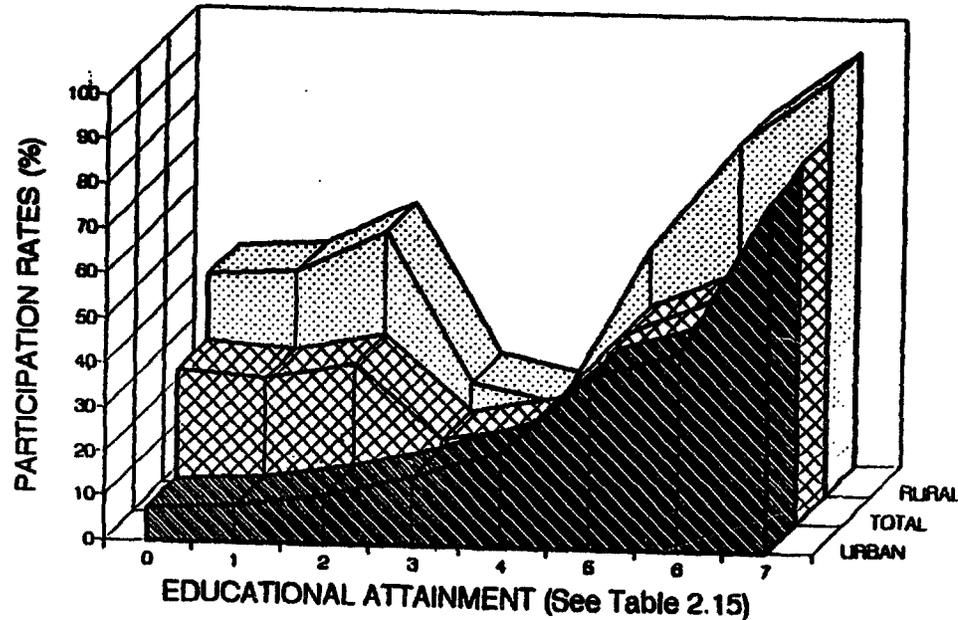
FEMALE PARTICIPATION RATES BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, 1990

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT	TOTAL							URBAN							RURAL						
	POP 12+		IN LABOR FORCE		NOT IN LABOR FORCE		PR %	POP 12+		IN LABOR FORCE		NOT IN LABOR FORCE		PR %	POP 12+		IN LABOR FORCE		NOT IN LABOR FORCE		PR %
	'000	%	'000	%	'000	%		'000	%	'000	%	'000	%		'000	%	'000	%	'000	%	
0 ILLITERATE	5919	30.5	1900	29.3	4019	31.0	32.1	2187	22.7	161	11.0	2026	24.8	7.4	3733	39.1	1739	34.6	1993	41.7	46.6
1 LITERATE NO DIPLOMA	1636	8.4	500	7.7	1136	8.8	30.6	703	7.3	57	3.9	646	7.9	8.1	833	9.5	443	8.8	490	10.3	47.5
2 PRIMARY SCHOOL	9227	47.5	3124	48.2	6103	47.1	33.9	4602	47.8	502	34.3	4100	50.2	10.9	4625	47.2	2622	52.2	2003	41.9	56.7
3 JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL	1090	5.6	191	2.9	899	6.9	17.5	842	8.7	132	9.0	710	8.7	15.6	248	2.5	59	1.2	188	3.9	23.9
4 VOCATIONAL JUNIOR HIGH	103	0.5	21	0.3	81	0.6	20.9	71	0.7	15	1.0	56	0.7	21.5	32	0.3	6	0.1	25	0.5	19.5
5 HIGH SCHOOL	853	4.4	354	5.5	499	3.9	41.5	703	7.3	273	18.6	430	5.3	38.8	150	1.5	82	1.6	68	1.4	54.5
6 VOCATIONAL HIGH SCHOOL	294	1.5	145	2.2	149	1.2	49.4	232	2.6	112	7.6	140	1.7	44.4	43	0.4	34	0.7	9	0.2	78.5
7 UNIVERSITY	313	1.6	250	3.9	62	0.5	80.1	274	2.8	214	14.6	59	0.7	78.3	39	0.4	38	0.7	3	0.1	92.4
ALL LEVELS	19435	100.0	6486	100.0	12948	100.0	33.4	9833	100.0	1466	100.0	8168	100.0	15.2	9801	100.0	5021	100.0	4781	100.0	51.2

Source: Household Labor Force Survey (1990), SIS.

Notes: Numbers may not add due to rounding; PR - Participation Rate.

CHART 2.15 FEMALE PARTICIPATION RATES BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, 1990



## H. Male-Female Earnings Differences and Social Insurance Coverage

2.53 The gender gap in earnings is an important statistic relevant to the economic status of women. However, analysis of the gender gap in Turkey is not feasible with available data for a number of reasons. First, the proportion of wage-earning women in Turkey is small: nationwide women comprise 16% of total wage earners and 19% of working women are wage earners. Since only 4% of rural working women but 57% of urban working women are employees, the gender wage gap issue is essentially one of relevance in urban areas. Second, available wage data from the Social Insurance Institution (SII) relate only to workers who are covered by social insurance schemes; in 1990, 22% of the male labor force and 6% of the female work force was covered by the SII. Thus, available data not only fail to support vigorous analysis of the gender wage differential but highlight the fact that the vast majority of working women do not enjoy the benefits of social insurance and their representation in the system is small. Namely, of wage earners, almost one-half of men were covered compared to just over 30% of women. The gender composition of social insurance recipients is similarly skewed: in 1990 women comprised only 10 percent of all workers covered by social insurance.

2.54 The available wage data from SII suggest, furthermore, that the gender gap in earnings is a non-issue - women's average (daily) earnings are 85% of those of men. This magnitude exceeds that found in all OECD countries (where women earn about 20-40% less than men). Statistically, the comparison is also spurious since it compares the average earnings of a select group of 3.07 million men and 377,000 women, nor are the data calibrated for similarity of tasks or years of experience. Although not rigorous, two data sets are indicative of the need for further analysis. First, data on agricultural day-laborers wages from the Provincial Agricultural Directorates for various provinces in 1990 (see Annex 5, Table 13), suggest a wage differential in the range of 40%. Second, using SII data, the ratio of female/male wages for various manufacturing subsectors for 1983 and 1988 show that women on average earn 20% to 30% less than men (Annex 4, Table 14). Simultaneously, the need for further research on the gender wage issue and the impact of adjustment is underscored by the marked decline in the ratio of female/male wages (averaging 25-30%) for all manufacturing subsectors (except leather goods and fabricated metals) revealed by the SII data for 1983 and 1988. Earnings data for wage and self-employed workers are collected in the Household Labor Force Surveys; while these data would underpin the necessary analysis, to date, they have not been released. More attention in terms of data collection, analysis, and policy initiatives must be given to this question because a higher proportion of the female work force will engage in paid market work activities during the process of urbanization and industrialization. Finally, it should be noted that the issue of pay equity cannot be separated from that of gender segregation of the labor market.

## I. Policy Implications

2.55 Based on the patterns and findings concerning the labor force activities of Turkish women, this section proposes proactive policy responses that would enhance the ability of women to become effective agents in Turkey's development. The economic transformation of Turkey will likely continue to be reflected in rapidly falling rural and slowly rising urban participation rates of women during the 1990s. Whether or not, and how quickly, a U-shaped relationship materializes depends largely on two considerations: the availability of employment opportunities for women and the supply of skilled and qualified women who could take advantage of these opportunities.

2.56 An important - if not the key element - is education, which is interpreted here to include all forms of schooling: formal and informal, adult education, vocational and on-the-job training. Raising women's educational attainments or earnings capacity - especially at the post-primary levels and in programs, courses, and fields of study that would meet the skill requirements of industrialization - will improve both economic efficiency and women's economic status. Increased education will raise their participation rates, reduce the likelihood of unemployment and increase continuity in their labor force attachment. Moreover, changing the patterns of women's education will likely reduce the gender wage gap and segregation in the work place, as well as provide young girls and boys - and adults - with different attitudes towards the gender division of labor. The policy response for integrating women in the development process needs therefore to focus on broadening women's skill range.

2.57 Much of the observed gender disparity in participation rates and earnings, and the persistence of segregation in the work force can be attributed to gender differences in education and training. Further narrowing these differences will impact favorably on the status of women and thereby, Turkey's overall development. If educational policies are to be successful in removing gender disparities in the work place, they must be complemented by labor market-related initiatives. In other words, changing educational policies is a necessary but not sufficient condition for improving the status of women. To this end, there are several policy measures that could be pursued.

2.58 For instance, progress towards eliminating gender segregation can be made by the Government itself setting an example to ensure symbolically and substantively, that gender segregation is not perpetuated. The implementation of employment equity initiatives, along the lines pursued in Canada (see Box 1 below), would represent an important step in facilitating the equal access of women to employment opportunities that have traditionally been dominated by men, as well as the newly-emerging work prospects that will become available during the continuing transformation of the economy. Action in this area, would need to be coordinated with other initiatives.

2.59 Some of the existing protective legislation which was designed to ensure that women are not exposed to hazardous physical or moral conditions in the workplace, precludes their employment of women in jobs that are deemed "unsuitable" for them. Consideration needs to be given to repealing these measures as they have the unintended effect of restricting women's job opportunities. As evidenced by the negligible female representation in industries including heavy industry, mining, construction, utilities and transportation (Table 2.6), these measures contribute to gender segregation. This legislation also influences educational choices of women and discourages them from even entering particular occupations. The experience of several countries has shown that the repeal of this legislation is unlikely to result in a massive and immediate influx of female truck drivers, construction workers, heavy equipment operators and miners. Rescinding the laws will, however, play a significant role as a signal in changing the attitudes of men and women towards "suitable" women's work; it will also influence young women's educational choices for their future careers. The negative sociological and psychological impacts of protective legislation should not be underestimated.

2.60 There are also constraints emanating from the labor market that make it difficult for women to seek market work. Women are hampered in their market work opportunities by labor demand constraints and by employment costs. Labor demand constraints, which generally arise from labor standards legislation and collective agreements, are reflected in minimum working hours and by rigid work schedules. These constraints compound the difficulty of combining market work with household responsibilities. Encouraging (or mandating) employers (especially in the industrial and services sectors) to provide more flexible time arrangements by modifying labor laws governing working hours would be a useful policy measure. Women's employment opportunities are further influenced by the costs of employment - the location of the jobs reflected in commute time and expenditures on items such as clothing, childcare and meals. While the necessary data on Turkey are not available, the information from other countries clearly show that "fixed costs" of employment are in practice very significant for women (especially among wives and female-headed households) and play a prime role in influencing the entry of women into the labor force and the types of jobs they will seek. Enforcement of existing regulations regarding enterprise childcare facilities and encouragement to establish community or family childcare facilities would be beneficial (see also para. 3.41).

2.61 The vast majority of women in the labor force - 94% have no social insurance coverage. As a first step, a target could be set to equalize the proportion of working women covered by social insurance with that of working men (22%). The inferior access of women, especially unpaid family workers, to social security rights suggests a violation of Article 60 of the Constitution of Turkey ("Everybody has the right to Social Security"). As a first step, and in light of the need to re-vamp the existing insurance system, a review of the present system and its future adequacy should be undertaken, giving specific consideration to means of increasing women's coverage with the objective of equalizing their coverage with that of men within a specified period.

2.62 A further, and highly significant area of policy initiatives to increase the visibility of women concerns the collection and publication of data. A comprehensive and up-to-date data base containing socioeconomic indicators on the role and situation of women vis-à-vis men is a sine qua non for analyzing, evaluating, and improving women's relative economic status and for monitoring the impacts of female-oriented and structural adjustment initiatives. Consideration should therefore be given to introducing the following measures:

Publication of an Annual Statistical Report on the Socioeconomic Status of Women : This would be a useful and inexpensive means, inter alia, of reducing female invisibility. The report, which could follow ILO, OECD, and/or UN standards, would collate and summarize existing information on socioeconomic indicators that are already available. The Canadian approach is illustrative. Each year, since the late 1950s, the Canadian Women's Bureau has published a "Women in the Labour Force" report, which contains contemporary and historical gender-disaggregated information on labor force activities, earnings and income, education, benefits and unionization. In addition, Statistics Canada (the Federal government statistical agency) publishes a document called "Women in Canada", which, in addition to labor market aspects, also provides information on health, education, the family, housing, the legal system and minority groups. SIS has recently announced its plans to publish a document titled "Women in Statistics" in October 1992; the frequency of publication will be decided by demand.

Undertaking Policy-Relevant research on women's labor force behavior either within SIS or by outside researchers. There are numerous such studies for various developing countries and at least one econometric study of female labor supply for each OECD country, excepting Portugal and Turkey).<sup>22/</sup> Simultaneously, analysis of gender differences in wages, schooling attainment, poverty, unemployment and the impact of migration and legislation could usefully be undertaken.

2.63 The implementation of the revised nationwide Household Labor Force Surveys beginning in 1988 represents a significant improvement over the Census in providing labor market information, especially in reducing the statistical invisibility of women's work. The continued implementation of the surveys should be strongly encouraged. However, insufficient published data are currently made available to permit a thorough assessment of the role and contributions of women in the Turkish economy. In particular, data on gender-disaggregated average earnings, family characteristics and broken down by the major metropolitan areas should be made available.

---

<sup>22/</sup> For collections and summaries of recent studies on female labor force behavior in OECD and other industrialized countries (the Soviet Union, Israel, Sweden) see: Layard and Mincer (1985), Killingsworth and Heckman (1986), and Moffitt (1990). As regards developing countries, recent studies include those by Arriagada (1990) on Peru; Behrman and Wolfe (1984) on Nicaragua; House (1985) on Cyprus; Khandker and King (1990) on Peru; Mackinnon-Scott (1991a, 1991b) on Bolivia and Jamaica; Mohan (1986) on Colombia; Ng (1990) on Argentina, Terrell (1989) on Guatemala, and Stelcner, Smith, Breslaw, and Monette (1991) on Brazil.

2.64 Modifications of, and additions to, the well-designed labor force survey or the planned Income and Expenditure Survey could provide valuable policy-relevant information at low incremental cost. Specifically, the addition of information on time use by household members (see Box 2 below); retrospective information on lifetime and recent (5 years) market work history; data on inter-labor force turnover (weeks worked per year); data on spells and duration of unemployment and withdrawal from the labor force and reasons (e.g. pregnancy, return to school, husband does not want me to work); housing characteristics (e.g. water supply, electricity, fuel and major household appliances); education (e.g. field of study at the post-primary level, reasons for leaving school); fertility (e.g. how many children have you given birth to, do you plan to have any more children, how many, use of birth control); migration status and reasons; and social security coverage and unionization by gender. The benefits of a more detailed annual survey along these lines would readily exceed those of the current biannual surveys, while the costs would likely be of the same magnitude. These changes would support analysis and research into the consequences of economic change, and the character and effectiveness of policy interventions, in addition to issues relating to women's fuller integration into the economy.

2.65 In addition to family responsibilities, women in the labor force work long hours - frequently, unpaid. In rural areas, household responsibilities, may be shared by other female family members. However, this is less likely to be the case in urban areas where families are smaller and female school enrollment rates are higher. Women, regardless of educational attainment, face the issue of time allocation between market work and household responsibilities. If they perform market work, they carry a double burden. As in the OECD countries, and notwithstanding improvements in the technology of housework, their education, or even household income, women's responsibilities for maintaining and managing the household are unlikely to change. The social convention that women are responsible for household work hinders their labor market activity. Changing social conventions and ingrained attitudes among men and women is not an easy task. However, policy responses in the form of "moral suasion" are possible. For example, through promotional and publicity campaigns (e.g. TV programs, documentaries and media advertising by government) showing men helping in household chores, women working in "male-dominated" occupations, and publicizing the dilemmas that working women face in juggling their time. While the impact of this publicity will probably be greatest on younger people, a message will also be conveyed to employers of large numbers of women.

