

TURKISH REPUBLIC STATE MINISTRY FOR WOMEN'S AFFAIRS AND SOCIAL SERVICES DIRECTORATE GENERAL ON THE STATUS AND PROBLEMS OF WOMEN

THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN TURKEY

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FOREWORD

The Turkish National Report to the Fourth World Conference on Women is the product of contributions made by over 70 women from different fields and backgrounds. Therefore, it reflects the views of women "themselves" rather than that of an institution. It gives me great pleasure to introduce it to the international community.

We women, in Turkey, have come a long way, yet we are fully aware that we still have a long way to go. Women's status in Turkey is a complex issue with not one but many faces, images, roles and statuses. On the one hand, we take pride in being one of the few countries in the world with an elected woman Prime Minister, on the other hand, we are disillusioned with the persisting disparities between men and women as well as between different women's groups with regard to access to vital development resources such as education, health and employment. Provision of literacy and education for girls has particularly lagged behind desired levels. Women still suffer from poor health and high risk of maternal deaths. The accessibility to health services continues to be unevenly distributed. For the majority of women wage work is elusive as most are unpaid family workers or do work which is not acknowledged.

have an accomplished. The true dimensions of the progress made in Turkey in this regard and the nature of the existing obstacles for future progress cannot be fully appreciated without an understanding of the inherent contradictions involved in the transformation from a multi-ethnic/religious empire to a secular nation state. Furthermore, wide range of constraints of underdevelopment add further to the complexities. Modern Turkey emerged out of a historical heritage embodying diverse cultural patterns and groups. While such social and cultural diversity is a source of societal enrichment it, nevertheless, is not free of tensions and contradictions. This is of particular concern—with regard to women's status, since nationalist, westernist and

Islamist discourses, among others, often asser conflicting claims over women

While it is necessary to respond to these conflicting and contesting values, shared also by various groups of women in Turkish society, it is also imperative that women crate an autonomous space in order to be able to articulate their own particular problems and demands. To negotiate such a space while responding to diverse pressures and demands seems to be the most arduous and urgent task before women in Turkey.

My Ministry, which is responsible for women's affairs is committed to the task of supporting and undertaking initiatives which would contribute to the empowerment of women towards expanding the boundaries of their space.

Prof. Dr. Türkan AKYOL,

State Minister

The Ministry of State for Women's Affairs and Social Services.

June 1994



INTRODUCTION

- 1– The world has witnessed significant changes within the last decade since the Nairobi Women's Conference of 1985. The world order that marked the 20th century is gradually being replaced by new structures and processes. While global institutions, which exceed the boundaries of nation-states are taking control of and standardizing various aspects of our lives, at the same time, the differences and inequalities between countries, regions and various social groups (sex, ethnicity, class) are becoming more pronounced. Thus ideologies and actions such as cultural fragmentation, racism, radical nationalism, ethnic cleansing and fundamentalism which are revitalizing as a result of globalization are now shattering the very basis of our daily lives.
- 2- The impact of the current global transformations in the establishment of an environment of <u>democracy</u>, <u>equality</u> and <u>peace</u>, as well as their concrete manifestations with regard to women's status bear different and contradictory implications.
- 3- Developed countries, while adopting rigid boundaries towards foreigners, for their own citizens through the concept of "parity democracy" they have managed to spread the basic principles of democracy. Thus, they are able to create more intensive and efficient opportunities of participation for women. Conversely, however, due to the great structural changes experienced by the new member states of the Council of Europe, significant decline in the status of women in those countries has been encountered. This is closely related to the political disintegration of socialist countries starting with Hungary in 1989; the growing dimensions of the nationalist trends and ethnic conflicts in the states emerging out of the former Soviet Union, as well as the increasing emphasis on religious institutions and religious values in the member countries of the European Union. Furthermore, the civil war in the Balkans, by means of "ethnic cleansing" and "ethnic rape" against women and children, has enabled the most cruel method of extermination.
- 4– In the case of Turkey, the conflicts, which have intensified with the process of globalization, manifested themselves in the form of fundamentalism and radical nationalism (Turkish and Kurdish). The

former seeks the solution in de-linking itself with the west-centered world system and modifying the principles of the past for today. The latter, in its most extreme version advocates separatism among different cultural and ethnic groups embodied within the Republic of Turkey, as opposed to a peaceful and egalitarian co-existence. These ideologies, which find expression within a large spectrum include a range of legal, political mechanisms, as well as, violent and terrorist actions. Such movements offer new space for the active participation especially of women and as such encourages them to take part in a civil struggle of varying degrees and forms against the status quo. However, the long-term prospects of the two ideologies in terms of women's social status are less than promising. The first approach defines the identity of woman according to the values assumed to be part of the divine will, while the second approach defines it according to national interests. Hence, both prevent women from developing an identity outside pre-determined boundaries. It is well known that, historically women have always been the first to "die" for collective causes, but the last to be liberated once the mission is accomplished.

- 5- Nevertheless, despite such risks, the very fact of inclusion and diversification of women images in civil society, enable women to develop new strategies for increasing self-control over their own lives. Since the 1980s, the growing intensification of feminist as well as other woman movements, research and project implementation activities of governmental and non-governmental organizations and policy-making with regard to women's issues is quite meaningful. There is no doubt that a gender sensitivity has been developing in Turkey. Consequently, women have been expanding the space in which they can act on their own initiative and speak their mind.
- 6- Examination of quantitative data on the status of women in Turkey, especially with respect to basic development indicators, such as health and education, indicates that the situation lags far behind desired levels. On the other hand, some of the advancements achieved in legal and institutional spheres are promising. The most significant development for Turkey, however, is the fact that within the course of the last decade, the strategies developed by various women's groups to expand their own space have gained social impetus. These strategies are especially significant for

the empowerment of women as individuals. It goes without saying that, the sustenance of the social environment which enables the continual expression of diverse woman demands beyond the boundaries of the patriarchal structure is dependent upon the preservation of the secular social order in Turkey.

- 7- It is within such a perspective that the Turkish National Report needs to be read.
- 8- In terms of regional and global relations, with the emergence of new modes of struggle, cultural pluralism i.e. diversity as opposed to uniformity is becoming more and more legitimized. If peace is to be preserved, this situation offers an advantage for the construction of more egalitarian and democratic social identities in the new world order. Yet, one should bear in mind that, the line between respecting different cultures and respecting human rights at the individual level is not always easily distinguishable. This issue is especially important from the point of view of women, since cultures, religions, traditions and customs are often gender-biased and are reproduced as they manifest themselves through control over women's lives.
- 9— Furthermore, the world order for long has been articulating different cultures with each other economically, politically and socially within a hierarchical power structure. Therefore, attempts to substitute west-centered universal values and science by "indigenous" culture not only fails to break the international hierarchical structure but may also result in undue resignation to underdevelopment. Therefore, given the state of the existing order, establishment of egalitarian relations expected from globalization may be jeopardized.
- 10- Thus, if expanding parity democracy into all spheres of life, is a common goal for civilization, then, women who historically have been excluded from constructing the meaning of universality and universal values, must have their say in the re-definition of these concepts. If we fail to create such inclusively formulated universal values it would indeed be difficult to escape falling into double standards when confronted with diverse forms of human cruelty and to provide woman with the right to exist as an individual outside of the collective will.

I- REVIEW AND APPRAISAL AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL

A- ACCESS TO DECISION-MAKING AND USE OF POWER

1– Women are universally disadvantaged in access to decision-making mechanisms and power. The situation, in the case of Turkey, will be approached within the context of decision making in political institutions, public and business administration, professional associations and the academia.