2.66 Another set of nonmarket policies that would reduce the double load of working women concerns improvements in living conditions, especially among the urban poor and in the South-Eastern provinces. Increased provision of amenities such as water, sewerage, heating and cooking fuels would ease the burden of housework. Also, improvements in health services, especially for children, and the availability of childcare facilities would make market and nonmarket work more compatible.

#### BOX 2: TIME USE SURVEYS

Official data collection methods, in general, pay little attention to the question of time use, let alone the value of non-market activities. The issue is of less interest for men since almost all of their work time is spent on activities that generate market earnings, and hence are reported in the official statistics, in contrast to women, whose work activities (both in the household and market) tend to be under-enumerated. With their market work opportunities constrained by household responsibilities (child care and housework) and with work on the farm or in the family enterprises frequently unpaid, information on how women use their time can be used to pinpoint the problems and trade-offs that women face, as well as assessing their contributions to the well-being of their families. The evidence from time-use studies in other countries shows that women work longer hours than men, and that the poorer the country, the more hours women work. At the same time, the studies show that women make a significant contribution to the well-being of their families, communities, and society. Such information can be used to design female-oriented policy interventions relating for instance to child-care (including investment incentives and tax credits), access to financial resources and to amenities (fuel, water and electricity), and the development of technologies, tools and materials that would improve women's productivity in the home and in the labor market.

Time allocation profiles could be generated by adding the following type of questions to the surveys: how many hours do you usually devote to: animal care, working fields, child care, handicrafts, weaving, household chores (e.g. cooking, shopping, cleaning) and to "passive" leisure (e.g. sleeping, recreation, eating, health care and personal appearance and religious activities). Although the information would not reflect the monetary value of the activities, it would indicate the potential areas for policy interventions to reduce the work burden of women - both participants and non-participants. Collecting time use data is also an important step in reducing the statistical invisibility of housework and thereby recognizing more explicitly women's contributions. Successful time allocation surveys have been conducted in most OECD and Eastern European countries and in a number of developing countries, for instance Nepal, Indonesia, Peru and Philippines. Recognizing the importance of housework, more attention is being given to this issue in industrialized countries. In a recent study, Juster and Stafford (1990) provide an interesting international analysis of time devoted to housework by men and women in industrialized economies. Among the more interesting findings are that, the amount of such work performed by men varies considerably - from about 18 hours per week in Norway and Sweden to less than 4 hours per week in Japan. Their data also suggest that the amount of time devoted to housework by women does not vary much with their labor force status. The UN (1991) provides a useful summary of available statistics on time use in various industrialized and developing countries.

2.67 In conclusion, it should be noted out that in December 1989, the members of the European Council (excepting the UK) adopted The Community Charter of the Fundamental Social Rights of Workers (the "Social Charter"). The Charter mandates the Commission of the European Communities to produce an action program and regularly report on the implementation of the principles of the Charter. An important feature of the Charter is section 16 entitled Equal Treatment for Men and Women which states that:

"Equal opportunities for men and women must be developed. To this end, action should be intensified to ensure implementation of the principle of equality between men and women as regards in particular access to employment, remuneration, working conditions, social protection, education, vocational training and career development. Measures should also be developed enabling men and women to reconcile their occupational and family obligations."

The EC is now finalizing a Social Charter Action Program which contains proactive policy recommendations that are particularly relevant to the status of women. In addition to fostering the enforcement of the principle of pay equity between men and women, several other women-related measures of the Program deserve mention. First, initiatives must be developed to improve the training, employment and career development needs of women by providing full access to vocational training and retraining on a strictly non-discriminatory basis. Second, gender equality in matters of social security must be ensured in all work activities, regardless of the size of the enterprise, worker status, or economic sector of activity. Third, to reconcile market work and family obligations and recognizing the growing importance of working women with children, the Action Program advocates improving the quantity and quality of childcare services for parents who are employed or in education or training programs. It is also recommended that the member states take measures to enable parents to have access to the childcare services by instituting flexible work schedules and leave arrangements for employed parents, and to encourage the equal sharing of household responsibilities between men and women.

2.68 Turkey has ratified the Social Charter (with some reservations) as well as the UN Convention for the Elimination of All Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and numerous international labor conventions. Ratification, as seen from the statistics cited in this report (Chapter V below), does not necessarily and readily translate into implementation and enforcement. Nonetheless, Government's ratification of the Social Charter and the anticipated adoption by the EC in the near future of the Action Program, will contribute positively to an environment supportive to women's further integration.

## CHAPTER III: WOMEN IN THE ECONOMY

### A. Introduction

3.01 While Chapter II above focussed on the issues relating to women's participation arising from the official labor force statistics over the past four decades, this chapter goes beyond the data to address the issues and constraints currently faced by women in the major sectors, including women working in the informal sector - an estimated 0.5-1 million women - who do not appear in the official labor force statistics. This chapter first describes women's contribution to the agricultural, industrial and service sectors and then addresses, inter alia, the structural and institutional constraints to women's productivity, their access to resources and inputs, including health, education and training. Alleviation of these constraints would simultaneously increase economic efficiency, promote development and improve the relative status of women. Furthermore, enhancing the participation of women in economic development has intergenerational implications since the greater economic independence of women is shown to be positively related to improvements in children's health, nutrition and education.

### B. Women's Work and Employment Patterns

3.02 According to the most recently published Labor Force Survey (April 1990) there are approximately 6.5 million women in the labor force and 14.2 million men - a female labor force participation rate (FLFPR) of 33% compared to 74% for males (Table 2.1). As noted in Chapter II above, there are marked differences in participation by residence: the participation rates for women and men in rural areas are 51% and 78% respectively, and in urban areas, 15% and 70% respectively (Table 2.7). Given the urban migration since the 1950's and the economic standing of migrant families, the continuing low urban female participation rate is surprising. This is attributed, at least partially, to the omission from official labor statistics of informal sector workers, as well as more limited opportunities for women's employment in urban areas and social constraints to their employment. As seen in the educational attainment levels (Chapter II), women's limited skills and training relative to men may also make it more difficult for them to obtain employment in the urban formal sector. These differential urban-rural participation patterns underline the need to address separately the issues facing women in the urban and rural areas. In this chapter, the industry and services sector and agriculture are used as proxies reflecting the participation patterns in these areas.

3.03 Table 3.1 below, which summarizes the sectoral employment patterns for men and women, shows that a majority of women in the labor force are concentrated in the agricultural sector, while men are more evenly distributed across economic sectors. Also, as noted in Chapter II, 68% of the women in the labor force in 1990 were unpaid family workers and 25% were wage earners or self-employed, compared to 14% of men who were unpaid and 82% who were wage earners or self-employed (Table 2.4).

**Table 3.1: Distribution of Labor Force by Economic Sector, 1990**

	Total	Women ( '000s)	Men	Females (% of Female Labor Force)	Males (% of Male Labor Force)	Females (% of Total Labor Force)	Males (% of Total Labor Force)
Agriculture	9,666	4,802	4,864	74	34	50	50
Industry	3,829	455	3374	7	24	12	88
Services	6,128	768	5360	12	38	13	87
Unknown	1,027	460	567	7	4	45	55
<b>Total</b>	<b>20,650</b>	<b>6,485</b>	<b>14,165</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>69</b>

Source: Table 2.6.

Note: Industry includes manufacturing, mining, construction and utilities. Services includes trade, transportation, business services and other services. Unknown refers to first time job-seekers.

**(i) The Agricultural Sector**

3.04 The agricultural sector employs almost three quarters of the female labor force and, of the total agricultural labor force, one half is female (Table 3.1). It is also significant that of all women working in agriculture, almost two-thirds work 40 hours or more and 20% work 60 hours or more<sup>1/</sup>, but that only an estimated 3% of women in agriculture receive a wage, 92% are unpaid family helpers and 5% are self-employed.<sup>2/</sup> Notwithstanding the involvement of women in this sector, their role is not addressed in available data, studies or programs relating to the agricultural sector. Thus, Annex 5 represents probably the first attempt in English to analyze women's involvement in agriculture. In the absence of concrete information, the analysis of women in agriculture in this report is based on micro-level data and case studies, primarily sociological and anthropological.

3.05 Although women are engaged in almost all activities in agriculture, the extent of their participation depends to a large extent on the income and size of the homestead, the topography of the region and the extent of mechanization (Annex 5). In general, women's participation is higher in lower income and small farm households, in hilly or mountainous areas than in the plains,<sup>3/</sup> and more in crops/activities that are less

<sup>1/</sup> See Household Labor Force Survey. SIS, April, 1990. Table 12.

<sup>2/</sup> Ibid, Table 11.

<sup>3/</sup> This is because hand harvesting and hoeing, primarily female tasks, are required in these areas since the topography is not suited to mechanization. Also, livestock production, which is female-labor intensive, is important in these regions.

mechanized.<sup>4/</sup> Women's participation is limited in commercial crops (such as cereals) where most operations are mechanized and greatest in self-consumption crops (particularly, vegetables, fruit, pulses and small livestock). Activities that are female-intensive include hoeing, weeding and hand harvesting<sup>2/</sup>; male-intensive activities include pruning, grafting, and mechanized operations<sup>5/</sup> (such as soil preparation, seeding, fertilization, chemical spraying, irrigating and harvesting) and marketing. With respect to livestock, men focus on field activities and marketing, while women are responsible for the remaining tasks (milking, feeding and cleaning the stalls and animals). For homestead poultry production, women carry out most tasks but for market-oriented, larger-scale operations men assume overall responsibility. Women are also involved to a large extent in sericulture, and increasingly in apiculture.

3.06 For those women employed in the agricultural sector who receive a wage, there is little information on wages and even less on gender differentials. Until 1989, the minimum wage for agricultural workers was set separately from other workers and was lower. The only regular source of wage data is the Social Insurance Institution (SII). Social security was extended in 1983 to self-employed agricultural workers (Law No. 2926) and unpaid family workers (Law No. 2925). The coverage of women, however, is limited: in 1990, while women constituted 50% of the agricultural labor force, they constituted 9% of insured workers in the agriculture, animal husbandry and forestry sub-sectors and less than 1% in fishery. While the sample population is limited, wage data for insured workers show a narrow wage differential: female wages were 80% of male wages in agriculture and animal husbandry, 89% in forestry and 73% in fisheries (Annex 5, Table 14). Recent data on daily wages of male and female agricultural workers in 18 provinces collected by the Provincial Agricultural Directorates suggest a wage differential of 40% (Annex 5, Table 13).

3.07 Notwithstanding the importance of women to the agricultural sector, women do not enjoy ready access to agricultural resources and support services such as extension and training, information, credit or appropriate technology. With respect to the extension and training system, women are constrained since the village extension agents who work with the farmers directly are invariably male while the home economists, who also work in the villages, are all female. This occupational segregation is, in large part, the result of the training system whereby village extension training programs are given in the Boys Vocational Schools (dormitory programs) and the Home

---

<sup>4/</sup> The regression results in a study of 290 women in 32 villages of Erzurum also support this, Erturk (1988), "Women's Participation in Agriculture in the Villages of Erzurum, Turkey", FAO. p. 31.

<sup>2/</sup> Threshing, winnowing, crop processing, cleaning, drying, storage.

<sup>5/</sup> There is some evidence of a change in this practice. Women in many regions of Turkey are actively enrolling in training courses on mechanization and tractor driving organized by the MARA (Annex 5).

Economics programs in the Girls Vocational Schools.<sup>U</sup> While the male extension agents are undoubtedly willing to work with women, they are required to contact a particular number of farmers, who are defined as the titled owner. Thus advising women in their farm activities would be in addition to the agent's routine work load. Simultaneously, while there are women who can talk freely with the extension agents in the absence of a male relative, this is the exception rather than the rule. The curricula of extension programs and research undertaken also reveals a bias towards commercial crops, which tend to be male-intensive activities. Village extension meetings are also attended primarily by men, thus women rely on their menfolks for dissemination of information. In fact, the case studies are replete with instances of extension agents providing training to men for women's activities. In terms of access to credit, the results of the credit questionnaire submitted to Ziraat Bank regional branches (Section C below and Annex 6) suggests that women receive little agricultural credit. Similarly, technology improvements in the agricultural sector have tended to benefit commercial crops with only limited development of technology for female-intensive activities. In light of the increasing educational attainment of rural women over the past decade, which may seriously affect female participation in agriculture in the coming decade, consideration needs to be given not only to the likely availability of female labor in the sector over the decade, but to the consequent need for technology, extension services, credit and research.

(ii) The Industrial Sector

3.08 According to the 1990 Labor Force Survey, 7% of employed women worked in the industrial sector and they constituted 12% of the industrial labor force (Table 3.1). The differential employment growth by gender in the industrial sector between 1970 and 1990 is significant: the female industrial labor force grew by 50% (from 304,000 to 455,000) while the male industrial labor force more than doubled (from 1.5 million to 3.4 million). It is also important to note that three-quarters of the women employed in the industrial sector live in urban areas and that over three-quarters are wage-earners (compared to 3% in agriculture), 9% are self-employed, less than 1% are employers (compared to 4% of men) and 12% are unpaid family workers. For the industrial sector - and the service sector - it is also important to know whether the person works in a formal or informal enterprise and the location of employment - homebased, workshop or formal enterprise.<sup>B</sup> Based on LFS definitions, approximately 53% of all women working in rural industries worked

---

<sup>U</sup> At a higher level in the Provincial Directorates, extension workers (including home economists) are university graduates and gender segregation of training is not a factor; nonetheless, at this level, women are rarely found working in the extension services other than as home economists.

<sup>B</sup> The 1990 LFS defines an informal enterprise as one employing less than five people. However, in practice, an informal enterprise is distinguished rather by its observation of labor regulations (for instance, minimum wage, payment of overtime, job security, working conditions).

in informal enterprises and 24% in urban industries.<sup>9/</sup> Of the women working in informal enterprises in both urban and rural areas, more-than three-quarters are homebased. The data on informal workers in both the industry and service sectors, however, are considered to be a serious under-estimate of the number of people working, and particularly of women.

3.09 The industrial sector consists of four subsectors: manufacturing, mining and quarrying, construction, and gas and electricity. In terms of female employment, the industrial sector is virtually synonymous with the manufacturing industry; since the 1950s some 97% of all women in the industrial sector have been employed in manufacturing (Annex 4).<sup>10/</sup> Within the manufacturing sector, there is an extremely high concentration of women in the textiles (66%) and food (14%) industries, followed by machinery and equipment (7%) (Annex 4, Table 4). The first censuses (1913 and 1915) show that this concentration is a longstanding one, reflecting, to a large degree, the employment of women in activities that are an extension of their traditional household duties.

3.10 As regards to occupational status, the majority (80%) of employees in manufacturing - both male and female - are in the "production and related workers" category. Employment of both men and women in this category has fallen consistently since 1950, when approximately 95% of employees were in "production". The greatest growth of female employment in the manufacturing sector has taken place in the "scientific, technical and professional", clerical and service workers categories,<sup>11/</sup> whereas for men the employment growth has been concentrated in "administrative and managerial" and service workers. The gender differential is greatest in the "administrative and managerial" category - and the differential appears to be increasing (Annex 4, Table 5). Within the "production and related workers" group it is important to note that women are concentrated in four subgroups: 45% work as spinners, weavers, knitters, dyers and related workers; 25% work as tailors, dressmakers, seamstresses, upholsterers; 6% work as food and beverage processors and 5% in tobacco processing.

3.11 Data summarizing employment status by gender in the manufacturing sector show a significant increase in the proportion of female wage earners in the manufacturing sector between 1970 and 1985<sup>12/</sup> - from 40% to 79% and a steady decline in the proportion of unpaid family workers from 18% in 1970 to

---

<sup>9/</sup> Labor Force Survey, SIS, April 1990, Table 47.

<sup>10/</sup> The data on the manufacturing sector here are based primarily on the 1985 Population Census rather than the Labor Force Surveys since for disaggregation at the sub-sectoral level the sample size is not sufficient (Annex 3).

<sup>11/</sup> Until 1965, clerical workers were included in the administrative category.

<sup>12/</sup> There are significant discontinuities within the Census data for the manufacturing sector (notably for 1955, 1960 and 1970) and between the Census and the Labor Force Survey data.

12% in 1985 (Annex 4, Table 7). These trends are much stronger than for the industry sector as a whole (see Chapter II). The trends in female employment in the manufacturing sector suggests that while their employment growth was not rapid, that the sector has created significant job opportunities since 1970. The trends also suggest that to the extent that employment opportunities develop for women, that women take the opportunities regardless of factors such as perceived inferior status (for instance, of factory work) or social pressures. The data also supports trends in other countries - that initially, the majority of women work as unpaid workers, assisting their male relatives, mainly due to the lack of job opportunities in modern organized sectors. When opportunities do emerge, they prefer working in the factories rather than in homebased industries. Working outside of the home corresponds with an improvement in their status within the family.

3.12 The decline in the proportion of self-employed women from just over 40% in 1970 to 9% in 1985 deserves elaboration. While the fluctuations undoubtedly reflect changing statistical definitions, their decline is, at least, partially real. For instance, looking at sub-sectors, the proportion of tailors (seamstresses) as a subgroup of self-employed women was 82% in 1970 but fell to 32% in 1985. As ready-made clothing dominates the market, fewer people continue to wear tailored clothes and this inevitably reduced tailors' livelihoods. A continuing decline in this category is expected as ready-made clothing increases its share of the clothing market. The share of women who are classified as "employers" is very small and has remained stable in the Census data whereas the male share has grown steadily. This reflects in part the prevailing view that it is inappropriate for a woman to run a workplace by herself, given the competitive nature of the manufacturing industry, the type of work involved and the conditions of workplaces.

3.13 The female labor force in the industrial sector is relatively young. The highest activity ages of women are between 15-24 years (almost 40% of the sectoral labor force) and if the 12-14 age group is also included, women under the age of 25 comprise 50% of the female manufacturing labor force (Annex 4, Table 10). The male participation rates for the 15-24 years group is 28% and for the 12-24 age group, 31%. The difference in gender participation rates at these ages reflects very largely parents' differential schooling preferences for sons and daughters. After 25, female participation rates decline consistently with age, reflecting both their roles as wives and mothers but also, a marked preference of employers for younger women, who are considered to be both more productive and obedient. Frequently, an age limit of 25 is set for applicants.

3.14 The educational attainments of the female labor force in the manufacturing sector has increased considerably in recent years - the percentage of "illiterate" and "literate without a diploma" women fell from 45% in 1970 to 16% in 1985; while the corresponding decline for men was from 20% to 7% (Annex 4, Table 11). Although considerable progress has been realized in narrowing the educational gender gap, the female labor force remains at a disadvantage. Data on the source of training of the skilled labor force also underscores the importance of schooling in the employment of women - 45% of skilled women received their training at school compared to 18% of men (Annex 4, Table 12). It is also significant that 59% of men compared to 34% of women received their training on the job.

3.15 Minimum wages are set at a minimum every two years by the Minimum Wage Board in the Ministry of Labor. In July 1991, the minimum monthly wage for workers aged 16 and over was set at TL801,000 (US\$195), or in net terms about TL502,911 (US\$123). Data on wages which would permit analysis of the gender differential are not published. The only regular source of wage information in Turkey is the Social Insurance Institution, (SII) but these data need to be treated cautiously since only 6% of the female labor force is covered by SII and the sample size in the sub-sectors can be extremely small. Nonetheless, the ratio of men's and women's wages using SII data for different sub-branches of the manufacturing industry in 1983 and 1988 show that women on average earn 20 to 30% less than men (Annex 4, Table 14). The 1988 data suggest that women do relatively less well in tobacco, textiles, clothing - all of which are relatively female-dominated sectors - and in, petroleum, and transportation and communication. They receive the highest relative pay in leather manufacturing, furniture and fabricated metals - which are relatively male-dominated sectors. Perhaps of greater interest, is the decline in the female/male wage ratio for almost all sectors - except leather manufacturing, furniture and fabricated metals between 1983 and 1988.

3.16 According to the Turkish Labor Code, the official working week in factories is forty-five hours, although there are exceptions. During the peak seasons, factories may resort to overtime work and employees are not always in a position to refuse working. Small firms which are difficult to regulate, when extending the working week, may or may not pay their workers for overtime work. In contrast, larger firms usually comply with regulations and pay overtime. The practice of shift work also depends on firm size and the nature of the business. During the 1980s, with increased production stemming to a large extent from increased capacity utilization, shift work increased. Both the legal environment and tradition work to minimize female shift work, thus closing off many sectors to their employment.

3.17 Turning to the informal sector, it should be noted that the workshop is most usually found in the textile and leather garment industries, where sub-contracting by large enterprises is prevalent, and in carpet-weaving. Workshops permit larger firms to reduce costs, circumvent regulations and to recruit women who may have difficulty working outside of their community. Workshops may be family workshops, in which case the women may not be paid since their work is part of the family effort, or commercial, where wages would be paid.

3.18 Although technically homebased production includes self-employment, it is used in Turkey primarily to refer to the putting-out system, whereby agents (middlemen - who are often relatives) supply raw materials to the producers, mostly women, who are paid on a piece-rate basis. The putting-out systems covers a wide range of activities in Turkey: carpet and rug weaving, handloom weaving of local textiles, lace making, embroidery, crocheting, knitting, tailoring, souvenirs and food production. The system is advantageous to the agents who have minimal overhead costs and no capital expenditures. From the point of view of women, homebased work provides flexibility, does not interfere with their household responsibilities, and provides an opportunity to earn - although wages are low. For instance in Ankara province in mid-1991, women were found to receive TL5,000 (\$1.25) for

knitting an intricate sweater - a minimum of 20 hours work. Similarly, in Konya in 1991 women weaving carpets for a cooperative (without middlemen) received approximately TL270,000 (\$65) for a carpet which takes about one month working 50-60 hours a week. The reasons for the low earnings of women in the informal sector reflect both the nature of their work and status: specifically, their productivity is low (Ayata, 1987); there are no alternative sources of employment; regulations as to minimum wages and working conditions are difficult to enforce; and, reflecting the patriarchal structure of the household, the male members of the household generally set or negotiate the rates with the middlemen or employers and receive the earnings. Whether they work at home or in a workshop, the wage earned by women tends to be seen as an additional income supplementing that of their husbands or fathers; for example, Berik (1987) found that the male relatives received the earnings directly in 70% of cases.

3.19 To summarize, while only 7% of women in the labor force are employed in the industrial sector, the analysis shows a high degree of job segregation - 80% of women work in the textiles and food industries and of these, 80% are in the lower occupational (production) ranks. The data also show that the rate of growth of women in the industrial sector since 1970 has lagged behind that of men, although official statistics largely exclude informal employment in workshops and at home. Employment in the informal sector is difficult to gauge, but is widely believed to have grown rapidly during the past decade as real incomes fell in the course of adjustment; unofficial estimates add 0.5-1 million women to the official estimates.

3.20 In short, and as in many middle-income developing countries, a significant part of the female industrial labor force is statistically invisible. This underlines the need not only to conduct time-use studies and to strengthen the labor force surveys, but more importantly, to revisit and enforce labor legislation, to reconsider Government support for homebased work and to improve and broaden women's employment prospects, including their access to resources, and in particular to credit.

### (iii) The Services Sector

3.21 Approximately 12% of employed women work in the services sector, and they constitute about 13% of the documented labor force in the sector (Table 3.1). The services sector is defined to include four subsectors: wholesale and retail trade; transportation, communication, and storage; financial and business services; and community, social, and personal services. About 63% of all women employed in the sector are in community, social and personal services, followed by trade (18%), business services (14%), and transport and communication (5%) in that order. Compared to industry, the services sector has been one of relatively rapid employment growth for women. Between 1970-1990 the female labor force in the services sector grew three-fold (from 255,000 to 768,000) compared to a 50% increase in industry (from 304,000 to 455,000). In the same period, the employment of men in the services sector doubled (from 2.5 million to 5.4 million). In the services sector, as in the industrial sector, there is a serious under-estimation of workers, and especially of women.

3.22 The community, personal and social services subsector encompasses a wide range of occupations from government employees, professionals and clerical staff to domestics. The distribution of women within this category (Table 3.2), characterises some of the issues facing Turkish women today. The proportion of professional, scientific and technical personnel is high - 51%, and yet the proportion in administrative or managerial positions is low - 1%. Notwithstanding the high proportion of professionals, micro-level data suggests that women are segregated in the lower ranks of each profession. For instance, in academia women account for 32% of all faculty - but 20% of full professors, 30% of instructors, 35% of research assistants and 54% of "other" (mostly language teachers).<sup>13/</sup> In government, women account for just over 25% of professional staff,<sup>14/</sup> but there are no female undersecretaries, 3-5 director-generals, and a small percentage of directors and chiefs in the line ministries (OECD data forthcoming). Similarly in the health sector, there is a greater concentration of women in the paramedical ranks (Annex 2).

**TABLE 3.2: Distribution of Employed Women in Community, Social and Personal Services by Occupational Groups, 1990**

Occupational Groups	%
Scientific, technical, professional, and related workers	51.0
Administrative, executive, and managerial workers	1.0
Clerical and related workers	27.0
Sales	0.3
Services	20.0
Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries	0.0
Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and laborers	0.7
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Household Labor Force Survey, SIS, 1990, Table 9.

<sup>13/</sup> Acar, in Abadan-Unat (1981) and GÖT and OECD (1989).

<sup>14/</sup> Yayan (1984), "The Role of Women in the Turkish Economy", Social Planning Department., Ankara.

### C. Issues and Proposals Concerning Women's Productivity

3.23 Drawing on the issues raised in Section B, this section attempts to identify both the constraints facing women in all sectors of the economy and alleviating measures. Many of the constraints are cross-sectoral, others sector specific.

#### (i) Cross-Sectoral Constraints

3.24 The major cross-sectoral constraints identified are: awareness of women's contribution; access to resources and, in particular, credit; the legal environment; and the general infrastructure of the economy.

##### a) Awareness of Women's Contribution

3.25 Notwithstanding the major contribution of women both in the marketplace and the homestead their output is not fully recognized. There are many reasons for this: their role in the labor market; their statistical invisibility; and the lack of knowledge as to women's role. For instance, in the rural labor force, the majority of employed women work in the agricultural sector and are unpaid. Similarly, for women working in the rural industries, their husbands or fathers tend to receive their wages directly. In the urban areas, the female participation rate is low (15%), although this understates women's participation since the official labor statistics do not fully reflect women in the informal sector. The statistical invisibility reflects a number of factors: under-reporting of women's work by male proxy respondents, as well as by women themselves; the "overlap" between women's market work and housework; and the difficulty of both designing surveys and training enumerators to fully reflect women's work. The lack of research into women's role has also contributed to the failure to fully recognize women's contribution. As noted above (Section B), there has been little analysis of women's work in the agricultural sector or research into improving productivity or technology for female-intensive activities. Similarly, the design of extension programs has not taken into account the need to provide information or training to women (other than in traditional wifely activities through the home-economics field staff), although MARA has recently introduced pilot programs to re-train the home economists as field agents to assist women in their agricultural activities. In addition, in the past few years, MARA has begun to consider women's role in their rural development projects. The international agencies which have been most active in the developing world in promoting women's activities (FAO, IFAD), do not have a women's focus in Turkey although the UNDP has in the past two years initiated several innovative projects directed at women (for instance, geese-breeding, apiculture). Similarly, the NGOs in Turkey have only recently become active in addressing the situation of the majority of Turkish women (Chapter 5). For instance, the Foundation for the Advancement of Recognition of Turkish Women (NFTW), founded in 1986 has been active in initiating at the grassroots level non-traditional, as well as traditional activities in both urban and rural areas and established (with support from FAO) the first women's agricultural project in Turkey (Giresun), which provides credit and establishes cooperatives for women. Similarly in the urban areas, there is little knowledge of the role and contribution of women in the industrial, service or

informal sectors. In particular, other than sociological or anthropological case studies, there has been no analysis of women in the service or informal sectors.

3.26 Ironically, the seeming failure to address women's contribution stems, in part, from the far-reaching nature of the women's reforms in the early Republican era. Specifically, since women were granted full rights, there was no need for women-oriented programs or policies. Rather, gender-neutrality has been the norm in Turkey since the early 1930s. The status of women in Turkey had become synonymous with that of the visible and articulate educated, urban women who enjoyed a high status in terms of labor force participation, remuneration, and their representation in public office and the professions. However, the position of the majority of women remains essentially unchanged by their legal emancipation. For these women, gender-neutral policies were not sufficient to ensure what had been provided by law. In the mid-eighties, with the resurgence in interest in women's issues, there has been an acceptance within Government of the need for special emphasis on women's issues and a renewed level of activity of non-governmental organizations - nonetheless, to date, the impact on the majority of Turkish women is minimal.

3.27 Thus, until recently, women's issues have received scant consideration be it in government, academic or private circles. Increasing awareness of women's issues involves, as a first step, not only integrating these issues into the consciousness of planners and decision-makers, but overcoming ingrained attitudes about women's role in government and society, in general. In the interest of increasing the awareness of women's contribution and reducing their statistical invisibility (Chapter II), the collation and publication of existing data on gender would constitute a useful step, followed by strengthening the household labor force surveys, conducting time-use studies and training enumerators in gender sensitivity. There is a need, in addition, for basic research - economic and social - into many aspects of women's contribution: quantitative research into labor-force participation, working conditions and wage issues, and the impact of technology. In the rural areas, research is needed into women's agricultural activities (including undertaking gender-activity analyses)<sup>15/</sup> and means of strengthening the extension services and training programs to better serve women. In the urban areas, research is needed on the informal sector, especially the contribution of homebased work and the putting-out system; the service sector; the impact and contribution of returning migrants; and of the status of female-headed households.

b) Access to Credit

3.28 The review of Banking and Credit Laws in Annex 1 indicates that there are no legal constraints to women's access to credit, *per se*. Nonetheless, in light of the small number of loans granted to women by the banks catering to small and medium enterprises and in the absence of systematic collection of credit data by gender, a small survey of six banks -

---

<sup>15/</sup> See for instance Feldstein and Poats (1991).

Halk, Ziraat, Vakiflar, Isbank, SYKB and TSKB - was undertaken in the summer of 1991 for this report with the objective of obtaining some understanding of the credit constraints women face. The survey (Annex 6) covered some 340 branches in all regions of Turkey.<sup>16/</sup> A separate survey was designed for Ziraat Bank (the Agricultural Bank) in view of the different loan types offered. The survey shows that in Ziraat Bank women account nationally for 26% of deposits and accounts in the branches surveyed but 3% of all loans and borrowers. Women's share of deposits and loans is significantly lower in the First and Second Priority Regions. In Halk, Vakiflar and SYKB Banks, women's share of deposits and accounts varied between 12-15% while they accounted for 6-7% of loans and 3-4% of borrowers. The results further suggest that while the financial institutions do not discriminate on the basis of gender, that these formal institutions and their programs do not meet the credit needs of small entrepreneurs, including women, and that both supply and demand factors are at play. Supply factors include the structure of loans - average loan size is too large, terms are not flexible to the borrower's circumstances; transactions, processing and monitoring costs are too high for small loans; rigid collateral procedures; and perceived higher risks of default on small and inexperienced borrowers. On the demand side, women are constrained by custom from seeking credit since traditionally, male family members deal with financial matters. Other factors constraining women's demand for credit in Turkey include strict collateral requirements - particularly in agricultural areas where land is frequently titled in the male's name (Annex 1); lengthy application procedures; discomfort in dealing with banks, and in some cases, the absence of female staff to serve female borrowers. Two additional factors, consistently identified in the survey responses as helpful to improving women's access (and small enterprises in general) are advertising and the increased dissemination of information about loan facilities through existing channels, and the need to strengthen the basic business skill of borrowers.