1- Participation in Political Institutions

- 12- Women have limited representation within the political decision-making mechanisms. Since, women's participation in political decision-making is essential for actualizing both democracy and gender equality, this poses as a major constraint for the advancement of women.
- 13– The position of women in political decision-making mechanisms will be reviewed mainly within the context of the parliament, cabinet, local government and political parties.
- 14— a) Parliament: Turkish women were granted suffrage rights during the single-party period; first at local elections in 1930, then national elections in 1934. Thus women's participation in the parliament was symbolically significant in Turkey's efforts towards establishing an independent and modern state. For instance, in the 1935 elections where an informal quota system was implemented, 4.6% of the elected 395 members of the parliament were women. In 1946, with the introduction of the multi-party system, the ratio of women parliamentarians declined to around 2%. According to the election results of the last 20 years, 1.3% of the 450 MPs in 1973, 3% of the 400 MPs in 1983 and 1.8% of the 450 MPs in 1991 elections are women.
- 15-b) Cabinet: The number of women in government since the time they obtained suffrage rights, has remained extremely limited. From 1935 onwards, only 5 women have held ministerial positions 10 times in different governments. The governments that included the first woman ministers were the care-taker governments of the extraordinary period

between 1971-73. In these governments, the Ministry of Culture, and the Ministries of Health and State were occupied by women. It was only after the 1987 elections that an elected woman MP could take part in the government. In the three cabinets formed until 1992, a woman MP served twice as the Minister of Labor and Social Security and another as the Minister of State.

16—The first coalition government formed by True Path Party (Doğru Yol Partisi -DYP) and Social Democrat Populist Party (Sosyal Demokrat Halkçı Parti -SHP) which came to power in 1991 included two women as Ministers of State; one responsible for the economy, the other for women's affairs. This is the first time a state ministry was delegated with the responsibility of issues concerning women.

17- On the other hand, in the 1993 DYP-SHP coalition, a woman elected as the DYP leader became the Prime Minister, while the Minister of State responsible for women's affairs preserved her seat in the cabinet.

18- c) Local Government: Women are even less represented in local administrative councils. While, in 1984, only 0.3% of the 2202 members of the Provincial Council were women, the ratio had only increased to 0.8% of the 2653 members in 1989. On the other hand, while no woman mayor was elected in 1984, in the 1989 mayoral election 0.2% of the positions were occupied by women. In the last local elections, according to unofficial results, which took place in March 1994, 0.4% of the mayoral seats and 0.9% of the 3018 Provincial Council seats were taken by women.

19— The percentage of female members of the Municipal Councils is 0.6% for 1984, 0.7% for 1989. According to unofficial results of the 1994 local elections, this rate is 0.9%. 54% of these women are concentrated in the large cities such as Ankara, istanbul and izmir. Women representatives in local government councils are mainly from left wing parties.

20- d) Political Parties: There are no reliable data about female membership to political parties. However, according to declarations made by political parties, the ratio of female members is around 20%. Although before the 1980 military intervention women were able to organize around

women's branches of political parties, the constitutional change that followed in 1982 imposed restrictions on women's representation in decision-making and execution bodies of political parties. However, after 1983, volunteer women units have been established in all parties.

21– Another step towards increasing women's activities in political parties has been taken up by SHP in 1990 when the party introduced a 25% quota in provincial and municipal administrative councils. Despite these measures, up to date, only 3 women have reached the position of party general secretary so far. Presently, only the leader of the ruling DYP is a woman, she is also the Prime Minister.

2- Participation in Public Administration

- 22— Public administration offers the major employment opportunity for women with higher education. As a result, it contains a highly qualified group of women. However, women are a minority within the decision-making mechanisms. The position of women in the decision-making mechanisms of the public sector are presented below, separately for central government, local government and foreign service.
- 23- a) Central Administration: Research on women's work life shows that women are concentrated in central administration. Between 1938, when the first statistical data about women employees became available and 1990, the number of woman civil servants increased approximately 26.5 times and for men 6.3 times. For instance, in 1980 women employed in central government was 24%, in 1986 this rose to 26.7% and in 1990 to 30.4%.
- 24—According to 1993 figures, 51.2% of women employed in central administration work in education services, 30% work in general administration, and 6% work in health services. Women employed in these fields make up 86% of all women working in central administration. The number of woman employed in the service sectors has been increasing since 1976. Women also make up the majority of employed in the legal services. The participation ratios of women in professions such as medicine, judiciary and engineering are lower than those of men, they are, however, higher than those of developed countries.

- 25– A further analysis of the qualifications of woman employees in the central administration reveals that they have higher level of education than their male counterparts. However, average age and number of years worked are lower for women than men. This indicates that women are excluded from work at a young and productive stage of their life. The laws regulating the work conditions for civil servants allocate for women the right for a 9 week pre- and post-natal paid leave, 6 months of unpaid leave and early retirement. Although these are positive and supportive provisions for working women, in practice, they may effect the promotion of women to upper administrative positions adversely. For instance, since 1920, only 3 women have served as undersecretary or acting undersecretary. The situation with regard to upper administrative bodies is also less than satisfactory. The rate of woman administrators in general was 6% in 1985, this rate fell down to 4% in 1989. The rate has remained more or less constant at 4.2% in 1990 even when women in middle level administrative positions and inspectors are included.
- 26— The employment figures for the ministries, where women work intensively, are also revealing. The ratio of women in high administrative positions in the Ministry of Education is 11.5%, and 18% for the Ministry of Health. The available data show that women tend to reach administrative positions more in social and support institutions rather than technically oriented ones. According to 1992 data, the Ministry of Tourism ranked the highest with 32% woman administrators. However, these women were mainly employed in the less technical areas. Table I, in the appendix, shows the ratio of men and women in administrative positions in selected ministries.
- 27– A major development after 1985, in the field of women's representation in upper administration, has been the appointment of a women governor and three woman deputy district governors. However, one of the crucial fields within bureaucratic decision-making, i.e. finance inspectorate, continues to exclude women.
- 28- b) Local Government: The proportion of woman civil servants employed in local administrations was 11.8% in 1982, 13.8% in 1986 and 18% in 1990. Despite the increase in the ratio of women who are employed

as a civil servant, the ratio of women who are employed as laborers is only 1%. This is particularly significant since the latter earn considerably higher wages.

- 29– The number of woman administrators in local government, with the exception of political representatives is also low and limited to large cities. In 1990, the proportion of woman administrators in the municipalities ranged from 10% to 19%, reaching the highest in the three main cities, Ankara, istanbul and izmir, with 19.7%, 19.3% and 15.4% respectively. Furthermore, similar to central administration, women administrators at the local level are in charge of units designed for support purposes as well. Another issue worth mentioning in relation to local government is the fact that different parties that hold office display differences in their approach to the roles and responsibilities of women in administrative posts.
- 30- c) Foreign Service: The proportion of women employed in the foreign branches of public institutions was 11.8% in 1980, 11% in 1986 and 15.1% in 1990. The first woman ambassador was appointed in 1985. According to 1994 data, 15.4% of professional civil servants and 2.5% of ambassadors, in the Turkish foreign service, are women. In addition, the proportion of woman working in the foreign service as head of department and general manager is 12%.

3- Participation in Private Sector Management

31– In the private sector, data from 1993 indicates that, while 7% of women are self-employed, 0.46% are employers. Since 1985, there has been an increasing trend in women's participation in the private sector, working independently or as employers. Women entrepreneurs are mainly oriented towards service, manufacturing and commerce sectors. On the other hand, there is an increasing number of women executives in finance and in banking institutions of the private sector.

4- Professional Associations

32- Professional women in Turkey concentrate mainly in the following occupations: pharmacology, medicine, dentistry and law. In

1990, 20.1% of the members of the Board of Chambers of Pharmacists were women, this ratio was 5.6% for physicians, 8.8% for dentists and 7.4% for lawyers.

5- Participation in The Academic Institutions

33- Although the proportion of woman in the academia is 32% (1991-1992), they are extremely underrepresented in administrative posts. Throughout the history of the universities, there has been one elected and one appointed woman rector and it is note worthy that currently there is not a single woman among the 53 rectors. In the 1993-1994 academic year, only 8.6% of the 325 faculty deans in the 52 universities were women.

B- MECHANISMS FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF WOMEN

34– The initiatives undertaken both by the state and NGO's, within the past decade, to establish and develop mechanisms that will promote woman's advancement in all fields, has had two dimensions: First of all, significant steps were taken towards the establishment and expansion of an efficient national mechanism in the public sector; secondly, the approaches of the state and the NGO's, with respect to women's problems and status in society, became diversified and non-conventional. Perhaps the most significant gain of the past decade, for women has been the questioning of the traditional patriarchal structure and relations in society and the critique of the socio-cultural mechanism that reproduce this structure, both by the women's movement, as well as, institutions created by the state. Non-traditional discourses and policies have been adopted for the enhancement of women's social status and such concepts as "women's identity as an individual", "women's rights as part of human rights" and "women's consciousness raising" dominated the terminology of the field. These are all indicative of the changes in attitude and outlook.