3.29 Studies of women's access to credit and of programs to facilitate their access, from countries such as Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Peru and Mexico, demonstrate that whenever loan instruments and lending criteria suited to small-scale entrepreneurial activities in the informal or rural sectors are developed, that women demand such credits and that the rate of return and repayment records are as good as or better than those of men. Such programs have demonstrated that streamlining of paperwork, modification of conventional loan repayment schedules<sup>17/</sup>, collateral requirements, through greater reliance on the repayment capacity of the borrower or of broadening the concept of collateral to encompass loan security through group lending, livestock, farm equipment or jewelry are helpful.

3.30 In view of the unsuitability of the formal financial institutions' programs for the need for capital, Turkish women and small entrepreneurs have relied on limited informal credit sources about which little is known. One such source is the rotating savings and loan groups, called "Para Li Gun".

---

<sup>16/</sup> 262 responses were received in total; Isbank and TSKB did not respond.

<sup>17/</sup> For instance, allowing a choice of repayment in frequent small amounts or a few large payments depending on the expected income stream.

These are essentially informal groups within communities, whose members make regular, specified contributions to a fund, which is given in rotation to each participant. Contributions are frequently made in foreign exchange or gold, as a hedge against inflation. The funds may be used for consumer purchases (cars, household equipment), house purchase or investment in businesses.

3.31 In an effort to enhance the productivity of families, in recent years, several small programs to facilitate access to credit have been introduced. For instance, MARA has initiated in conjunction with FAO, a small program to provide in-kind credits to farmers - male or female - for small-scale poultry, livestock and milk-processing activities. In addition, both the Turkish Development Foundation (TDF) and the NPTW have also begun programs to extend in-kind credit to women engaged in rural and agricultural activities. The TDF program, targeted for 11,000 families, is based on a revolving fund for interest-free, in-kind credit repayable in equal annual installments over five years with a one-year grace period. The Family Research Institute in conjunction with Halk Bank initiated in 1989 a Family Credit Program, whereby families can apply for loans for the production of handicrafts within the home; as of mid-1991, 2,700 loans had been made for an average loan amount of just over \$100 - with 85% of all loans to women.<sup>18/</sup> Experience to date in Turkey, however, suggests that lower transactions costs will be essential if credit programs for small entrepreneurs are to be developed within the formal financial institutional sector.

c) Access to Complementary Inputs and Infrastructure Constraints

3.32 Besides credit, women also face constraints in their access to complementary inputs - marketing outlets, improved technology, technical support services - especially agricultural extension and skill training. These constraints are dealt with more specifically, in sections (ii) and (iii) below. More generally, improvements in housing and the national infrastructure (water and sanitation, fuel and electricity) will simultaneously help promote the productivity and integration of women.

---

<sup>18/</sup> The Family Credit Program was initiated by the Family Research Institute in 1989 to finance home production of handicrafts. The Government contributed TL5 billion to a revolving fund, with additional funds provided as needed by Halk Bank, which is responsible for implementing the program. As of mid-1991, 2,700 loans had been approved for a total amount of TL12 billion, of which TL9.7 billion had been disbursed. Of the total loans approved, 85% were for women. The minimum loan amount under this program is TL500,000 (approximately \$125) and the maximum TL5 million (around \$12,500). The maximum maturity is two years with a six month grace period. Government funds are restricted to credits in the Priority Provinces with an interest rate of approximately 51%; Halk Bank funds are for all other provinces and the interest rate is approximately 68%. As of mid-July, the repayment experience was good - less than 2% of the total disbursed was in arrears, although repayment experience was poorer in the Priority Provinces. Operating costs in terms of processing applications, monitoring loans and marketing are considered to be too high to make the program commercially feasible.

d) The Legal Framework

3.33 Chapter I summarizes the legal environment as it affects women and Annex I reviews in detail the legal framework and the constraints it imposes on women's participation. While the Civil Code constrains women in so far as the husband remains the head of the household, and thereby, the decision-maker, the annulment in 1990 of Article 159 by the Constitutional Court by which women were required to obtain their husband's permission to seek employment and to obtain credit for their work, removed a major barrier to women's participation. Nonetheless, as seen above, the existing Labor Legislation constrains women's participation, over and above the differential treatment accorded to women under the protective legislation. Specifically, Article 13 of the Labor Law permits an employer to dismiss a woman worker on grounds of pregnancy and without severance pay. Similarly, some of the protective legislation regarding night work and heavy and dangerous work contributes to confining women to the traditional female-intensive industrial activities and should be reconsidered. The absence of legislation concerning working conditions in the agricultural and informal sectors, which together account for more than 80% of the female labor force, and the difficulty of enforcing existing regulations, in general (for instance, minimum wage and the establishment of childcare facilities) constrain women's full participation. Simultaneously, the introduction of legislation/regulations permitting part-time and flexitime employment and to preclude discrimination against older workers would also facilitate women's integration. In the agricultural sector, the Law of Succession (Articles 597-598, Annex 1, p. 6), which in the case of the partition of agricultural land gives priority to male heirs, disadvantages women, especially in the context of collateral for credit.

ii) Agricultural Sector Constraints

a) Agricultural Extension and Research

3.34 As noted in Section B above, women are constrained by the current delivery systems despite their significant participation in the agricultural sector. Factors contributing to the continuation of these systems include: the focus of extension services and research on commercial crops (in which men tend to be involved) rather than the subsistence crops, such as small livestock, vegetables, fruits and flowers - all of which have considerable commercial potential for Turkey; the virtual absence of female extension agents or subject-matter specialist (SMS's) - as opposed to female home economists - outside of the provincial directorates; the absence of women as contact farmers, in large part since they are not the titled owner; the prevalence of traditional attitudes that restrict contact between the women and non-kin males; and, the male identity of the bureaucracy responsible for extension and training - from the central planning offices to the village level.

3.35 While women are largely excluded from agricultural extension services, they are not excluded from home-economics extension services. Reflecting the perception of women as homeworkers, the government programs and those supported by international agencies, promote the training and recruitment of home economists for delivering services focussing on foodmaking

and preservation, handicrafts (sewing, knitting), childcare and homemaking. In part, this system results from the training system. The agricultural extension training program for village extension agents is a 3-year dormitory program offered only in Boys' Vocational Schools. The home-economics program is a 3-year program offered only in Girls' Vocational Schools; the main purpose of which is to increase the living standards of the rural families by increasing the homemaking skill level of the women. Currently, the Ministry of Agriculture offers three home economics vocational high school programs (graduating about 75 home economists a year) and employs 1,336 home economists in 73 provinces. Home-economics is one of eight Subject-Matter Specialist (SMS) groups within the extension program responsible for providing information and training at the provincial level. The home-economics SMS group, however, is the only group authorized to contact women and the only one with a significant number of women agents. Thus, while extension is provided to women, it is not productivity-related. In recent years, MARA has introduced on a pilot basis programs to re-train home economists as field agents so that they can assist women farmers in their agricultural activities. It is also significant to note that the widespread employment of the home economics specialists also counters the prevailing view that women cannot be found to work in rural areas.

3.36 Although women continue to account for more than 25% of students in agriculture and forestry at the universities and most of the students (over 90%) are employed by the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs (MARA), issues relating to women's agricultural activities receive little attention in either Government or academia. In both Government and the universities, agricultural research has tended to focus on commercial (male-intensive) crops rather than on self-consumption (female-intensive) crops. Case studies, however, also cite numerous instances of productivity losses resulting from this focus. For instance, high yielding wheat varieties were not introduced in the eastern part of the country because of their unsuitability for home-consumption (the selection criteria of research departments focussed on criteria such as incremental yield, disease resistance but not on criteria relevant to women - taste, grindability, storage life) with a consequent loss in yield. Similarly, women were reluctant to use fertilizer on potatoes, despite the yield increasing effect because of the shorter storage life with fertilizer.

3.37 Thus, consideration of women's issues in both the central and regional offices in planning, extension and research is needed. The introduction of "advisers" on women's issues or a women's unit in MARA to focus attention on these issues could contribute significantly to raising awareness. Also, consideration should be given to reviewing regulations concerning gender enrollment in MARA courses; the curricula of the home economics programs; as well as re-training both home-economists and agricultural SMS's to address women's agricultural activities and training in gender-sensitivity; and to the establishment of a target-number of female farmers for field extension agents to contact. A greater focus on female-intensive agricultural and research activities in extension services would also be beneficial; namely, crop storage poultry and livestock management and food-processing. In research, and in technology development, a greater focus on women's activities and crops is desirable. In particular, consideration

should be given to undertaking time-use or gender-activity analyses (see Feldstein and Poats, 1991).

b) Technology

3.38 Women are constrained in their access to new technology in several ways. For technology improvements relating to tasks performed by women (or women and men) which are addressed by extension agents, women rely on receiving information from their male-kin. In general, for tasks that are predominantly performed by women, (hand-hoeing, harvesting by sickles, nut-shelling, silk-spinning) there has been relatively little development of appropriate technology, in large part because research and development has focussed on commercial agriculture. However, where technology changes for primarily female tasks occur, frequently the traditional division of labor is restructured to permit men to take on the newly productive task (for instance, electrical milking equipment; mechanized hoeing for sunflower production in the Thrace region).

(iii) The Industrial and Services Sector Constraints

3.39 The major constraints facing these two sectors, besides the general constraints touched upon in Section C (i), are the need for training, particularly in the more modern, "higher tech" fields; the need to understand the impact of Turkey's economic development and of technology on women in these sectors; and supportive services, such as childcare.

a) Training

3.40 For women in the industrial and service sectors, the need for appropriate training is perhaps the greatest constraint to their fuller participation. As noted in Chapter II, the gender differential in educational attainment has narrowed continuously over the past thirty years, but gender segregation in the labor force has not yet begun to narrow. Approximately 80% of women in industry continue to work in food and textiles - sectors in which employment growth will likely be limited. Thus, there is an urgent need to broaden the training opportunities offered to women and, thereby, their skill range. The small proportion of female entrepreneurs and self-employed women in Turkey also suggests that training in basic business and management skills should be encouraged. Programs to promote women's entrepreneurship developed, inter alia, by the Economic Development Institute of the World Bank may provide a useful model. Annex 4 and recent studies (for instance Sudi, 1989) demonstrate a great demand by women at all educational levels for skill training. The data (Annex 4, Table 12) also indicate that men receive significantly more on-the-job training than women and that more women in skilled positions received their training in school. Simultaneously, however, data on applications by gender to vocational and technical schools show that enrollments rates for girls schools are significantly lower than for boys schools, which outnumber girls schools by approximately 3:1. The discrepancy between desire for training and enrollment of girls may reflect the perceived utility of programs offered. Thus, a reassessment of the training policies and courses offered for women by all agencies, both in the context of Turkey's industrialization and service-orientation over the coming decade and in terms

of their remuneration and skill/career growth is needed. Similarly, a re-evaluation of the segregation of Boys/Girls Vocational and Technical Schools is needed, together with the rationale for separate Directorate Generals for Boys/Girls Vocational Education and the continuing gender segregation of courses offered by the Directorate General for Apprenticeship and Non-Formal Education. This reassessment needs also to address specifically women's "life-cycle" needs, including re-entry potential and the differing urban/rural participation patterns of women. In addition, the assessment needs also to address the issue of "educating" employers as to the advantages of hiring women.

b) Childcare

3.41 According to Turkish Labor regulations, work places employing between 100-150 women workers are required to establish nursing rooms and those employing more than 150, must have nursing rooms and creches for the care of children less than 6 years of age. However, the regulations do not appear to be enforced. According to available data from the Directorate General for Social Services and Child Protection Agency (SSCPA), in 1990 there were 262 creches and day-care centers run by workplaces (including all industrial and non-industrial establishments, both in the private and public sectors) and 17,321 children enrolled. In private factories there were 12 childcare centers with a capacity of 814 children. Simultaneously, there were 486 privately run childcare centers in Turkey with a capacity of 20,591. However, since these are costly, they are only available to middle class and/or professional women. Unlike in many other parts of the world, it does not appear in Turkey that within neighborhoods, families operate informal day-care facilities. Grandmothers or other female relatives appear, however, to play an important role in providing day-care. This suggests a serious shortage of appropriate childcare facilities in Turkey, which affects the employment of women in two ways: first, it may prevent women who want to work, from doing so; second, if women decide to work, they tend to look for work with reasonable access to day-care facilities. Enforcement of existing enterprise regulations will contribute to the establishment of a day-care mentality but, in addition, the development of neighborhood and municipal day-care is needed to facilitate women's productive work outside of the home. For this the use of the media, extension of credits (such as the Family Credit Program) to establish community or home day-care facilities, provision of information on establishing day-care and also, consideration to establishing short training courses for community mothers. The Bank-supported day-care project in Colombia (No. 8029-CO, May 1990) provides a useful model for this.

## CHAPTER IV: EDUCATION AND TECHNICAL TRAINING

### A. Introduction

4.01 In Turkey, as in most countries, education and training are crucial instruments for integrating women into development -- particularly into paid employment. The significant progress realized in Turkey since 1970 in reducing the gender gap in education has been discussed in Chapter II (Section G). Nonetheless, there are aspects of Turkey's education and training programs where minor changes could strengthen considerably their role in improving opportunities for women. This chapter describes briefly the structure and coverage of education and training programs and examines their implications for women's work. It then examines particular features of the system which are likely to influence girls' enrollment in school and training programs and choice of specialization. It ends with recommendations for improving opportunities for females in education and training and, through them, in employment.

### B. Structure of the Education and Training System

4.02 Universal education has been an important principle of the country since the founding of the Republic. The 1982 Constitution states that "Primary education is compulsory for all citizens of both sexes...". By law, education in public schools is free, and school attendance through the eighth grade<sup>1/</sup> is now mandatory. But the coverage of education at the lower grades falls well short of this statutory requirement, particularly for girls (paras. 4.7 and 4.8). Depending on the type of education, facility and requirements, some schools, however, are allocated only to girls or to boys." In fact, gender stratification is quite pronounced in vocational education (paras. 4.17 and 4.18).

4.03 Formal education programs at the primary and secondary level are the responsibility of the Ministry of National Education (MOE). They comprise a five-year primary cycle, a three-year middle-school cycle, and a three-year or four-year secondary cycle. Children normally enter primary schooling at age six in urban areas, and at age seven in rural areas. There is also a limited program of pre-school education. Formal education throughout the country follows a common curriculum through primary and middle schooling<sup>2/</sup>, with the exception of Anatolian schools. Anatolian schools are established to meet the needs of the more successful students and equip them with a foreign language which will be helpful for their higher education in Turkey or abroad. Anatolian schools generally are better equipped than conventional schools and attract better

---

<sup>1/</sup>The Government now refers to basic education as the eight-year period of compulsory education, comprised of the five-year primary education cycle plus the three-year middle-school cycle.

<sup>2/</sup>A once-extensive program of vocational education at the middle-school level has largely been replaced with a uniform program of general studies. A number of middle schools still carry the vocational-school designation, but the vocational instruction programs which they offered are being phased out.

qualified teachers and students. Entrance to the Anatolian schools is highly selective, based upon a national entrance examination which students may take at the end of primary schooling.

4.04 In addition to formal programs of education, there are also numerous non-formal programs of education. Most of these are managed by the MOE, but specialized, sectoral training is also provided by the Ministries of Industry, Defense, Agriculture, Culture, Labor and Tourism. Non-formal education programs are of three types: a) literacy training for adults and out-of-school children, b) employment-oriented training designed to develop skills for home production, to improve employability and to promote entrepreneurship, and c) life skills in safety, hygiene, etc. The non-formal training provided by the Ministry of Labor's Employment Office (IIBK) is particularly promising because it assures job placement upon completion of the training. The IIBK trained and placed some 11,000 job applicants between 1988-90, 60% of whom were women. Much of this training has been for the service sector (tourism and commercial training). Many of the women's courses, however, focus on traditional women's occupations.

### C. Status and Trends in Female Education and Training

4.05 Current Status. Table 4.1 summarizes the status of female enrollments in formal education and training by level and type of program, based on enrollment data from the 1987/88 school year. While there has been a significant reduction in the enrollment and literacy gender gap in the past two decades (see para. 4.12) it is apparent from the figures in Table 4.1 that the proportion of female enrollments continues to decline as the level of education and training increases, although there is less inequality between male and female enrollments in general secondary education than in middle schooling or secondary vocational education. Female enrollments constitute almost half of recorded enrollments in pre-school and primary education, but represent only about a third of enrollments in middle schooling, secondary schooling, and higher education. Female students are particularly under-represented in vocational and technical education. Moreover, the figures in Table 4.1 on the overall situation understate the presence of females in many occupational areas, due to the differentiation of programs in girls' and boys' vocational schools (para. 4.17). There is no clear pattern of girls' enrollments in Anatolian schools. The proportion of girls' enrollments in Anatolian middle schools is higher than for conventional middle schools, but the reverse is true of Anatolian secondary general schools.

**TABLE 4.1: Share of Female Enrollments in Formal Education and Training by Level and Type of Program, 1987-1988**

<u>Program Type</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Female as % of Total</u>
<b>Pre-School</b>	<b>103,204</b>	<b>54,257</b>	<b>48,947</b>	<b>47.4</b>
Kindergarten	15,153	8,138	7,015	46.3
Nursery School	88,051	46,119	41,932	47.6
<b>Primary (grades 1-5)</b>	<b>6,880,304</b>	<b>3,636,054</b>	<b>3,244,250</b>	<b>47.2</b>
Public	6,843,335	3,615,708	3,227,627	47.2
Private	36,969	20,346	16,623	45.0
<b>Middle (grades 6-8)</b>	<b>2,091,178</b>	<b>1,354,442</b>	<b>736,736</b>	<b>35.2</b>
General	1,870,244	1,207,332	662,912	35.4
Public	1,815,110	1,175,701	639,409	35.2
Anatolian	33,424	21,398	12,026	36.0
Private	55,134	31,631	23,503	42.6
Vocational	220,934	147,110	73,824	33.4
Public	220,410	146,839	73,571	33.4
Anatolian	1,069	680	389	36.4
Private	524	271	253	48.3
<b>Secondary (grades 9-12)</b>	<b>1,168,357</b>	<b>743,089</b>	<b>425,268</b>	<b>36.4</b>
General	697,227	396,885	300,342	43.1
Public	673,130	384,246	288,884	42.9
Anatolian	14,713	8,984	5,729	38.9
Private	24,097	12,639	11,458	47.5
Vocational	471,130	346,204	124,926	26.5
Public	469,923	345,548	124,375	26.5
Anatolian	4,229	2,620	1,609	38.0
Private	1,207	656	551	45.7
<b>University</b>				
Undergraduate	310,703	199,968	111,095	35.8
Technical/Vocational	59,421	40,578	18,843	31.7
Open University	133,139	95,057	38,082	28.6
Graduate/Professional	30,836	20,584	10,252	33.2

Sources: Statistics of National Education, Youth, and Sports 1987-1988 (Ministry of National Education).  
Higher Education Statistics, Student and Placement Center - OSYM.

4.06 What do these figures imply about room for improvement in girls' enrollments in formal programs of education and training? At the primary level, the high (47.2%) percentage of female enrollments suggests satisfactory coverage, but estimates of enrollment ratios show that there remains considerable room for improvement. The normal indicator of education coverage in Turkey is the gross enrollment ratio. The gross enrollment ratio expresses the number enrolled at a given level of schooling as a percentage of population in the age group which is considered normal for that level of schooling. A figure frequently cited in Turkey is the primary-school gross enrollment ratio of 102 percent, derived by dividing recorded 1987/88 primary-school enrollments, public and private, by the SPO's estimate of 1987 population for the 7-11 year age group. If one performs the same exercise separately for male and female enrollments, it leads to a gross enrollment ratio of 105 percent for males and 99 percent for females.

4.07 These figures and figures like them have been interpreted in Turkey as evidence that primary-school coverage is complete, notwithstanding the contrary evidence in literacy ratios (paras. 4.9 and 4.14). But in the presence of high grade repetition (para. 4.11) and numerous children who start school late, gross enrollment ratios exaggerate actual school coverage because they include overage children in the numerator but not in the denominator. In this situation, a more accurate indicator of school coverage is the net enrollment ratio. Like the gross enrollment ratio, the net enrollment ratio is a ratio of enrollments to population; but unlike the gross enrollment ratio, it excludes overage students from the numerator so that both the numerator and denominator are limited to the same age group. The primary-school net enrollment ratio for 1987 is 79.3 percent, based on SPO population estimates for the 7-11 year age group. The separately estimated net enrollment ratios for males and females<sup>3/</sup> in 1987 were 81.7 percent and 76.7 percent, respectively.

4.08 The enrollment deficits which these figures imply are summarized in Table 4.2, below. In primary schooling, the deficit in female enrollments in relation to male enrollments<sup>4/</sup> in 1987 was 164,000. Another 1.2 million enrollments, about half of them female, would be necessary to attain full enrollment at the primary level. At the middle-school level, the female enrollment gap is even larger. There, an additional 335,00 female enrollments would be required to attain parity with male enrollments, and an additional 2.1 million enrollments -- again, half of them female -- would be necessary to reach full enrollment at the middle-school level. Thus, based on the latest available data, it would require an additional half million female enrollments merely for female enrollments to catch up with male enrollments in basic education. Full compliance with the Government's policy of universal basic education would require an additional 3.8 million enrollments in primary and middle schooling, including 2.1 million additional female enrollments. There is, then, very important unfinished business in providing basic education to all children in Turkey. This is particularly true for girls, since these estimates indicate that 41 percent of girls of primary and middle-school age currently do not attend school.

---

<sup>3/</sup>Because published MOE enrollment data by students' age are not gender specific, these estimates are based on the assumption that the proportion of enrolled males and females aged 7 to 11 years is the same as the reported proportion of total primary enrollments aged 7 to 11 years. Given the tendency to withdraw girls as they reach puberty, this assumption overestimates female enrollments.

<sup>4/</sup>Defined as the number of additional female enrollments necessary to attain the net enrollment ratio for males in primary schooling.

**TABLE 4.2: Enrollment Deficits for Males and Females in Basic Education by Level and Source, 1987**

<u>PRIMARY</u>	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
(1) Total Enrollments	3,636,054	3,244,250	6,880,304
(2) Enrollments Aged 7-11	2,821,064	2,517,079	5,338,143
(3) Estimated Population Aged 7-11.	3,451,000	3,280,000	6,731,000
(4) Estimated Net Enrollment Ratio (NER).			
(5) Deficit in Female Enrollments with Respect to Male Enrollments.	0	164,000	164,000
(6) Remaining Deficit in Enrollments with Respect to Full Enrollment	629,936	598,921	1,228,857
(7) Total Enrollment Deficit	629,936	762,921	1,392,857
<u>MIDDLE SCHOOL</u>			
(1) Total Enrollments.	1,354,693	737,097	2,091,790
(2) Enrollments Aged 12-14.	875,179	476,191	1,351,370
(3) Estimated Population Aged 12-14.	1,975,000	1,830,000	3,805,000
(4) Estimated Net Enrollment Ratio (NER).	0.443	0.260	0.355
(5) Deficit in Female Enrollments with Respect to Male Enrollments.	0	334,890	334,890
(6) Remaining Deficit in Enrollments with Respect to Full Enrollment.	1,099,821	1,014,911	2,118,740
(7) Total Enrollment Deficit.	1,099,821	1,353,809	2,453,630
<u>BASIC EDUCATION (7)</u>			
(1) Total Enrollments.	4,990,747	3,981,347	8,972,094
(2) Enrollments Aged 7-14.	3,696,243	2,993,270	6,689,513
(3) Estimated Population Aged 7-14.	5,426,000	5,110,000	10,536,000
(4) Estimated Net Enrollment Ratio (NER).	0.681	0.585	0.635
(5) Deficit in Female Enrollments with Respect to Male Enrollments.	0	498,890	498,890
(6) Remaining Deficit in Enrollments with Respect to Full Enrollments.	1,729,757	1,617,840	3,347,597
(7) Total Enrollment Deficit.	1,729,757	2,116,730	3,846,487

- (1) Statistics of National Education, Youth, and Sports: 1987/1988, (NOE/SIS).
- (2) The figures for males and females assume the proportion of enrolled males and females in the relevant age group is the same as the reported proportion of total enrollments in the relevant age group.
- (3) SPO, "Turkish Population Projections for the Sixth Five-Year Development Plan (1990-1994), February 1989.
- (4) Row 2 divided by Row 3.
- (5) (Male NER - Female NER) x female population in the relevant age group.
- (6) Row 3 - Row 2 - Row 5.
- (7) Row 5 + Row 6.

4.09 How does Turkey's performance in providing education for girls compare with other countries? Table 4.3 presents a summary comparison in terms of female enrollments and female literacy -- a cumulative record of past enrollments -- for seven countries in the region.

TABLE 4.3: A Regional Comparison of Female Schooling and Literacy.

Country	Per Capita GNP (1989) (\$)	Adult Literacy		Primary Net Enrollment Ratio	Gross Enrollment Ratio			
		Rate (1985)			Primary		Secondary	
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Male	Female
Portugal	4250	88%	80%	100%	125%	127%	55%	63%
Spain	9330	96%	92%	100%	112%	110%	99%	111%
Yugoslavia	2920	96%	86%	N.A.	94%	94%	81%	79%
Greece	5350	96%	88%	97%	102%	102%	97%	93%
Jordan	1640	87%	63%	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Turkey	1370	86%	62%	79%	105%	99%	52%	34%
Iraq		91%	87%	84%	105%	87%	57%	37%

Source: World Development Report, 1991, except for the primary enrollment ratios for Turkey, which are from the Ministry of National Education.

It is apparent from these figures that the differential between male and female literacy is greatest where literacy rates are lowest. Adult literacy for males and females in Turkey is the lowest of any of the countries in the reference group. Per capita income is also the lowest, but the estimates nonetheless provide some indication of the progress that is required. The primary-school net enrollment ratio in Turkey is also the lowest of any country in the group. Primary-school gross enrollment ratios are misleadingly high in Turkey because of the prevalence of overage students due to grade repetition (para. 4.11). The secondary-school gross enrollment ratios for males and females in Turkey are lowest of any country in the group, although these figures are overestimates -- again, due to the prevalence of overage students.

4.10 The differences between male and female enrollments at every level result almost entirely from differences in the proportion of 7-year-old boys and girls who start primary school, and, thereafter, in the proportion of primary-school graduates who proceed to middle schooling.<sup>5/</sup> The number of girls who began primary schooling in 1988 was 13 percent smaller than the number of boys who began primary schooling in that year.

<sup>5/</sup>Single-year population estimates which might be used to estimate these proportions are subject to large variance because of errors in the exact age of the census population in the base year from which the population is projected.

4.11 Table 4.4 summarizes the promotion, repetition, and dropout rates for primary and secondary schooling. Repetition rates decline equally for boys and girls throughout primary schooling, and rise sharply thereafter -- most markedly, for boys. Dropout rates also rise sharply -- again, particularly for boys -- after primary schooling. Taken together, these repetition and dropout rates constitute unusually high internal inefficiency by international standards. This is most apparent in the first years of middle schooling and secondary schooling, where only 52 percent of male students progress to the next level of schooling on schedule. In every grade beyond primary schooling, girls perform better than boys in terms of promotion rates. Yet the transition rates from primary schooling to middle schooling are much lower for girls than for boys. The proportion of primary-school graduates who progressed to middle schooling in 1988 was much lower for females (45.7 percent) than for males (65.8 percent). In contrast to this, the proportion of middle-school graduates entering secondary schooling in 1988 was virtually the same for males (27.9 percent) as for females (27.3 percent). The absolute number of secondary-school entrants, however, is much smaller for girls than for boys because of the cumulative effect of lower rates of girls' entry into primary and middle schooling, with a consequent smaller number of female middle-school completers. The principal challenge for reducing the male/female enrollment gap in primary and secondary schooling is to raise the proportion of 7-year-old girls who start primary school, and, particularly, to raise the proportion of girls completing primary school who progress to middle schooling.

**TABLE 4.4: Promotion, Repetition and Dropout Rates  
by Grade for Males and Females (1987-1988)**

Grade	Promotion		Repetition		Dropouts	
	Boys	Girls	Boy	Girls	Boy	Girls
<b>Primary</b>						
1	0.83	0.84	0.15	0.14	0.02	0.01
2	0.90	0.90	0.08	0.08	0.02	0.02
3	0.89	0.89	0.09	0.09	0.02	0.02
4	0.94	0.93	0.04	0.04	0.02	0.02
5	0.97	0.96	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.02
<b>Middle</b>						
6	0.52	0.65	0.39	0.29	0.09	0.06
7	0.63	0.70	0.33	0.26	0.05	0.04
8	0.76	0.82	0.23	0.17	0.01	0.01
<b>Secondary</b>						
9	0.52	0.58	0.39	0.36	0.10	0.07
10	0.76	0.81	0.20	0.17	0.04	0.03
11	0.78	0.82	0.16	0.16	0.08	0.02

Source: Ministry of Education Data.

4.12 **Trends.** Although sizeable male/female enrollment differentials are apparent at every level, there has been progress in reducing the gap between male and female enrollments. Table 4.5 summarizes the growth of male and female enrollments and graduates by level and type of program during the 1980s. Female enrollments and graduates grew faster than male enrollments and graduates in every schooling category except secondary vocational education. The pace at which female enrollments caught up with male enrollments was fastest in secondary general education, where female enrollments and graduates grew more than twice as fast as male enrollments and graduates.

**TABLE 4.5: Growth of Enrollments in Formal Education and Training for Males and Females by Level and Type of Program, 1980/81 - 1987/88<sup>1/</sup>**

	MALE	FEMALE
	(%)	
Primary Enrollments	2.2	3.2
Primary Graduates	2.9	4.0
Middle-School Enrollments	6.7	7.4
Middle-School Graduates	4.1	5.0
Secondary General Enrollments	2.3	6.1
Secondary General Graduates	2.5	5.0
Secondary Vocational Enrollments	8.8	5.2
Secondary Vocational Graduates	7.8	3.7

(1) Rates of growth of graduates are for the period 1980/81 - 1986/87.  
Source: Statistical Yearbook of Turkey, 1989, Tables 89 and 90.

#### D. Attributes of the Out-of-School Population

4.13 In view of the Government's coeducation policy, we would expect to see roughly equal numbers of boys and girls in school if school availability alone determined school attendance. The figures on female enrollment deficits shown in Table 4.2 illustrate the impact of factors other than school availability which influence school attendance. The deficit of 500,000 girls in basic education indicates that efforts are needed to encourage girls' school attendance. What evidence do we have as to who the out-of school children are and why they are not in school? For girls in particular, what interventions appear most appropriate for improving school attendance? Unfortunately, there is little information available to answer these questions. A potentially valuable source of information, the semi-annual Household Labor-Force Surveys conducted by the State Institute of Statistics (SIS), collects information on school attendance and household characteristics, but the school enrollment

information is not currently published. Enrollment information on household members is presented in the semiannual survey reports only in the form of highest level of schooling completed. The Bank is working with the SIS to try to change the format of presentation such that regional variations in school attendance can be distinguished and characteristics of households with differential school attendance can be analyzed in order to help identify appropriate interventions to raise school attendance. Also the Bank, together with MOE carried out in 1991 a selective field study in areas of the country with low girls' school attendance to identify the factors responsible. It is planned to use the results of this study as an early input to preparation of a project in support of basic schooling expansion in areas of greatest need. Study findings will be used to develop targeted interventions to improve girls' school attendance in areas of the country with deficient enrollments.