1- National Mechanisms

35— Within this framework, in 1990, in conformity with both international resolutions and the targets and policies of the Sixth Five-Year Development Plan, as a national mechanism for the enhancement of women's status, the General Directorate on the Status and Problems of

Women (DGSPW) was established within the Ministry of Labor and Social Security. In 1991, the General Directorate became attached to the Prime Ministry and continued its functions within the Ministry of State responsible for Women's Affairs and Social Services. Finally in 1993, it became incorporated into the newly created Undersecretariat for Women's Affairs and Social Services. Which consists of two other General Directorates: General Directorate of Family and Social Research and General Directorate of Social Services and Protection of Children.

- 36—The General Directorate is designed as the main national service unit within the Undersecretariat and performs its obligations with a limited budget and personnel. The number of staff which was only 5 in 1991, increased to 42 in 1994. While the General Directorate share from the national budget was 0.001% in 1991, this share rose to 0.002% in 1994. The provincial organization still remains to be established.
- 37- The Ministries of Health, Agriculture and Rural Services and National Education, which all undertake activities directly related to women, each have special departments in which relevant services are carried out. It is essential that similar units be established in other ministries and public sector institutions which are directly involved in development.
- 38— In 1985 a "Women's Sector" has also been incorporated into the activities of the State Planning Organization which determines national targets for education, teaching, employment and health and formulates strategies, measures and policies in accordance with these targets.
- 39- Moreover, the "Social Structure and Woman Statistics" Department of the State Statistics Institute, established in 1993 with the cooperation of the General Directorate on the Status and Problems of Women has started to generate and make available gender-differentiated statistics.
- 40- Universities have opened centers and programs to contribute to the enhancement of women's status through research, seminars etc. These are:

İstanbul University, Center for Women's Issues Research and Implementation (1990);

- Marmara University, Center for Woman Labor Force Research and Implementation (1990);
- Ankara University, Center for Women's Issues Research and Implementation (1993);
- Middle East Technical University, Women's Studies Master's Program (1994).

2.- Local Governments

41— Women's commissions established within local governments started to carry out projects for women in 1990. However, these activities are confined only to municipalities in big cities. Therefore, they need to be expanded throughout the country and encourage women to organize beyond their traditional roles, so that, they can effectively integrate into the public sphere.

3- Volunteer Organizations

- 42– The 'Women's Commissions' which have been launched under all labor unions since 1993, aim to take the necessary measures to ensure economic and social rights of woman workers. However, since these commissions hold an insignificant place within the decision-making mechanisms of the unions, they are not effective in introducing women's rights as a separate issue in collective bargaining.
- 43– The volunteer women's organizations in Turkey, have a diverse historical background and a heterogeneous structure. Aside from numerous friendship, culture and charity associations which are sensitive to the issue of women, there are 211 associations and organizations which are specifically woman oriented. Especially after 1980s, in addition to formal women's organizations, discussion platforms have gained importance within the women's movement. These platforms organize campaigns geared towards creating an ungoing public opinion about gender equality and advocate solutions for women's problems. Moreover, since 1990

various centers that specialize on the issue of violence and women have been established. The "Women's Library and Information Center Foundation" performs the function of collecting all research material, publications, statistical data, legal texts, newspaper articles and documents related to women's issues.

C- COMMITMENT TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS

- 44— The commitment towards achieving and maintaining women's rights is reflected, first and foremost, in the legal system can be examined within the framework of the following laws:
 - 1. The Constitution
 - 2. The Civil Code
 - 3. The Criminal Code
 - 4. The Labor Law
 - 5. The Turkish Citizenship Law

1– The Constitution

45— According to Article 10 of the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey citizens cannot be discriminated on the basis of their gender. Furthermore, Article 12 of the Constitution states that all individuals have personal, inviolable, untransferable vested basic rights and liberties, and the same Article, with the use of the word "all", stipulates that there is no difference between men and women.

2- The Civil Code

46- Despite the principle of gender equality and the prohibition of gender based discrimination by the Turkish Constitution and by international agreements such as CEDAW, contradictory articles are encountered in the law. Below is a list of the articles regarding such issues as, household head, the responsibility to nurture the family, surname, place of residence, housing, representation of the conjugal unity, material possessions, profession and arts, legal procedures, custody of children, divorce and inheritance, all of which are inherently contradictory with the principle of gender equality.

- 47- According to Article 153 of the Turkish Civil Code, husband is the head of the conjugal unity. Article 152 leaves the wife in the care of the husband. The concept of a household head which is outdated for the modern society, is clearly against the principle of equality stipulated in CEDAW's articles 15/2 and 16/c. Moreover, leaving the husband in charge of the wife's and the children's care is also contradictory to the equality of spouses.
- 48– According to Article 153 of the Turkish Civil Code, a woman carries her husband's surname and Article 21 of the same code suggests that a woman's place of residence is her husband's place of residence. These codes are in contradiction with CEDAW's Article 16/9 which states that spouses have equal rights to their surnames and Article 15/4 which grants spouses the right to reside in different places. According to Article 154 of the Turkish Civil Code, the husband represents the conjugal unity, this is contradictory to Articles 16/c and 15/2 of CEDAW which stipulate that spouses should have equal rights within the marriage unity and that no discrimination should be made between sexes in terms of legal rights and equal opportunity.
- 49- Although the division of material possessions as stipulated by Article 170 of the Turkish Civil Code appears to be in conformity with the principle of equality between spouses, in practice it results in complete inequality. This division does not take into consideration the domestic labor of the housewife who does not work outside the house but contributes to the well-being of the family and to the accumulation of family assets by managing household affairs. The concentration of material goods, acquired at marriage, with the husband may leave the wife estray in case of divorce or the husband's death.
- 50- Article 159 of the Civil Code, which granted the husband the right of control over the wife's professional or artistic activities, has been annulled by the Constitution Court in 1990 on the grounds that it is contradictory to the principle of equality.
- 51- According to Article 169 of the Civil Code, the validity of legal procedures carried out by the wife with third parties in favor of the

husband depends upon a court decision. This again is in violation of Article 15/2 of CEDAW.

- 52– In relation to custody, according to Article 263 of the Turkish Civil Code, the mother and father have joint custody over their children throughout the duration of marriage, but in case of a dispute, the father's decision is valid. This is in contradiction with Article 16/d of the agreement.
- 53— Divorce procedures have been simplified with the 1983 amendments of the Civil Code. If a request for divorce, in accordance with reasons recognized by the law, is declined by the judge and a "joint life" cannot be re-established within 3 years from the date of the decline, the request of one of the spouses is sufficient for the court to approve the divorce. Certainly, to make divorce more difficult and to subject the spouses to an unwanted marriage is not desirable. Yet, as long as, equal property rights and a system providing for the protection of divorced women are not adopted, measures that make divorce even easier may not always be to the advantage of women.
- 54-Both women and men have equal rights to inheritance, however, there is discrimination against women in agricultural enterprises. The agricultural property of the deceased is first allocated to the sons who have demand over that property. Although this article is introduced in order to prevent the fragmentation of agricultural land, it is against Articles 14/2 and 15/2 of the Agreement and Article 62 of the "Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies".

3- The Criminal Code

55- There are gender discriminatory articles in the Turkish Criminal Code. The most significant ones being Articles 440 and 441. In these articles, adultery has been defined separately for the husband and the wife. A married woman can be charged with adultery if she has had sexual intercourse with a man other than her husband only once. This is not the case for the husband, for whom it must be proven that he has a continual and prolonged relationship with another woman.