4.14 Published data on reported illiteracy rates from the 1985 Census of Population and on middle-school and secondary enrollments<sup>6/</sup> for the 1987/88 school year provide a useful view of regional differentials -- including male/female differentials. Table 4.6 presents these data by province and region. Generally, male/female differentials in illiteracy and school attendance are greatest in provinces and regions with the highest levels of illiteracy and lowest levels of school attendance. Thus, the Eastern regions -- the Black Sea and East and Southeast Anatolia -- had the lowest enrollment ratios and the highest reported illiteracy rates for males and females of all the regions, and the largest male/female differentials in enrollment ratios for both middle schooling and secondary schooling. The Marmara Region (including Istanbul) and Central Anatolia (including Ankara) had the highest enrollment ratios and the lowest reported illiteracy rates for males and females, and the smallest male/female enrollment differentials of all the regions. In every region, the difference between male enrollments and female enrollments was greater at the middle-school level than at the secondary level. This pattern illustrates a general tendency for males to benefit first from an initial expansion in educational capacity, with girls' enrollments catching up at higher overall levels of educational coverage. It also illustrates the particularly rapid growth of female enrollments relative to male enrollments in secondary general education (para. 4.12).

---

<sup>6/</sup>Equivalent data for primary schooling are not available.

**TABLE 4.6: Illiteracy Rates and Gross Enrollment Ratios by Region and Gender**

REGIONS	Illiteracy Rate (1) (1985)		Gross Enrollment Ratios, 1987/88 (2)			
	Male	Female	Middle Schools		Secondary	
			Male	Females	Male	Female
	(%)					
Eastern Anatolia	21.9	49.4	51.4	21.2	33.1	12.6
Black Sea	14.8	33.8	62.0	30.4	41.7	18.5
Mediterranean	13.1	31.2	61.5	39.8	38.1	24.3
Marmara	8.1	20.6	82.9	60.5	45.1	38.4
Aegean	10.9	26.5	70.4	46.2	38.2	27.5
Central Anatolia	10.4	26.2	65.2	43.1	46.0	26.9
Southeast Anatolia	28.0	60.3	45.2	18.1	25.4	9.8

**Sources:**

(1) Defined as the proportion of population over 6 years reported as unable to read and write. 1985 Census of Population, Social and Economic Characteristics, Table 27.

(2) TUSAID Education Report, Türkiye de Eğitim, 1990, Table 25.

**E. Gender Aspects of Education and Training Programs**

4.15 Within the Turkish National Education system, secondary school students make their own choices whether to attend general schools or vocational/technical schools according to their skills and interest areas. The students are oriented to the most appropriate program according to their skills and interest. Students who successfully complete middle schooling may proceed directly to a three-year program of general secondary education or may take an examination to enter a specific vocational secondary program. The purpose of the exam is to select appropriate students for the program. In Turkey, as in most countries, general secondary education tends to be the preferred form of secondary education, reflecting the fact that it is the normal route to higher education and higher-level jobs. But although general education attracts the best students completing middle schooling, many students opt for vocational education in the belief that it will improve their chances of getting a job at the completion of secondary schooling.

4.16 About one-third of students entering secondary schooling enroll in vocational programs. At the end of a common first year (grade 9), vocational students with good course performance in science and math subjects may enter a technical secondary program consisting of three additional years of classroom and workshop training in one of sixteen specializations. Other vocational students continue with two more years of vocational instruction, in which training is provided alternately in the vocational school and in an enterprise outside the school. Both the three-year vocational program and the four-year technical program are meant to be terminal, but students from both may proceed to higher education if they pass the national university entrance examinations. A significant number of technical secondary graduates progress to higher education; few vocational secondary graduates do so.

4.17 About one-quarter of vocational and technical secondary schools are gender neutral. For the most part, these are commercial and tourism schools, in which enrollments are about equally divided between boys and girls. Most vocational and technical schools are designated as boys' schools or girls' schools, depending upon the specializations which they offer. Originally, the separation of girls' schools in Turkey was undertaken to attract girls to the schools. About a third of vocational and technical schools are designated as girls' schools, and are administered by the MOE's General Directorate of Technical Education for Girls. These schools offer training primarily in occupations (such as textiles, weaving, food processing, hairdressing and ceramics) which traditionally have attracted women (Chapter III and Annex 3). In addition to the traditional occupations, however, more recently programs for the industrial and service sectors such as travel agency, hotel management and tourism service; textile-design; electronics; office management, secretarial training and computers; food technology, food control and analysis have been included in the curriculum as a result of needs stemming from the social, economic and cultural development of the society. Boys can attend these schools, but few -- amounting to less than 1 percent of enrollments -- do. Analogously, boys' vocational and technical schools, administered by the MOE's General Directorate of Boys' Vocational Education, offer training in occupations which are typically male-dominated. Very few of these are hazardous or strenuous occupations (such as mining and foundry work) which may be said to be naturally limited to male workers; most are occupations (including most manufacturing and construction occupations) in which women can perform productively, and do so in most OECD countries. About 6 percent of enrollments in boys' vocational and technical schools are girls -- a larger proportion than in the converse case, but still a very small proportion of total enrollments. Within the non-formal education system, gender segregation also appears widespread, with boys enrolled exclusively in Apprenticeship Training Centers and girls primarily involved in Girls Applied Craft Schools (Annex 4, para. 32).

4.18 The continuing gender segregation of vocational education in Turkey, in name and in fact, reflects a still widespread view that many occupations are not suitable for women. The continuing separation of boys' and girls' vocational schools exacerbates this view. By eliminating the gender designation, the Government would help reduce perceptions that women belong in certain occupations, but not in others. Government intervention could also help to eliminate the existing gender bias in vocational education and training programs. A possible model for such efforts is a USAID-supported project in Morocco <sup>U</sup> which set out to attract females to training programs in male-dominated occupations in manufacturing, construction, and the commercial sector. With relatively modest efforts to explicitly invite female applicants and to provide initial screening and counseling to them, the project achieved impressive results in attracting females to training programs for these occupations, and in placing them in appropriate jobs after completing the courses.

---

<sup>U</sup>Described in Margaret Lycette, "The Industrial and Commercial Job Training for Women Project in Morocco", USAID working paper, June, 1986; and in Laurel Elmer, "Guidelines for Increasing Female Participation in AID Training Programs for Asia and the Near East", USAID Working Paper, September, 1990.

4.19 One of the early findings to emerge from the Joint Bank/MOE study "Factors Affecting Girls' School Attendance in Turkey" is that some regions in particular are willing to send their adolescent daughters to separate girls' schools, but not to coeducational schools<sup>8/</sup>. For these groups, the Government's policy of coeducation may frustrate the attainment of its goal of universal basic education. Moreover, the fact that all general secondary schools are coeducational constrains the career options of girls whose parents are opposed to coeducation, since these schools are the normal route of entry to most higher-level jobs. Parents who consider coeducation to be culturally unacceptable for their adolescent daughters can either send their daughters to a girls' vocational school (if one is available), withdraw them from school altogether, or send them to a religious school (Imam Hatip) - an option which has grown in importance recently. Although coeducational, these schools are often seen as acceptable by parents who would not send their daughters to a secular coeducational school. For the current generation, consideration could be given to establishing separate girls' boarding schools -- both middle schools and secondary general schools -- in remoter parts of the country with significant sensitivity to coeducation. This could be done without calling into question the basic policy of coeducation, since the establishment of single-sex schools would be temporary. It is expected that female education itself, together with increased attention to gender issues in the curricula would, over time, diminish the cultural sensitivity to coeducation.

4.20 In low-density rural areas, the dispersion of population favors boarding schools, particularly at the middle-school and secondary levels. The Ministry of Education has recently started a program to provide regional boarding schools for children from remote villages.<sup>9/</sup> Although this is a promising approach to the problem of highly dispersed students, some aspects of the program in practice limit its effectiveness. For its regional boarding schools, as for its conventional schools, the Ministry's new policy is to establish integral eight-year "basic education schools" in place of existing five-year primary schools and middle schools (which are typically combined with secondary schools). The motivation for this change derives from the Government's wish to provide all the classes of compulsory schooling in the same school. While the neatness of this plan may be appealing, it is not necessary on pedagogical grounds to ensure quality education or integration of the basic schooling curriculum. The integrated basic education curriculum which the Ministry plans to develop (with support from the National Education Development Project) could as well be implemented under the existing formula of distinct primary and middle schools. The Ministry also intends to phase out the incomplete primary schools which exist

---

<sup>8/</sup>In several cases, the centralized coeducational boarding schools which the Ministry of Education has built to provide schooling to children in remote villages have attracted only boys, and have consequently become de facto boys' schools.

<sup>9/</sup>Currently, there are 102 of these schools, enrolling 19,000 males and 7,000 females in grades one through eight. There are no fees for attendance at these schools. Boarding students are also provided meals and uniforms at no charge; they also receive modest stipends to help defray the cost of transportation and educational materials.

in many rural areas. These schools have fewer than five classrooms -- one for each grade -- and thus resort to multi-grade teaching.<sup>10/</sup> The Ministry (and many others in Turkey) consider that these incomplete primary schools cannot offer primary education of acceptable quality. Findings from other settings, however, show that small schools with multigrade teaching can provide education of equal or higher quality than conventional schools if teachers are selected and trained properly, and if the necessary educational materials are available.<sup>11/</sup> There is, then, a compelling cost-effectiveness argument in favor of not changing the format of basic education as the Ministry proposes. Most parts of the country could be reached through conventional, five-year coeducational primary schools and incomplete primary schools without recourse to boarding, particularly if the Ministry is willing to make a serious effort to make multi-grade teaching work. Boarding schools are least appropriate for children in the first five grades, where parental and sibling support are vital to healthy child development. Moreover, girls' boarding schools are not necessary to ensure female school attendance at the primary level because there appears to be little resistance to coeducation at this level. Sensitivity to girls' attendance at coeducational schools generally begins at puberty, which often coincides with the start of middle schooling. The creation of boarding schools to serve a dispersed clientele makes most sense at the middle-school and secondary levels. To ensure that these schools attract girls, separate boarding schools could be established for the current generation of adolescent girls in areas of particular sensitivity to coeducation.

4.21 Other notable features of formal primary and secondary education which may affect girls' attendance are: a) the very limited role of private schools, accounting for less than 1 percent of enrollments at the primary level, and less than 4 percent at the middle-school and secondary levels, and b) the prevalence of out-of-school, paid tutorial instruction to improve secondary students' chances of success in the national university entrance examinations. Private schooling in Turkey, while limited, benefits boys disproportionately. Greater attention to the provision of private schooling for girls should be encouraged, especially if the role of private education increases. There is no direct evidence available on male-female differences in tutorial instruction, but it is likely that here, as in private schooling, boys benefit from household education expenditures more often than girls.

#### F. Conclusions and Recommendations

4.22 The paragraphs above have summarized some of the principal issues of female education in Turkey. This section provides a brief recapitulation of findings and recommendations in the two main issue areas. These relate, first, to the coverage of the education system in terms of girls' enrollments, and,

---

<sup>10/</sup>In which several classes are taught simultaneously in the same class by the same teacher.

<sup>11/</sup>The evidence on this issue is reviewed in Marlaine E. Lockheed and Adriaan M. Verspoor, Improving Primary Education in Developing Countries: A Review of Policy Options, Background Report for the World Conference on Education for All, Bangkok, 1990, page 109.

second, to the biases of the existing system in terms of orientation to future careers.

**4.23 Education Coverage.** The current coverage of the education system is incomplete, especially for girls. This is a particular concern at the basic education level, where the Government appropriately aspires to provide schooling for all Turkish children. There are now about 2.1 million girls of primary and middle-school age who should be attending school but are not (para 4.8 and Table 4.2). Most of these -- about 1.6 million girls -- are not attending school because no school is available. But it appears that a large number -- about 500,000 -- are not in school because of other factors. Work is now in progress to determine what these constraints are. Evidence from other settings suggests that the reasons are likely to be cultural and economic, and that Government policy could help reduce the constraints to girls' school attendance through actions, inter alia, such as raising the proportion of female teachers and providing better transportation.<sup>12/</sup> To improve girls' school attendance, the following specific actions are recommended:

- ° Expand the schooling infrastructure, starting at the primary level, then at the middle-school level.
- ° In doing so, retain the existing structure of school delivery, with generally separate primary schools and middle schools. There is no convincing reason to establish integral eight-year basic education schools as the Government proposes, either for reasons of cost-effectiveness, pedagogical effectiveness, or access (para. 4.20).
- ° In the program to expand basic education infrastructure, use the results of the study on factors influencing girls' school attendance (para. 4.13) to develop targeted interventions specifically designed to reduce the barriers to girls' school attendance in areas of the country with deficient enrollments.
- ° On an exceptional basis to improve girls' continuation in schooling beyond the primary level in the remoter areas, develop girls' middle schools and girls' general secondary schools (para. 4.20).

**4.24 Bias in Education Programs.** To address the bias in education programs which limits girls' education and career prospects (paras. 4.17 and 4.18), the following actions are recommended:

- ° Eliminate the designation of separate boys' and girls' vocational schools, and the corresponding distinction in the administrative structure of the Ministry of Education.
- ° Conduct active programs to attract girls to male-dominated secondary vocational programs.
- ° Support the expansion of job-oriented training for women, such as that offered by IIBK (para. 4.4).

---

<sup>12/</sup>See, e.g., Rosemary Bellew and Elizabeth M. King, Promoting Girls' and Women's Education: Lessons from the Past, World Bank PRE Working Paper No. 715 (July, 1991).

CHAPTER V: THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT AND NGOS IN WOMEN'S DEVELOPMENT

A. Introduction

5.01 In 1926, Turkey became the first Islamic country to eliminate the Sharia, the legal code that underlies the segregation of the sexes and differential legal treatment. This was followed in the 1930s by the right to vote in national elections and stand for office (1934) and the opening up of public offices and the professions (law, medicine, finance) and the universities to the appointment of female faculty in 1932-33. With these far-reaching reforms and the tremendous progress realized by women in entering public office and the professions through the mid-1940s, the prevailing view was that there was no need to address women's issues independently of the general development process. For the majority of women, however, their position was unchanged - gender-neutral policies were not sufficient to ensure what had been provided by law. Coinciding with the resurgence in interest in women's issues in the mid-eighties, there has been an acceptance within Government of the need for a special emphasis on women's issues.

B. Development Plans and Government Policies

5.02 In the first five Five-Year Plans (1960-1984), women's issues were not explicitly addressed. Nonetheless, Government plans and policies aiming at social change affected women in four main areas: population policy, education, employment and working conditions and social security.

5.03 In terms of population policy, the main issues relating to women since 1960 have been the measures to reduce population growth. With the establishment of SPO in 1960, the existing pro-natalist policies were brought into question. The first plan introduced a policy advocating low population growth and the second, following the passing of the 1965 Population Planning Law, introduced national family planning programs and set a plan target of providing family planning services to 25% of women of child-bearing age. These targets have been raised in subsequent plans. The current Sixth Plan (1990-94) contains no targets for the provision of family planning services but with a contraceptive acceptance rate of 77%, Turkey has one of the highest acceptance rates in the world (WDR, 1991).

5.04 Although all of the plans provided for some improvement in the general education system, until the Sixth Plan, there had been no special consideration of women's educational needs. The Second Plan, however, was critical of Girls Technical and Vocational Schools on the grounds that these schools channeled girls into "female" occupations. Although not part of the Fourth Plan, per se, the adult literacy campaign initiated by the Government in 1981 is significant for helping 2.9 million women learn to read and write between 1981-87.

5.05 With the greater majority of women working in the agricultural sector as unpaid family labor, for the most part women were not specifically addressed in the employment policies of the early plans. The Fifth Five-Year Plan, however, provided manpower projections by gender. Specifically, the

male labor supply was projected to increase by over 20% between 1980-89, while the female labor supply remained unchanged. The current plan provides no breakdown by gender. Both the Fifth and Sixth plans, however, note that increased female employment will increase the demand for day-care and that growth in such facilities is to be encouraged.

5.06 In accordance with the Constitution, which states that everybody has the right to social insurance, the Sixth Plan has as an objective, increasing the proportion of the labor force covered by social insurance, and of women explicitly. As noted in Chapter II, approximately 6% of the female labor force is covered by the Social Insurance Institute, compared to 22% of the male labor force. The agricultural labor force, however, where three-quarters of employed women work, is largely outside the social insurance system, nor is it covered by labor legislation. The majority of working women are, therefore, without such protection. Notwithstanding the Plan objectives, little progress has been realized, to date.

5.07 The current Plan's broad objectives, include the "protection and education of women..." (para. 29). More specifically, the Plan states that "the appropriate environment will be created for promoting the employment of women in non-agricultural sectors by raising their education levels and providing women wider opportunities for vocational training" (para. 766). Unlike the Fifth Plan, however, no projections of the labor supply by gender are provided. "Measures will be developed to eliminate the difficulties that working women encounter in such areas as social insurance, health, vocational training and re-employment and increased facilities for childcare services for them will be encouraged" (para. 767). To date, however, little has been done to further these objectives. The 1991 Annual Program contained three specific women's objectives, namely: to design measures to improve women's education and to facilitate their employment in sectors other than agriculture; to initiate a system for collecting gender-disaggregated data; and to determine the problems women encounter in their working life and the use made of their legal rights. To date, little progress has been realized in implementing these measures.

### C. Current Role of Government in Women's Development

5.08 Following several decades of relative quiescence, women's role in Turkey became once again a central issue in the mid-1980s, in large part as a result of two diametrically opposed groups - the religious, conservative groups and the secularist women. For the former, the issue concerned women's role within the family, as mother and wife, although publicly the debate was over the right of women to wear headscarves in educational institutions and government offices. Simultaneously, proposals by some conservative groups to segregate men and women in public life, including hospitals and schools, heightened the debate. The women's group addressed the issue through its focus on women's rights and articles of the Constitution and the Civil and Criminal Codes that discriminate against women. While the women's movement remained largely informal and apolitical, the conservatives through their influence in the then ruling party, acquired considerable influence through early 1991.

5.09 In response to these two movements, Government in the second half of the decade took a number of steps to address women's issues. These included ratification of two international legal conventions; a specific focus on women's issues in the Sixth Plan and the establishment of a Government Directorate to address the role of women.

5.10 Specifically, at the end of the United Nations Decade for Women in 1985, the Government ratified the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), which committed GT to remove any legislation discriminatory to women, to promote equality between men and women and to introduce measures to eliminate customary practices that reinforce the subordination of women to men. In 1989, GT also signed the European Social Charter of the EC. Both measures were ratified with a number of reservations (Annex 1, Section C). In December 1989, in response to the conservative movement, the Government established the Family Research Institute (FRI) under the Prime Ministry. The FRI was charged with preserving and strengthening the Turkish family, which was seen as threatened by social and economic development. In April 1990 the Directorate General for Women's Status and Problems (DGWSP) was established under the Ministry of Labor (para. 5.16 below) with the sole task of improving women's status and promoting their full integration into the economy.

5.11 Taken together, these developments suggest an uncertain commitment of the previous Government to the role of women. In view of their significance to the role of women over the coming decade, these legal and institutional developments are reviewed briefly below.

(i) CEDAW

5.12 The Convention was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1979 and went into effect in 1981; Turkey was the 83rd country to ratify in 1985. Together with Turkey's human rights record, women's status has always been perceived as an important determinant of EC membership and the ratification of CEDAW is seen, in part, as an attempt to strengthen Turkey's application. As with other UN conventions, governments are allowed to place reservations on articles if they conflict with existing national legislation, with the expectation that governments will quickly comply. The United Nations, however, has no means of ensuring compliance other than applying public pressure if a country's periodic implementation reports reveal inadequate progress.

5.13 Turkey along with almost half of the CEDAW signatories, submitted several reservations to specific articles which conflict with the Turkish Civil Code.<sup>1/</sup> One of the major issues concerns the definition in the Civil Code of the husband as the head of the family. As such, the husband chooses the place of domicile, is responsible for the economic support of the family and in the case of disagreement, the husband's view prevails in all matters

---

<sup>1/</sup> Until November 1990, when the Constitutional Court ruled it unconstitutional, married women could engage in paid work only with their husband's permission (Article 159).

over issues relating to the household and family. In addition, there are numerous contradictions (Annex 1, Section C) with Turkey's labor legislation.

5.14 The initial Government progress report to CEDAW (September 1989) states that work on amendments to the Civil Code that would remove the reservations is underway. The legal commission appointed to review the Civil Code, however, submitted its recommendations to the Ministry of Justice in 1984 but the recommendations have not been brought before the National Assembly, notwithstanding pressure from women's organizations. The newly appointed Government, however, is planning an early consideration of the commission's proposals.

(ii) European Social Charter

5.15 In 1989, the Government also became a signatory to the European Social Charter, placing a reservation on numerous articles. Article 8, on the right of employed women to protection presents the major issue for women (see Annex 1 for details). Progress in compliance with the Charter, and the Charter's Action Program that is close to being finalized with far-reaching labor recommendations, will be important for Turkey's acceptance to the EC.

(iii) The Directorate General for the Status and Problems of Women

5.16 The DGWSP was authorized by decree under the Prime Ministry in April 1990 and subsequently by Law 3670 under the Ministry of Labor on October 25, 1990. In June 1991, the newly appointed Cabinet re-instated the Directorate within the Prime Ministry and in November 1991 the Directorate was placed under the newly created Ministry of State for Women, Family and Social Services. The Directorate General was established, in large part, as a result of efforts of the then Minister of Labor, the only woman in the cabinet, and pressure from women's groups. The goals of the Directorate General include improving the educational level of Turkish women; increasing their employment in productive sectors and thereby strengthening their economic independence; ensuring the legal, health and social rights (including social insurance) of women; and promoting the equality of women in the social, economic, cultural and political arenas.

5.17 To realize these goals, the DGWSP is to develop and implement programs and policies in line with Ataturk's legacy to enhance women's status; act as an advocacy center for women; coordinate, direct and support the activities of both government and non-governmental organizations and regional authorities responsible for addressing issues and problems concerning women; undertake research and develop a database to underpin efforts to improve the status of women, including their legal rights; undertake studies of women's issues in the European community and other countries; and to "contribute and participate in studies implemented by international organizations...on women's issues". The Directorate is also charged with ensuring compliance with international conventions on women's issues.

5.18 With the establishment of the Ministry of State for Women, the DGWSP is now actively pursuing its objectives of developing programs and policies and considering means of successfully integrating women's issues into

the line ministries. Specifically, the DGWSP will ensure progress through policies and programs to improve the health, social, economic and educational position of women. The DGWSP is being actively supported in its activities by a recently agreed five-year cooperative program with UNDP.

(iv) Family Research Institute

5.19 The first step towards implementing the recommendations of the SPO report was the establishment by decree of the Family Research Institute (FRI) in December 1989 under the Prime Ministry. The Decree states that the objective of the Institute is to channel increased public awareness on family problems, undertake research on the effects of economic, social and cultural change on the family and to "carry out research on the effects of family planning and to develop a national policy on family planning". These activities are to be implemented "in accordance with existing laws, national security policy...".

5.20 In contrast to the Directorate General, the Institute was both well funded and staffed. By March 1991, the Institute was fully functioning with 75 higher level staff on board, an active research program and a full schedule of conferences and seminars and media events programmed. In addition, the Institute had established in conjunction with Halk Bank the Family Credit Program to provide credit to families to engage in income-generating activities within the home (Chapter III). By mid-1991, 2700 credits had been extended, 85% to women and the majority for carpet weaving. Homebased production was advocated by the FRI on the grounds that it minimizes conflicts with women's domestic responsibilities and, in particular, with childcare.

D. Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)

5.21 At the turn of the century in Turkey, there were several active and articulate groups, such as the Red-White and the Ottoman Association of Women's Rights, calling for the elimination of discrimination in the family, laws, career development and social norms. With the granting of rights, the opening up of the professions and the gender-neutrality of Government policies and plans, women's groups in Turkey became less active until the mid-1980s. The 1982 Constitution which forbade the association of youths and women also reduced their effectiveness to respond to issues in the 1980s. In part as a result of the austerity measures of the early 1980s, but also as a result of the resurgence of conservatism within Turkey and the focus on women's issues internationally, women's groups are again becoming increasingly active.

5.22 In 1991, there were approximately 25 registered NGOs with an orientation towards women's issues. As of July 1992, there are now over 50. For the most part, these are organizations of professional groups (jurists, academics, nurses or village teachers), cultural groups (Turkish/Japanese, Turkish/American women), or charitable organizations (protection of children, assistance to the sick and disabled, women's association against separation). The NGOs most involved in addressing issues relating to the integration and status of women are:

**(i) The National Council of Turkish Women**

5.23 The Council was founded in 1959 and its aims include addressing issues of women as mother, wife, citizen and individual. The Council is involved in particular in addressing the problems of working women and in promoting women's education and in advocating legal reform. To this end, the Council provides some financial support to women of limited means, initiates programs to promote the education of women and provides some scholarships. The Council brings attention to women's issues through the organization of conferences, seminars and through its publications. Its work is carried out through some 20 sub-committees focusing, inter alia, on issues such as the law, status of women, women and employment, migration and the media. The Council includes amongst its membership a number of women who were active in the 1930s with Ataturk and later in the 1950s with the women's movement. Many of these women have made a significant contribution to the standing of women and, most notably, through their efforts at legal reform. Nonetheless, the NGO is very much an Ankara/Istanbul organization of professional and intellectual women. Although it maintains regional offices, including some in the south-eastern areas, the organization does not have a grass roots focus, nor does it appear to have a significant following amongst the current generation of women. The National Council is affiliated to the International Council of Women and the European Center for the International Council of Women; through these organizations the Council maintains close contact with both the UN and the EC.

**(ii) The Turkish Federation of Women's Institutes**

5.24 Founded in 1976, this is an umbrella organization for some 10 to 12 women's groups. The membership of the governing board of the Federation appears to overlap with that of the National Council, as do many of its activities.

**(iii) The Foundation for Support for Contemporary Living**

5.25 Established in the mid-1980s, the Foundation was established to address and alleviate the problems faced by women today and to advocate legal reform and change. The Foundation includes among its members prominent academics and professionals in the major cities.

**(iii) The Foundation for the Advancement and Recognition of Turkish Women**

5.26 The Foundation was established in April 1986 with the objective of supporting women in all walks of life. Specifically, the Foundation is working to strengthen the economic position of women through generating additional means of obtaining income, increasing their skill levels and establishing marketing organizations for their production. The Foundation's work is accomplished through 12 activities groups covering topics such as international relations, press and promotion, agricultural work, tourism, handicrafts and health. The Foundation has realized a considerable measure of success in its activities in large part because of its fund raising skills and media ability. These activities have been further facilitated by the establishment of some 70 regional offices throughout most of the country.

**Major activities include:**

- The Foundation has also been active in the area of women's health through the establishment of mobile health buses, each of which are staffed with a gynecologist, nurse and support personnel to provide gynecological services and instruction in birth control in the remoter areas to families of limited incomes. More recently, the Foundation has opened mother/child health centers in priority rural areas;
- Recognizing the importance of education, the Foundation has been active in providing scholarships for talented and needy girls, setting up vocational training courses and establishing and operating boarding houses for female students who need a place to stay;

5.27 Although not a women's organization per se, the Turkish Development Foundation (TDF) administers income-generating projects directed at both men and women in a number of areas in the priority development regions. The Foundation has been particularly innovative and active in involving villagers in the design and implementation of their projects. The TDF is developing a project concept to strengthen women's position in rural communities primarily through the establishment of an animator system, by which women with strong leadership qualities within the villages are recruited and trained to act as a catalyst in overcoming traditional attitudes.

**E. Conclusions and Areas for Intervention**

5.28 The institutional measures adopted by the previous Government reflected the prevailing incongruent views on women's issues. Beginning with the delays in ratification of CEDAW and the amendments to the Turkish Civil Code that would have brought Turkey in compliance with CEDAW, and the establishment of the Directorate General for Women simultaneously with the Family Research Institute, the measures suggested that women's rights and status were pursued, at least in part, as a means of attaining other objectives of government policy. The establishment of the Ministry of State for Women is a very positive step that sends clear signals as to Government's intentions to strengthen the standing of women. However, the DGWSP remains understaffed and underfinanced, handicapped by the relocations and needs still to develop a clear agenda. Support to this end, however, is being provided by a recently agreed UNDP project and is expected to assist the DGWSP in becoming fully operational.

5.29 Effective institutions and procedures are needed to monitor and improve the situation of women in Turkey; to identify the causes (both traditional and new) of discrimination; to assist in the formulation of policies and implementation of measures to end discrimination. These policies and procedures need to be an integral part of Turkey's development strategy. As noted in earlier chapters, the alleviation of discrimination and constraints to women's full participation will require both enforcement and evaluation of legislation, the education of the entire population as to the contribution of women through both formal and non-formal channels, including government agencies, the media, non-governmental organizations, political

party platforms and executive action. To be effective, the DGWSP need to be assured of adequate resources, commitment and authority. With this, the DGWSP can play a vital role in improving the position of women through formulating a clear agenda; collaborative action with the line ministries and other agencies, both governmental and non-governmental; in undertaking research both to increase awareness of women's contribution and to increase their productivity; and disseminating information on women's rights and entitlements.

5.30 In light of experience with national machineries elsewhere in the 1980s, the following measures should be considered.

- ° Ensure that all line ministries and agencies see women's development as an integral and priority element of national development and therefore as part of their regular responsibilities - not a responsibility that can be passed on to the Ministry of State for Women.
- ° Establish an inter-ministerial committee chaired at least initially by the Prime Minister, with representatives from the line ministries and agencies. Each representative should present a timebound action plan for promoting the welfare and productivity of women in their ministry or agency and be required to report progress in its implementation to the committee on a regular basis.
- ° Establish women's units at the highest levels within the key line ministries (for instance, Labor, Education, Agriculture), responsible for implementing and monitoring the action plans and for ensuring that women's issues are integrated into all ministry programs and policies.
- ° Ensure that people of the highest caliber are appointed to key positions involved with the formulation, implementation and monitoring of policies and programs to improve the status of women.
- ° Ensure a sustained effort to raise the visibility of women's issues, in general, and their contribution, in particular. This can be realized through, inter alia, moral suasion (media campaigns, revision of curricula and textbooks, TV, etc.), publication of an annual statistical report on the status of women and undertaking and publishing a broad-based program of research on women's issues.

References and Selected Bibliography of Recent Studies

- Abadan-Unat, N. (ed.), (1981). Women in Turkish Society, Leiden, E.J. Brill Press.
- Abadan-Unat, N., (1986). Women in the Developing World: Evidence from Turkey, Denver, University of Denver.
- Afetinan, A., (1962). The Emancipation of the Turkish Woman, UNESCO.
- Akadli, E.B. (1990). "Unmet need for Family Planning in Turkey". The Journal of Population Studies, Vol. 11, Hacettepe University, Institute of Population Studies, Ankara.
- Akşit, B.T. and B. Akşit, (1989). "Sociocultural Determinants of Infant and Child Mortality in Turkey". Social Science and Medicine. Vol.28 No.6, pp.571-576, Ankara.
- Akşit, B.T. and H. Özcebe, (1991). "Women's Health in Turkey; Review of Literature and Discussion of Research Gaps in the Status Context". Paper to be published in a book, Women in Turkey. (Eds. C. Balim and A.G. Ayata), Cambridge University Press. (forthcoming in 1992)
- Amsden, A.A., (1980). The Economics of Women and Work, New York, St. Martins Press.
- Anker, R., (1980). Research on Women's roles and Demographic Change: Survey Questionnaires for Households, Women, Men and Communities with Back Explanations, ILO.
- Arriagada A-M., (1990). "Labor Market Outcomes of Non-formal Training for Male and Female Workers in Peru," Economics of Education Review, 9, 1, 331-342.
- Behrman, J.R. and B. Wolfe, (1984). "Labor Force Participation and Earnings Determinants for Women In the Special Conditions of Developing Countries," Journal of Development Economics, 46, 259-288.
- Bergmann, B.R., (1986). The Economic Emergence of Women, New York, Basic Books, Inc.
- Bhasin, K., (no data). "Agriculture Without Women: A Scenario in the Making." FAO Report.
- Blau, F.D. and M. A. Ferber, (1990). Women's Work, Women's Lives: A Comparative Economic Perspective, National Bureau of Economic Research, Working Paper No. 3447, Cambridge, Mass.
- Blumberg, R. L., (1988). Income Under Female vs. Male Control, Mimeo, University of California.
- Boratar, K., & Galip Y, (1989). "A Study on the Political Economy of Structural Adjustment, Workers & Peasants During a Major Reorientation of

Economic Policies-Turkey, 1980-87", Mimeo, Research paper prepared by IDRC, Ottawa, Canada. Bellow, Rosemary and Elizabeth M. King, (1991). Promoting Girls' and Women's Education: Lessons From the Past. World Bank PRE Working paper No. 715.