- 56- Moreover, Articles 419 and 414 of the Criminal Code have different arrangements for rape and rape attempts and different penalties are foreseen in accordance with these arrangements.
- 57- According to Article 30 of the Criminal Code the penalty for abduction of a girl or a woman if committed with the purpose of marriage, is reduced to half. Since the reduction in penalty is based on a factor beyond the act of the crime and the will of the victim, it can not be accepted as a legitimate cause. Moreover, Article 429 of the code stipulates different penalties for the abduction of married and single women and gives heavier prison sentences to those who abduct married women. This violates the basic principle of human rights as well as the correspondence between crime and punishment. What is at stake here is the need to protect the rights of the individual, irrespective of the status of that individual.
- 58- Although Article 110 of the Civil Code does not recognize a religious wedding ceremony unless a civil marriage has also been performed, violation of the law in this regard is becoming increasingly widespread. The Criminal Code foresees sanctions for those who conduct a religious marriage without seeing the official marriage certificate (Article 237, Paragraph 3) and the men and women who indulge in such act (Paragraph 4). However, the law has been ineffective in preventing both polygamy and the punishment of the violators.
- 59-Finally, in the Turkish Criminal Code, there is no such concept as intra-marital rape. Yet, it is a well recognized value that sexual intercourse between spouses should be based on mutual consent. Otherwise, one spouse may become subjected to the demands of the other, thereby, violating the principle of the equality of the spouses. Therefore, an article stipulating intra-marital rape as a crime needs to be introduced into the Turkish Criminal Code.

4- The Labor Law

60- There are two types of regulations with regard to women in the labor legislation. The first set of regulations prevent women from undertaking dangerous work, while the second set relate to protective measures of maternal functions of women.

- 61– There are discriminatory articles in the Labor Laws regulating work life and social security. Article 81 of the Labor Law states that establishments employing more than 100 or 150 women should have nursing rooms and those employing more than 150 should provide nurseries. However, in practice, the employers keep the number of their woman employees below these limits and thus constrain work opportunities for women. Article 191 of the Law for Civil Servants foresees the establishment of similar services .
- 62- Article 17 of the Labor Law allows the employers to cancel the work contract in case of pregnancy or birth.
- 63—There are different practices in pre and post-natal leaves between woman laborers and civil servants. Article 70 of the Labor Law prohibits the employers from putting to work female laborer for 12 weeks 6 weeks before and 6 weeks after delivery and stipulates that the worker may take unpaid leave up to 6 months after the 6 week post-natal leave. Article 104/a of the Law for Civil Servants grants only 3 weeks pre-natal leave. The post-natal leave and the rights to unpaid leave are similar to those of the female laborers.
- 64—There is no regulation for the social security of housewives except for Article 79 of the Bağ-Kur Law. However, since this is a voluntary social security system it does not provide a solution to the social security needs of housewives.
- 65– Although the Turkish Constitution and international agreements refer to social security rights of all employees, woman workers in the agricultural sector have been grossly neglected. The Social Security Law provides a voluntary social security system for independent and self-employed agricultural workers. This law states that men and women over the age of 22 can make use of social security rights. This excludes, from social security benefits, woman agricultural workers who are not the head of their households and those who usually work as unpaid family laborer. Although, Article 60 of this law stipulates that unpaid family workers over the age of 18 may subscribe to the social security system, in practice this is not actualized. This situation is in violation of Article 14/c of CEDAW.

66— The unionization rights of workers have been regulated by the Trade Union Law. However, workers, especially those employed in the private sector avoid using their union rights and liberties with the fear of losing their jobs. An employer who dismisses an employee, can avoid paying the compensation which is foreseen by Article 13 of the Labor Law, in accordance with Article 17/2 of the same law. Under such circumstances, the burden of proving the bad intention of the employer falls on the worker.

5- The Turkish Citizenship Law

- 67– The Turkish Citizenship Law is egalitarian in principle. However, while a foreign woman married to a Turkish citizen is automatically granted Turkish citizenship (Article 5), the same right in not granted to foreign men married to Turkish women. Furthermore, a woman who is stateless is entitled for Turkish citizenship due to her marriage to a Turkish citizen (Article 15). Again, such a right is not granted to foreign men of no nationality. Both provisions are contradictory to Article 9 of CEDAW.
- 68– Democracy and human rights are founded on the principle on equality. Although a legal regulation does not guarantee equality in practice, it nevertheless, provides the basis for the legitimacy of equality and serves as a factor which stimulates social change. In this regard, despite the many advancements made, the Republic of Turkey has not been entirely successful, particularly in terms of fulfilling its commitment to amend the discriminatory aspects of its legislation within the framework of CEDAW and the Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies.
- 69– The Draft Amendment of the Civil Code prepared by the State Ministry responsible for women's problems, has been submitted to the Parliament in 1993, but it has not been passed yet. If the draft is ratified, the problems expressed above will be eliminated.
- 70- On the other hand, Turkey has remained faithful to some of its international commitments. Steps have been taken towards the establishment of a national mechanism in accordance with Article 1 of the "Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies" Agreement (see Section B of this report).

D. POVERTY AND DEVELOPMENT

71- Turkey is one of the few countries where food self-sufficiency is achieved. Therefore, it is not possible to talk about overall starvation and absolute poverty. However, due to high population increase, integration into market economy which brings with it economic fluctuations, uncertainties and inequalities and the inability of the system to generate sufficient employment opportunities, there is widespread relative poverty. The ways in which women experience poverty differs in rural and urban contexts.

1- Rural Areas

72- The process of integration of Turkish agrarian structure into market economy has accelerated after 1960, thus making the use of expensive agricultural inputs unavoidable. Small producers (those with less than 10 hectares of land) and the landless agricultural workers, who together constitute 80% of the rural population, became drawn into a new state of existence, requirements of which well exceed their recourses and know-how. This often means survival near levels of poverty for many of the rural households. According to the results of the Income Distribution Survey, conducted by the State Statistics Institute in 1987, 56% of the rural population (15.7 million) earn less than the minimum rural wage and 14% (4 million) are under the poverty line.

73— Non-agricultural income constitutes a significant part of the income of rural households. Salary and wages make up the largest proportion within the non-agricultural income, whereas income earned from commercial ventures comes second. In other words, those who engage in agriculture as their main occupation, earn only 50% of their income from agriculture under conditions of market economy, fragmented and unproductive small-scale agricultural enterprises have failed to provide a livelihood for the increasing population, pushing men to seek work in the non-agricultural sectors. This increases the responsibilities and workload of the woman remaining behind. The labor of rural woman in terms of subsistence and domestic production, is difficult to replace. Furthermore, the female labor has the flexibility to take over many of the work done by

men if needed. The same is not the case for male labor. Therefore, the poor rural households overcome their bottleneck, by and large, through increasing the work hours of women. Another dimension of male and female labor is the inequality in wages (Table 2). One of the reasons for this inequality is the fact that women do labor intensive, non-mechanised, unproductive and undervalued work. Again, according to 1987 survey, the monthly spendable income of women, who are heads of their households, is lower than that of men. Although, according to 1990 data, the ratio of women who are heads of rural households do not exceed the 7%, the effect of rural poverty is greatest on these women.

74— Due to poverty, permanent and seasonal migration of men has become a lifestyle. The women pass their lives waiting for their husbands who come home once in a while, while their children grow up, more or less, without their fathers. This is yet another dimension of the problem of rural poverty for women.

75.— A radical solution to the subsistence crisis caused by rapid population growth and structural transformations in agriculture appears to be possible through the establishment of rural industries which can create local employment opportunities for rural labor. Therefore, on the one hand, while this will create new work opportunities supportive of human honor and labor, on the other hand, a gradual shift from unproductive agricultural enterprises towards the non-agricultural sector will be encouraged.

2- Urban Areas

76—Large cities in Turkey have experienced intensive internal migration and thus, a rapid and unhealthy process of urbanization starting in the 1950s and intensifying especially after 1970. Within this process, gecekondu's (shanty towns) occupied the outer-skirts of the cities where buildings had no license, did not comply with any standard, lacked infrastructure and other urban services. While in 1955, 4.7% of the urban population lived in the gecekondu's this figure reached 23.6% in 1970. A 1984 study reveals that more than 50% of the population of the three major Turkish cities, Ankara, istanbul and izmir, live in the gecekondu.

Women in their everyday struggle for survival, experience the difficulties caused by environmental and infrastructural problems in these areas more intensely than men do.

77— The dwellers of the gecekondu live at the margin of urban standards. As such, their needs and demands are determined within a different frame of reference and since they maintain a strong linkage with their village they tend to have diverse and flexible sources of livelihood. Therefore, despite all the adverse conditions in the gecekondu, this marginality, in fact, offers alternative strategies to women, in making ends meet towards family subsistence. Whereas, the low and fixed income families living in the city proper are the most constrained by urban poverty. They face the dilemma of having to keep up with a middle class urban standard of living without a corresponding access to sufficient resources. The women in these families must perform miracles to maintain the household sustenance.