Boserup, E., (1970). Women's Role in Economic Development, New York, St. Martin's Press.

Boulding, E., (1983). "Measures of Women's Work in the Third World: Problems and Suggestions" in M.

Bülbül, A. S., (1990). "Educational & Training Level of Turkish Adult Women Affecting their Access to and kind of Employment", Mimeo, prepared for ILO, Ankara.

Buvinic, M.A. Lycette and W. P. McGreevey (eds.), Women and Poverty in the Third World, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press.

Buvinic, M., M.A. Lycette and W.P. McGreevey (eds.), Women and Poverty in the Third World, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press.

Cagatay, N. and G. Berik, (1990). "From Import-Substituting Industrialization to Export-Led Growth in Turkey: Feminization of Employment?", mimeo, New York, Department of Economics, New School for Social Research.

Charlton, S.M., (1984). Women in Third World Development, Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado.

Çitçi, O., (1988). "The Quantitative View of Public Workers", Amma.

Cochrane, S.H., (1988). The Effects of Education, Health and Social Security on Fertility in Developing Countries; Their Implications for Policy, World Bank.

Commonwealth Secretariat, (1989). Engendering Adjustment for the 1990s: Report of a Commonwealth Expert Group on Women and Structural Adjustment, London.

Conway, P.J., (1987). Economic Shocks and Structural Adjustments: Turkey after 1973. North Holland, Amsterdam.

Davidson, M.J. and C.L. Cooper (eds.), (1984). Working Women: An International Survey, New York, John Wiley.

Dixon, R.B., (1978). Rural Women at Work: Strategies for Development in South Asia. John Hopkins University. Press for Resources for the Future, Baltimore and London.

Dogramaci, E., (1989). Status of Women in Turkey, (3rd edition), Ankara, Meteksan Co. Inc.

Duncan O.D. and B. Duncan, (1955). "A Methodological Analysis of Segregation Indexes," American Sociological Review, 20, 2, 210-17.

Durand, J.D., (1975). The Labor Force in Economic Development: A Comparison of International Census Data, 1946-1966, Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Ertürk, Y., (1988). "Women's Participation in Agriculture in the Villages of Erzerum, Turkey", prepared for FAO.

Ertürk, Y., (1989). "Rural Social Structure and the Promotion of Community Participation in Development". Paper prepared for IFAD, Rome, Italy.

European Communities - Commission, (1990). Community Charter of the Fundamental Social Rights of Workers, Luxembourg, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

Feldstein, H.S. and Poats, S., (1990). Working Together: Gender Analysis in Agriculture, Kumarian Press, Connecticut.

Fuchs, V.R., (1988). Women's Quest for Economic Equality, Cambridge, Mass, Harvard University Press.

Goldin, C.D., (1991). "The Role of World War II in the Rise of Women's Employment", American Economic Review, 81, 4, 741-7

Goldin, C.D., (1989). "Life-Cycle Labor-Force Participation of Married Women: Historical Evidence and Implications", Journal of Labor Economics, 7, 11, 20-47.

Goldin, C.D., (1986). "The Female Labor Force and American Economic Growth, 1890-1980" and comments by S.B. Carter, in S.L. Engerman and R.E. Gallman (eds), Long-Term Factors in American Economic Growth, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 557-604.

Goldin, C.D., (1983). "The Changing Economic Role of Women: A Quantitative Approach:", Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 13, 41, 707-33.

Gönen, E. and Hablemitoglu, S., (1989). "The Socio-Economic Status of Women in Turkey", The Turkish Review, Summer, pp. 143-150.

Government of Turkey (GT), DG for Status & Problems of Women, Min. of Labor, (May 1990). "Women's Participation in Education & Training System in Turkey", Gul Aykor, Ankara.

GT, D.G. for Status & Problems of Women, Min. of Labor, (May 1990). "The Status & Problems of Women Workers in Turkey", Gul Aykor, Ankara.

GT, "Initial Report of Turkey on CEDAW", September 1, 1989 and "Replies and Explanations", January 31, 1990.

GT, (Dec. 1990). Toward the Year 2000: 1991 National Education Report to Parliament, Avni Akyol, Minister of Education.

GT, IIBK (Turkish Employment Organization) and OECD, (1990). Improving Employment Prospects for Women in a Changing Society, Conference Proceedings, Istanbul, November 7-8, 1991. Ankara, IIBK.

GT, UNICEF (1991). The Situation Analysis of Mothers and Children in Turkey, Ankara.

GT, State Institute of Statistics (SIS), (n.d.), 1980 Census of Agriculture: Result of Household Survey, Ankara.

GT, SIS (1989). Statistical Yearbook of Turkey - 1989, Ankara.

GT, SIS, (1991). Statistical Pocketbook of Turkey - 1990, Ankara.

GT, SIS (1991). Household Labor Force Survey Results - April 1990, Ankara.

GT, SIS (1991). Household Labor Force Survey Results - October 1989, Ankara.

GT, SIS (1991). Household Labor Force Survey Results - April 1989, Ankara.

GT, SIS (1990). Household Labor Force Survey Results - October 1988, Ankara.

GT, SIS (1989). Census of Population, 1985: Social and Economic Characteristics, Ankara.

GT, SIS, 1990. "Maternal Deaths" unpublished research, Ankara.

GT, Social Insurance Institution (SII), (1990). Statistical Yearbook - 1990, Ankara.

GT, SPO, (1990). Social Indicators: Turkey (1990), Ankara.

GT, SPO, (1989). Turkish Population Projections for the Sixth Five-Year Development Plan (1990-1994).

GT, SPO (1985). Women in Turkey: Country Report, Ankara.

Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies (HIPS), (1989). 1988 Turkish Population and Health Survey, Ankara.

Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies (HIPS), (1987). 1983 Turkish Population and Health Survey, Ankara.

Hansen, B., (1989). "Unemployment, Migration and Wages in Turkey, 1962-85." World Bank Staff Working Papers, no. 230. Washington, D.C., World Bank.

Herz, B. and Measham, A.R., (1987). "The Safe Motherhood Initiative: Proposals for Action." World Bank Discussion Paper. Washington, D.C., World Bank.

House, W.J., (1985). Cypriot Women In the Labor Market, Geneva, ILO.

International Labor Office, (ILO), (1991). Status of the Rural Women in Turkey, Ankara.

ILO, (1990). Yearbook of Labor Statistics: Retrospective Edition on Population Censuses: 1945-89, Geneva.

Jacobson, J.L., (1990). "The Status of Family Planning in Developing Countries". In (Ed. H. M. Wallace and K. Giri). Health Care of Women and Children in Developing Countries. Third Party Publishing Company. Oakland, California.

Joekes, S.P., (1987). Women in the World Economy, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Juster, F.T. and F.P. Stafford, (1990). The Allocation of Time: Empirical Findings, Behavioral Models, and Problems of Measurement, Institute for Social Research, Working Paper, Ann Arbor, Michigan, University of Michigan.

Kagitçibaşı, C., (1981). "Value of Children: Some Social-Psychological Determinants of Fertility in Turkey". In (Ed. N. Abadan Unat) Women in Turkish Society. pp.74-95. Lieden.

Kagitçibasi, C., (Nov. 1989). "Women's Intra-family Status, Education & Employment Turkey", paper prepared for OECD & Turkish Employment Organization Continuance on Improving Employment Prospects for Women in a Changing Society: The Years Ahead, Istanbul.

Khandker, S.R., (1990). Labor Market Participation, Returns to Education, and Male-Female Wage Differences in Peru, PRE Working Paper Series, No. 461, Population and Human Resources Department, Women in Development Division, Washington, D.C., The World Bank.

Killingsworth, M.R. and J.J. Heckman, (1986). "Female Labor Supply: A Survey", in O. Ashenfelter and R. Layard (eds.), Handbook of Labor Economics, New York: Elsevier Science Publishers, pp.103-204.

King, E.M., (1990). Does Education Pay in the Labor Market? The Labor Force Participation, Occupation, and Earnings of Peruvian Women, Living Standards Measurement Study, Working Paper, No. 67, Population and Human Resources Department, Welfare and Human Resources Division, Washington, D.C., The World Bank.

Kottis, A.P., (1990). "Shifts Over Time and Regional Variation in Women's Labor Force Participation Rates in a Developing Country: The Case of Greece," Journal of Development Economics, 33, 117-132.

Larre, B. and R. Torres, (1991). "Is Convergence a Spontaneous Process? The Experience of Spain, Portugal and Greece," OECD Economic Studies, 16, 169-198.

Layard, R. and J. Mincer, (eds). (1985). Trends in Women's Work, Education, and Family Building, Conference Proceedings, Chelwood Gate, Sussex, England, May 31-June 3, 1983, published in Journal of Labor Economics, Vol.3, No. 1, Part 2. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Leslie, J. et al., (1986). Weathering Economic Crisis: The Crucial Role of Women in Health. International Center for Research on Women. Washington, D.C.

Lockheed, Marlaine E. Adriaan M. Verspoor, (1990). Primary Education in Developing Countries: A review of Policy Options. Background Report for the World Conference on Education for All Bangkok, p. 109.

MacKinnon-Scott, K., (1991a). "Women in the Labor Force in Bolivia: Participation and Earnings," Mimeo, Latin America and Caribbean Region Technical Department, Washington, D.C., The World Bank.

MacKinnon-Scott, K., (1991b). "Female Labor Force Participation and Earnings: The Case of Jamaica," Mimeo, Latin America and Caribbean Region Technical Department, Washington, D.C., The World Bank.

Martin, P.L., (1990). International Migration for Employment: An Assessment of Turkish Labor Migration to Western Europe.

Mazumdar, D., (August 1976). "The Urban Informal Sector," World Development Report. Washington, D.C., World Bank.

Mincer, Jacob, (1974). Schooling, Experience & Earnings, Columbia University Press, N.Y..

Moffitt, R., (ed.), (1990). Taxation and Labor Supply in Industrial Countries, Conference Proceedings, Racine, Wisconsin, published in Journal of Human Resources, Vol. 25, No. 3, Part 2. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press.

Mohan, R., (1986). Work, Wages, and Welfare in a Developing Metropolis: Consequences of Growth in Bogota, Colombia, New York, Oxford University Press for the World Bank.

Mueller, E., (1983). "Measuring Women's Poverty in Developing Countries" in M. Buvinic, M.A. Lycette and W. P. McGreevey (eds.), Women and Poverty in the Third World, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press.

Ng, Ying Chu, (1990). "Female Labor Force Participation and Gender Earnings Differentials in Argentina," Mimeo, Latin America and Caribbean Region Technical Department, Washington, D.C., The World Bank.

Nieva, V.F., (1985). "Work and Family Linkages," Women and Work, 1, 1962-1990.

- Nuss, S., with E. Denti and D. Viry, (1989). Women in the World of Work: Statistical Analysis and Projections to the Year 2000. Geneva, ILO.
- Oaxaca, R., (1973). "Male-Female Wage Differentials in Urban Labor Markets", International Economic Review, 1973, pp. 693-709.
- OECD, (1991). Economic Surveys, 1990/1991 - Turkey, Paris.
- OECD, (1990). Economic Outlook - Historical Statistics: 1960-1989, Paris.
- OECD, (1989). Employment Outlook, 1989, Paris.
- OECD, (1985). The Integration of Women into the Economy, Paris.
- OECD, (1975). The Role of Women in the Economy, Paris.
- Özcebe, H., (1990). "A Study on Factors Effecting the Usage of Curative Health Care in Etimesgut Health Center Area". Unpublished Specialization thesis. Hacettepe University, Department of Public Health, Ankara.
- Pampel, F.C. and K. Tanaka, (1986). "Economic Development and Female Labor Force Participation: A Reconsideration", Social Forces, 64, 3, 599-619.
- Presser, H.B. and S. Kishon, (1991). "Economic Development and Occupational Sex Segregation in Puerto Rico: 1950-80", Population and Development Review, 17, 1, 53-85.
- Psacharopoulos, G. (ed.), (1987). Economics of Education: Research and Studies, New York, Pergamon Press.
- Psacharopoulos, G. and Z. Tzannatos, (1989). "Female Labor Force Participation: An International Perspective," The World Bank Research Observer, 4, 2, 187-201.
- Saglam, F., (1989). "The Prevalence of Obesity in Women and the Factors Affecting" Journal of Nutrition and Dietetics. Vol. 18, No.2.
- Schultz, T.P., (1989). "Returns to Women's Education." Women in Development Division Background Paper, no. PHRWD/89/001. Washington, D.C., World Bank.
- Schultz, T.P., (1989). Women and Development: Objectives, Frameworks, and Policy Interventions, Working Paper, No. 200, Population and Human Resources Department, Women in Development Division, Washington, D.C., The World Bank.
- Sen, A.K., (1989). Women's Survival as a Development Problem. Harvard University, Mimeo.
- Shabon, A.M. and Zeytinoglu, I.U., (1985). The Political, Economic and Labor Climate in Turkey, Industrial Research Unit, Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania.

- Sirman, N., (1991). "Rural Women in the Process of Development: Approaches and Issues", ILO -TDF, Ankara.
- Sorrentino, C., (1983). "International Comparisons of Labor Force Participation, 1960-1981," Monthly Labor Review, 106, 2, 23-36.
- Standing, G. and G. Sheenhan (eds.), (1978). Labor Force Participation in Low-Income Countries, Geneva, International Labor Office.
- Statistics Canada, (1990). Women in Canada: A Statistical Report, Ottawa: Statistics Canada, Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division.
- Stelcner, M., J.B. Smith, J.A. Breslaw, and G. Monette (1991). "Labor Force Behavior and Earnings of Brazilian Women and Men," Mimeo, Latin America and Caribbean Region Technical Department, Washington, D.C., The World Bank.
- Stichter, S. and, J.L. Parpart (eds.), (1990). Women, Employment and the Family in the International Division of Labor, Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Terrell, T., (1989). "An Analysis of the Wage Structure in Guatemala City," Journal of Developing Areas, 23, 405-424.
- Toros, A. (ed.), (1990). The Study of Female Participation in the Formal Sector: Turkey, Report Submitted to the World Bank, mimeo, Ankara: Bigtas.
- UN, (1984). Compiling Social Indicators on the Situation of Women, Series F, No. 32, UN, NY.
- UN, (1989). 1989 World Survey on the Role of Women in Development, UN, NY.
- UN, (1990a). Methods of Measuring Women's Participation and Production in the Informal Sector, UN, NY.
- UN, (1990b). Handbook for National Statistical Data Bases on Women and Development, UN, NY.
- UN, (1991). The World's Women: Trends and Statistics, 1970-1990. UN, NY.
- Ward, K.B. and F.C. Pampel, (1985). "Structural Determinants of Female Labor Force Participation in Developed Nations, 1955-1975", Social Science Quarterly, 66, 3, 654-67.
- Women's Bureau, (1990). Women in the Labor Force, 1990-91 Edition. Ottawa: Women's Bureau, Labor Canada.
- World Bank, World Development Report, Washington, D.C. (various annual issues).
- Yayan, V., (1984). The Role of Women in the Turkish Economy, Ankara, SPO.