78— Thus in both rural and urban areas poor women do not have the opportunity to earn an income which will enable them to live as independent individuals. Furthermore, the responsibility they carry in managing limited household resources places the weight of poverty most intensely on their shoulders.

79— While these women contribute significantly to family welfare as well as to the national economy their role is grossly unacknowledged, underrepresented or simply overlooked.

80— Development efforts, in most cases, have been a top-down, male oriented, growth centered process and in rural areas women's integration into this process often resulted in either their greater seclusion from public life or greater exploitation of their labor without a corresponding alleviation in status, autonomy and active participation.

81- Rural development projects implemented in Turkey, so far, reveal that little success has been achieved in terms of initiatives to integrate women into the development process. Although, improvements in village infrastructure, literacy courses, conventional mother-child care and home economics programs have benefited women in their own right, such

approaches, however, continue to define women as a passive receivers of welfare provisions. Furthermore, such activities have little bearing on women's productive capacities, thus, in contributing to the eradication of poverty.

82- The first and comprehensive discussion of women in development (WID) issues at the governmental level took place at a conference in relation with the Erzurum Rural Development Project in 1987. Since then there has been a growing awareness, on the part of the policy makers and planners, to emphasize the significance of identifying women as special target groups whose active participation is targeted. Almost all rural development projects undertaken since 1990 have included a women component in the project design. In addition, all project biddings require a WID expert on the team of experts who will prepare the projects. Although, desired results have not yet been realized, these are significant accomplishments in the field of WID.

E- ACCESS TO PRODUCTIVE RESOURCES

83— The mechanisms which will enable women's access to resources that will increase their productivity and participation in economic activity are insufficient. The most important of such mechanisms are credit, property rights and agricultural extension.

1- Use of Credit

- 84– Although bank legislation do not have any discriminatory or restraining provisions to prevent women from obtaining mortgage or any other type of financial loan, in practice, women have limited access to formal credit. Currently, new measures are being taken to encourage women to apply for loans. However, neither the allocated funds, nor women's awareness about credit opportunities have reached a sufficient level.
- 85– The lack of gender based data about credit use makes a detailed analysis difficult. However, it is common knowledge that women make much less use of loans than men. A study carried out by the World Bank in 1991 also supports this assumption.

- 86-a) Bank Loans: The World Bank Study is based on the records of three public banks Ziraat Bank, Halkbank and Vakifbank.
- 87– In Turkey, agricultural credits are provided by Ziraat Bank. Despite regional differences, the data of Ziraat Bank shows that there is an imbalance between women's share in total deposits and their share in total credits. Women's share in total deposits is 26.3% and share of depositors is 26.1%. However, the share of loans used by women in the total amount of loans is 2.8% and the ratio of women borrowers is 3.3% (Table 3).
- 88—The data of Halkbank shows that deposits held by women makes up 38.5% of all deposits, while the percentage of women depositors is 12.5%. Despite their large volumes of deposit, the low share of women as borrowers is quite evident. While the share of loans received by women in the total amount of loans is 7.3%, their share in commercial loans is lower than that of retail loans. As might be expected, the share of loans received by women for domestic activities is the highest with 61.3%.
- 89— According to the Vakifbank data, the share of deposits held by women within the total amount of deposits is 10.1%, whereas the percentage of woman deposit holders is 13.2%. Again the share of credits received by women is low. The share of credits received by women within the total loans is 6.2% and the percentage of woman borrowers is 3.2%. In Vakifbank, as in the Halkbank, women make more use of retail loans than commercial loans (Table 3).
- 90— The basic factors that account for women's low level participation in credit mechanisms are: difficulty in showing collateral due to lack of property; lack of information about credit opportunity; high risks involved in being a small-scale and inexperienced debtor; social and cultural habits, among others.
- 91– The agreement for a project for the establishment of a Credit Guarantee Fund for Small and Medium Scale Enterprises, employing 1 to 100 workers, has become effective as of 1993 within the framework of technical cooperation agreement between Turkey and Germany. This fund will serve those entrepreneurs, male or female, who have difficulty in showing collateral.

- 92- b) Special Credit for Women: First initiatives for developing special credit for women has been within the context of programs designed to encourage and support small-scale woman businesses.
- 93— The resolution on the "Principles for Encouraging and Directing Investments and Services and Entrepreneurs Earning Foreign Currency" went into effect in the beginning of 1993. Halkbank offers two types of loans to woman entrepreneurs within the framework of this resolution.
- 94— The first type of credit is offered through the cooperation of the Directorate for Developing and Supporting Small and Medium Scale Industries (KOSGEB) and Halkbank. This is a loan of a limited scale, issued for woman entrepreneurs who need to buy the necessary machinery, looms and equipment for individually or collectively done work at their homes, in carpet and kilim weaving, knitting, food production, catering and similar activities. Only 10% interest is charged for this credit. The term of the credit expires at the end of 3 years and the bank requires a collateral.
- 95– As of April 1994, 2938 applications have been received for this credit of which 2526 have been approved, 665 of the approved projects have been granted the right to receive the credit but only 238 projects have actually received the credit due to insufficiencies in transfer of funds from the Treasury. Among the project applications approved by KOSGEB 2293 are in manufacture of garments and knitwear, 120 in carpentry, 21 in food and 92 in other fields of activity.
- 96—The second type of credit, which is called "Credit for Women and Young Entrepreneurs", has been launched directly by Halkbank in the light of the experiences of the first type credit. This credit is made available to women entrepreneurs who wish to engage in service oriented activities, as well as, those included in the first type credit. The interest rate is 40% and is offered on the basis of an establishment credit not exceeding 70% of the cost of machinery and equipment and credit not exceeding 30% of the operation cost. The resource allocated for this credit is 1.5 trillion Turkish Liras. As of April 1994 the total number of applications is 254 and the total amount of credits granted is 9 billion Turkish Liras.
- 97- Within the framework of special credits for women, Vakıfbank offers credit up to 50 million Turkish Liras to women producing or

planning to produce domestically. The loan is made available for the purchase of looms or equipment for sewing, embroidery and catering. Moreover, this bank has been the pioneer in encouraging non-domestic production by offering 250 million Turkish Liras credit to women who work in non-tradition fields of activity. The most significant aspect of the credit is the acceptance of two civil servants or two income earning housewives as guarantors. As of April 1994, 11 women have received credit amounting to a total of 750 million Turkish Liras.

2– Property

98—a) Land Property: As indicated in section C of this report, there is no legal inequality between men and women with regard to land ownership. However, law on inheritance has provisions which allow for gender discrimination in agricultural land ownership. The reason behind this is to prevent further division of the already existing small agricultural enterprises. The social tendency for women, in the rural areas, is to give up their rights over land in favor of their brothers.

99-b) Urban Property: In Turkey as a whole, 73.1% of real estate is owned by men, while 8.7% belong to women (Table 4). In the cities, this ratio is 68.3% for men and 12.7% for women. The discrepancy, in favor of men, is even greater in rural areas. Although joint ownership is higher in the urban areas as opposed to rural areas, it is only 5.6% in all of Turkey. The pattern of property ownership observed between men and women is also valid for male and female children.

3- Agricultural Extension

100- Agricultural extension programs started in 1937 by the General Directorate of Rural Services in Ministry of Agriculture. The extension programs designed for woman are confined to home-economics activities with the objective of improving the well-being of the family. These activities have generally aimed to enable women to meet the basic re-productive needs. Since the 1980's, extension programs for women began to include income -generating activities, as well. This partially addresses the requirements of changing conditions. However, production oriented extension services continue to define male farmers as their target

population. It is generally assumed that the information will trickle-across to the wives. As a result, women have indirect access to the information and technology related to their work.

101- Agricultural Extension Implementation and Research Project (TYUAP II, 1991-1994) conducted by the Ministry of Agriculture has attempted to develop new approaches, to ensure that more effective extension can reach women.

F- INEQUALITY IN EDUCATION, HEALTH AND EMPLOYMENT

1- Education

102- The underdevelopment phenomenon that characterizes the social structure in Turkey immediately reflects itself in gender inequality in education. The main reasons for this inequality are, the use of limited economic resources selectively (a continuation of patriarchal values), and as a result of increasing internal migration and rapid urbanization, social and cultural inconsistencies, regional disparities and increasing influence of religious education over the secular educational institutions.

103– The most obvious indicator of gender inequality in Turkey is the disparity in the rates of literacy. Despite a significant drop in the rates of illiteracy for women, in the last decade, one third of Turkish women are still illiterate. In 1980 the rate of illiteracy among women over the age of 15 was 60.3%, in 1985 this rate fell to 35.7% and to 31.0% in 1990. This implies a clear case of disparity when compared to the situation of men (the illiteracy rate for men was 25.5% in 1980, 12.4% in 1985 and 10.2% in 1990). The disparity in literacy is even more striking between rural-urban areas and different regions (Tables 5 and 6).

104— The schooling rates for boys and girls in the compulsory primary school level (5 years) are similar. These rates are 85.4% for girls and 91.1% for boys in the 1991-92 academic year. However, in secondary and higher education institutions, the number of female students drops sharply. Gender inequality in education increases parallel to the level of education. For instance in the 1991-92 academic year, 53.2% of girls have continued on to the secondary school after completing their primary school education, whereas, this rate is 72.8% for boys (Table 7).

- 105— There are regional disparities in attendance and completion of higher education institutions in general. The differences between the levels of education of men and women is the greatest in the less developed regions of the country. In Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia, where economic limitations and traditional values act as a constraint on the education of women, the situation is further frustrated by the on going armed conflicts. In the last four years many schools have been shut down for security reasons and the students have had to attend schools in the vicinity or more distant locations. Female students are directly affected by this situation, because of restrictions on their physical mobility.
- 106— The secondary school education is carried out in "vocational-technical" and in "general" schools. The number of female students in both types of schools is low and systematically decreases as the level of schooling increases (Table 8).
- 107– The completion rates for secondary schools reveal that the ratio of female students in "vocational and technical" education is higher than that in "general" education and the former has shown a faster rate of increase in the past decade (Table 8). This has important implication for the education and social position of women, since vocational and technical education, which aims to prepare students for income generating activities and jobs in the market, is increasingly shifting to a religious education, with an emphasis on traditional women's roles.
- 108— In a country, such as Turkey, where majority of the population is Muslim and patriarchal values dominate social relationships, gender equality has, more or less, prevailed as a result of secular education. In the past decade, however, religiously based secondary school education has been on the rise and the proportion of female students in these institutions, is also rapidly increasing.
- 109- The religiously oriented schools offer secondary education within the vocational-technical school system. The proportion of female students in vocational-technical secondary schools has increased from 33.47% in 1982-83 to 35.19% in 1991-92. However, the proportion of girls in religious schools increased from 19% in 1981-82 to 27% in 1991-92. In

other words, the increase observed in the ratio of female students in vocational-technical secondary schools can be attributed to an increase in the number of girls in schools with religious curriculum. This may be positive in quantitative terms, however, such education in addition to reinforcing traditional female roles, also fails to provide the female students with an education that will create employment opportunities in modern social institutions. Thus in the long run, it can have adverse impact on women's status.

110- Although women's participation in higher education has shown an increase through the years, there is still great disparity between the proportion of females and males. While during the 1982-83 academic year, the proportion of women in higher education was 31.35%, in 1990-91 this figure rose to 33.05%. Likewise, there is an increase in the number of women university graduates (Table 9). Nevertheless, both data reveal that share of women in higher education is about one third of the total.

111– With regard to the distribution according to academic fields, greatest number of women graduated from schools of fine arts (56%), followed by medicine and health (48%), pedagogy and teacher education (47%) and humanities (46%) (Table 9).

112– Although the trends in the above distribution have not shown significant change, within the past decade, some interesting variations have taken place. For instance, from 1982-83 to 1990-91 while the highest increase in the number of female graduates has continued to occur in traditional fields such as humanities, fine arts and education, where women's participation has always been high, at the same time a significant rise in the number of women graduates from non-traditional fields of commerce and business administration, is observed.

113— Another non-traditional field for women, i.e. engineering, has risen from 18.7% in 1982-83 to 19.3% in 1990-91. These figures, which can be considered to be quite high, are somewhat misleading since the "engineering" category includes engineering proper as well as architecture and urban planning and it is the latter two where female graduates are particularly high. For instance, while the ratio of women graduates from

engineering alone is 15%, and has shown a slight decline in the course of the past decade, the proportion of women in architecture and urban planning is as high as 61%. This is indicative of the fact that, women concentrate more on the less technical fields in engineering, which are considered to be more "appropriate" for women.

114— As in other countries, Turkey has a large concentration of women in the teaching profession. The highest number of women teachers work in primary education (Table 8). However, there is also a significant proportion of women in higher education (Table 9). In the 1991-92 academic year 32% of all teaching staff in higher education were women. The participation of women among university teaching staff is much higher than the world average. However, the proportion decreases universally with the academic hierarchy. Women working in the universities tend to be employed in support positions which lack promotional opportunities, such as, specialist or instructor, thus, revealing that the academic structure is also stratified by gender (Table 10).

115— On the other hand, an important dimension of women's education is within the framework of informal education programs, which have both negative and positive impact on the overall education of women. The training centers offering vocational courses attract large participation. However, the number of women who attend the Koran courses offered under the informal education programs have also been increasing. On the other hand the number of students attending the many unofficial Koran courses are not reflected in statistics, therefore making it impossible to know the quantitative aspects of such education.

2- Health

116- Children between the ages of 0-14 and women between the ages of 15-49 constitute 62% of the Turkish population. This group, due to its physiological characteristics and health problems, make up a special social category.

117— Women have a higher life expectancy ratio than men. In 1990 life expectancy at birth was 66 for women and 63 for men, at age at 1 this was 69 and 67 respectively. However, compared to developed countries, the life expectancy levels in Turkey are considerably lower.

118—A gender analysis of infant mortality reveals that male babies have a higher level of death. Infant mortality rate is still very high in Turkey although it decreased from 92.0 per thousand in 1983 to 81.5 in 1988 and further to 52.6 in 1993. In 1989 this rate was 65.08 per thousand for male infants and 59.34 for female. There is significant regional variation by locality, for example, the rate is 69.14 in rural areas, 47.78 in urban areas, 49.39 in the Western and 78.83 in the Eastern provinces.

119— The mortality rates for infants in the neonatal and post-neonatal periods also display differences according to locality and region. Throughout the years, a significant fall has been observed in the rates of both categories. As shown below, the decrease in urban areas is especially striking.

	Infant N Rate (per	eonatal Mortality (1000)	Infant Post-Neone Rate (per 1000)	atal Mortality
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
1978	58	62	61	84
1983	31	50	28	74
1988	28	43	22	63

120- Child mortality, between the ages 1 and 4, shows no difference for boys and girls. However, as in the case of infant mortality, there are significant differences between regions and settlement areas. Average mortality rate for children between the ages 1-4 was 23.7 per thousand in 1983, 16.8 in 1988, 8.8 in 1993. These rates, which are especially high in the rural areas of certain regions are caused by limited access to health services, lack of education, a fatalistic attitude and sexist cultural values. Moreover, the high infant mortality rates have negative bearing on women's fertility rate.

121- The data on inoculation shows that vaccination rates, are slightly in favor of girls. In 1993, 62.8% of boys and 66.2% of girls were

inoculated. Again significant differences exist between settlement areas and regions; for instance, vaccination rate was 50.7% in rural areas, 73.9% in urban areas, 76.0% in the West and 40.6% in the East. Another aspects which needs to be considered is the correlation between the mother's level of education and vaccination. While vaccination rates for children of illiterate mothers is 45.8%, this rate is 70.8% for children whose mothers are primary school graduates and 82.5% for children of mothers who have completed secondary school or institutions of higher education.

122— Various studies carried out in 1974 and 1987 show that malnutrition rates for infants under 5 years of age has been decreasing. While this rate was 20% in 1977, it dropped to 11.5% in 1987. Failure to sufficiently supplement infant diet, weight during birth, mother's diet during pregnancy, the family's economic conditions and the education of the mother are some of the factors that influence malnutrition.

123—In spite of a gradual fall in the total birth rate, the desired levels are not achieved yet. Birth rate which was 4.3 per thousand in 1978 decreased to 3.0 in 1988 and to 2.5 in 1993. There is almost no difference between rural (2.9% per thousand) and urban areas (2.3 per thousand), however, the difference between regions is considerable. In 1993, the birth rate in western provinces was 1.9, whereas, in the East it was 4.1.

124- During delivery, only 76% of women receive assistance from trained health personnel and only 60% give birth in a health institution. The distribution of house deliveries display large differences in terms of settlement areas, regions and the education of women and is complementary with other indicators of mother and child care. In rural areas 59.2% of deliveries are performed in the home, the same figure for urban areas is 27.4%; 19.8% in the West; 69.6% in the East; 69.2% for illiterate mothers; 29.6% for primary school graduates and 12% for secondary and higher school graduates. Home births with assistance from health personnel amounts up to 24.8%, while home births with no professional assistance constitutes 24.3%.

125— Through the years the use of modern contraceptives has increased. However, 1993 data reveals a slight decrease caused by the fall

in the use of traditional methods. Contraceptive use rate was 63.4% in 1988 and 62.6% in 1993. The use of modern contraceptive methods has increased from 31% to 34.5% in the same years. There is a large number of women who do not use any contraceptive method or use an ineffective one, even though they do not want more children. The reason given, by nearly a quarter of these women, for not using contraceptives is that their "husbands do not want it".

126-According to 1993 data, the use of modern contraceptives varies with the education levels of women. While only 24% of illiterate women use contraceptives, the rate is 36% for primary school graduates and around 50% for graduates of secondary schools and higher institutions of education.

127- Maternal mortality rates in Turkey are 30 times as high as those in developed countries. This rate was 208 per hundred thousand in 1975 and 132 per hundred thousand in 1981. As in infant mortality, maternal mortality in Turkey, is also higher than that of countries in the same income level. Lack of education, fatalism, the disparity in the distribution of health services, lack of access to the existing services and low status attributed to women account for the high maternal mortality.

128- Abortion is legal in Turkey. A law issued in 1983 has legalized the voluntary termination of pregnancies not exceeding 10 weeks and the surgical sterilization operations. The law requires the consent of both spouses for abortion, for married women. Although this may pose a constraint on women, the introduction of the law, nevertheless, has reduced the number of deaths, disease and defects caused by abortions previously carried out by primitive means.

129- The high prevalence of anemia in pregnant women plays an important role in bleeding which is the primary reason for maternal deaths. Although there is no nation wide data, some small-scale studies reveal that 74% of pregnant women were anemic in 1974, and 50% of adult women suffered from anemia between 1986-88. It is particularly alarming that in the Black Sea region, 95% of pregnant women have hemoglobin levels under 11 grams.

- 130— The low status of women; eating from the same dish, feeding and cooking habits; ignorance and negligence of personal hygiene are some factors that have adverse effect on women's health.
- 131- Tetanus vaccination of pregnant women is still quite insufficient despite the increase observed over the years. The high number of home births increases the risk of neonatal tetanus considerably. The percentage of pregnant women receiving tetanus vaccine was 11% in 1988, 15% in 1989 and 40% in 1993.
- 132– The limited data at hand suggest that the number of AIDS cases and HIV positive patients has been increasing rapidly and that there is concentration between the ages 25-49. The 3 big cities, Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir have the largest number of AIDS cases and HIV carriers, although a considerable number of cases and carriers have also been detected in the relatively developed cities like Antalya, Trabzon, Nev ehir, Eski ehir, Bursa and Manisa. While the number of AIDS cases was 88 in 1992 and 201 in 1993, the number of HIV carriers was 153 and 315 respectively.
- 133— Turkey has set the following targets for the year 2000 in the fields of maternal care and family planning services: to bring down population growth rate under 2%; to reduce the interregional differences in health indicators by 75%; to diagnose all pregnancies at an early stage and ensure pre-natal care; to provide assistance from health personnel in all deliveries; to reduce maternal mortality rate to 50%; infant mortality rate to 20 per thousand and child mortality rate to 40 per thousand.

3- Employment

134—Despite the consensus, by all concerned, over the importance of women's participation in the labor force for women themselves, as well as, their families and the national economy, effective measures towards this end have not been taken. Therefore, increasing women's employment in jobs with social security, ensuring that women enter the work life as qualified and skilled labor, developing the necessary training programs to this effect, remain basic targets.

135- Women are intensively employed in the agricultural sector in Turkey. According to 1990 data 82% of women work in agriculture. Although, parallel to the general decrease in the overall agricultural work force, the proportion of the total female labor force working in agriculture has also shown a drop over the years, however, their percentage within the agriculture sector has, in fact, increased. For instance, while this rate was 53.5% in 1985, it reached 55% in 1990. This process is in conformity with what has come to be referred to in the literature as "feminization of agriculture". However, 89% of women in the agricultural sector are unpaid family workers and the ratio of paid women workers is very low (3.2%).

136– Women who are part of the economically active population in the agricultural sector, may withdraw from the labor market after migrating to the cities. While some of these women become housewives, others particularly in the qecekondu, contribute to urban unemployment or work at marginal jobs. This situation which is caused by the phenomenon of rural transformation and migration, is the basic reason for the constant fall in women's participation rates in the labor force. In addition, girls who start working after primary school in rural areas tend to continue on to secondary school in urban areas. While the Labor force Participation Rate (LPR) for women in 1988 was 33.8%, it fell to 30.6% in 1993. In rural areas it was 48.2% whereas in the cities it was 15%. As suggested by these data, women have limited employment opportunities in the formal sectors in the cities. Nevertheless, these women many of whom are unskilled, instead of working outside of their homes contribute to the family budget by working as domestic workers or do piece work at their homes. In some cases, these women are the basic providers for their families. Some of these activities which constitute an important dimension of women's work in the cities often are not reflected in LPR data.

137- In Turkey, where urban growth was not accompanied by a parallel development in the employment infrastructure, unemployment rates are rather high. Urban unemployment which was 11.7% in 1992, was 20.5% for women. Younger women are affected by this situation more severely. The unemployment rate for women in the 20-24 age group is as high as 32.5%. The rate for men in the same age group is 19.2%.

Employment opportunities for women improve as their level of education increases (Table 11).

- 138— There has been a shift from agriculture to other sectors in female labor force participation in the 1980's. This is largely due to a general fall in agricultural work force. While the share of women agricultural workers within total female labor force decreased from 87% in 1980, to 82% in 1990, during the same period, it has risen from 4.5% to 6.4% in non-agricultural activities.
- 139— A review of the sectoral employment data shows that women are represented the highest in scientific-technical professions with 4.8% in 1990. On the other hand, high level executive positions have the lowest proportion of women employees with only 0.20%. In all occupations, however, an increase was observed in the employment of women in 1990. This increase is the highest among commercial, sales and service workers (Table 12).
- 140— A significant part of the wage earners in manufacturing, industry and service sectors are under the social security program of Social Security Institute (SSK). However, women are underrepresented in SSK due to their underrepresentation among the wage earners. While the number of women within Social Security Institute was 229.291 in 1985, the number of men was 2.378.574. The proportion of women within the total was only 8.8%, it reached 10.7% in 1993. Daily average wage based on the premiums was 7.6% lower for women than men in 1993.
- 141– In Bağ-Kur, which is the social security institution covering self-employed individuals, women's ratio is 9.37% in 1990. The voluntary pension scheme offered to housewives by Bağ-Kur remains limited due to reasons, such as, high premiums, dependence on the husband for making the payments and lack of information. Bağ-Kur's agricultural pension scheme addresses mainly men. Women can only subscribe to the scheme as heads of their families thus enabling only widows or divorcees to make use of the scheme. In 1992, only 2% of Bağ-Kur pension scheme members were women.
- 142– The Pension Fund (Emekli Sandığı), which is the social security institution that provides pension plans to civil servants, has the highest proportion of women members. In 1992, the proportion of female members of the Pension Fund was 30.3 %.

143—In the recent years, in order to encourage women's participation in employment certain incentives have been introduced to support women to start a business. However, this has been confined to traditional activities aimed at making contributions to the family budget. Moreover, since credits are extended through bank loans and women face a number of obstacles in receiving these credits, as mentioned in earlier sections, the initiative has been less than effective.

G. VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND THE IMPACT OF CONFLICT

144— The increasing regional/local wars have opened up a new front which operate against women: rape. Although rape is one of the most widely used means of violence especially against women and children as a reward for the winner and a humiliation for the loser, it remains to be the least condemned war crime. In view of the current developments in the world, the need to address this issue with great concern, during the 4th International Women's Conference, is self-evident.

145- As in all other parts of the world violence against women is a serious problem in Turkey. In spite of the presence of a number of non-governmental, official and semi-official organizations, concerned with this problem, the real dimensions of violence against women remain unknown.

146- Violence against women became central to the agenda of the Women's movement in the 1980s and through this movement became a national issue. This is an important development from the point of view of the society. The problem has received greater attention through debates, conferences and similar activities during and after 1988. Various organizations have published books, leaflets, magazines and posters etc. on the subject. Furthermore, television and radio channels have programs which give information on the issue of women and violence and introduce the institutions where battered women can get help from.

1- Societal Sensitivity to the Use of Violence

147– Although there is a tendency among both men and women to accept violence against women as legitimate, in the Turkish society, the

campaign launched in 1987 by feminist women against beating has led to a certain sensitivity on the issue. 3000 women participated in the meeting organized in Istanbul in the context of this campaign. The campaign attracted both positive and negative reactions in the press and its impact spread all over the country, creating a turning point in women's awareness on violence.

148– Parallel to the growing sensitivity on the issue, Purple Roof Shelter Foundation (1990) and Woman Solidarity Foundation (1993) against violence against women have been established. These organizations provide psychological and legal advice, employment opportunities, psychological guidance, vocational training, as well as, training against violence in their centers. 262 women have applied to Purple Roof Shelter Foundation within two years from its establishment. Altındağ Woman Solidarity Center established in 1991, within Women Solidarity Foundation, provided 500 women with its services until the Foundation gained legal status in 1993. Furthermore, in 11 months more than 60 women have made use of the Woman Shelter established by the Foundation in 1993. It should, however, be mentioned that, such establishments operate mainly in big cities.

149– After the 1989 elections, when social democratic parties won the majority of local governments, municipalities gave support to the establishment of centers for women subjected to violence. Nearly 4000 women have made use of women's centers established by the municipalities of Istanbul Bakırköy (1990), Şişli (1990), ızmir Bornova (1991), Kayseri (1992) and Nazilli (1992). The Nazilli, Kayseri and Bakırköy centers have later been shut down. The fact that the Islam-based Refah (Welfare) Party has won the majority in many local governments in the 1994 elections has raised serious concern about the future of the woman centers operating within these municipalities.

150– At the governmental level, the General Directorate on the Status and Problems of Women supports research on violence against women and organizes activities such as seminars and training programs.

151- In addition, the General Directorate of Social Services and Protection of Children (GDSSPC) has woman's hostels in Ankara, Antalya,

Bursa, Eskişehir and Izmir, many of which have been established in 1991. The General Directorate has assumed the task of assisting women with their children who have been physically, sexually or psychologically abused. The hostels offer shelter to those who are "abandoned by their spouses due to family disputes; physically, sexually or psychologically abused; subject to material or social poverty beyond their control caused by their personal or environmental conditions; forced into an unwanted marriage; treated drug or alcohol addicts; have recently been released from prison; have illegitimate children and have been refused by their families for this reason." From the date of its establishment up to 28 February 1994, 524 women and 515 children were admitted to hostels.

- 152- Moreover, in its orphanages and senior citizens homes, GDSSPC provides services the younger and older women groups who are especially vulnerable to violence and oppression. The number of these homes has risen from 19 in 1985 to 36 in 1993. In addition, a center for the rehabilitation and care of mentally handicapped woman was established in 1993.
- 153- Another group vulnerable to violence is the group of women who were forced to migrate from their homeland. In recent years, groups of women who have been subjected to violence and whose lives are under constant threat, migrated to Turkey from Iran, Iraq, Bulgaria and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Some of these women live in refugee camps away from their families with an unknown future.
- 154— Case of forced migration also occurs in South Eastern Turkey where armed clashed and terrorist activities have been on going since the mid-1980's. In these areas women and children are not only the direct targets of violence but are often forced to leave their homes and migrate.
- 155- Women left behind by husbands who are economic or political immigrants to European countries, or women who have personally joined international labor migration comprise other women categories who are vulnerable to violence and oppression. Thus, the latter experience the difficulties of migration phenomenon much more intensively than their male counterparts.

- 156- Apart from these special circumstances, women in general are not properly protected from violence due to sexist approaches in the legislation. The Turkish Civil Code's approach to women keeps men in a dominating and superior position. This approach which limits especially married women's rights to individuality and self-determination is the principal legal basis of women's secondary status. The sexist approaches are also evident in the penalties for violent crimes against women.
- 157— The Turkish Criminal Code which draws a clear distinction between women and men involved in adultery has considerable reduction on penalties for acts of murder caused by adultery. The code, which fails to provide the necessary protection for women subject to sex crimes, foresees different penalties for crimes against married and single women. Domestic violence is considered to be a crime only if it is reported as a complaint and the criminal is sentenced to a maximum of 30 months imprisonment.

2. Approach to Violence Against Women in the Legal System

- 158— Section 8 (Article 414-424) of the Criminal Code entitled, "Crimes Against General Morality and Family Order" regulates sexual assault. These crimes mainly committed against individuals are evaluated on the basis of general morality and thus the legal interest of the individual is neglected. Articles 414 and 415 differentiate between rape and rape attempt. Article 423/1 sets forth "the violation of virginity" as a condition, thus the crime depends not on the act of rape but on the virginity of the victim.
- 159— Article 429 deals with abduction of girls and women and foresees different penalties for the act depending upon whether the woman is married or single. Furthermore, Article 433 reduces penalties for the crime if the act of abduction is committed with the intention of marriage regardless of the woman's will.
- 160- Articles 440 and 441 define the act of adultery differently for men and women and it is further calls for a reduced sentence for acts of murder incited by adultery. This has important implications for violence against women.

161– Article 453 the penalty for a woman who kills her infant in order to protect her honor is 4 to 8 years of imprisonment, a penalty which is much lower than the one given for ordinary acts of murder. According to the article, the relatives who kill the new-born baby in order to save the women's honor and dignity shall only be sentenced to 5 to 10 years of imprisonment. Article 462 further states that a criminal who has killed or attempted to kill his relative involved in adultery or an illegitimate affair shall receive 1/8 reduction in his penalty.

3- Domestic Violence and Judicial Practices

- 162- Article 487 states that maltreatment, such as physical abuse between the spouses, is a crime only if the injured party files in a formal complaint. A formal complaint requires that the woman subjected to violence would have to show witnesses, insist on medical examination and follow up her claim, in other words, display a persistent attitude. The reports prepared by the doctors and the police about hospitalized women are not always accurate. The accuracy of the records depends largely on the woman's account of the event and her persistence. As a result, the few cases that actually make it to the courts are related to charges against "wounding". Domestic violence is rarely charged as "murder attempt".
- 163- The implementation of Article 478 which suggests imprisonment up to 30 months for domestic maltreatment is hindered by reasons mentioned above. Moreover, most prison sentences are for 7 days and are far from being preventive.
- 164- Another important issue is damage caused to property. Article 524 stipulates that no legal action shall be taken for crimes against material goods except for plunder if committed by one of the spouses. Although the provision aims to maintain the unity of the family, it fails to protect the injured party.
- 165- One final point is related to the unfortunate examination for virginity and sexual intercourse. These are carried out in an arbitrary and humiliating manner. The lack of a regulation about the issue in the Law on Penal Court Procedures, which went into force in 1993, is a source further difficulty.

4- Trends for The Future

of violence against women. The women's movement and the international agreements signed by Turkey has led the state to recognize that violence against women is a basic violation of human rights. However, it cannot be claimed that this recognition has become ingrained in the public opinion, both men and women, and state institutions. Furthermore, the activities of the women's movement which enhanced the sensitivity of the public opinion in the past have gradually decreased. Almost all of the women's solidarity groups (except for Purple Roof and Woman's Solidarity Foundations) which were established during the 1987-88 "Campaigns Against Beating" have disintegrated in 1991-92. This verifies the difficulty involved in forming and developing and independent and credible movement to deal with the various aspects of the problem of women and violence.

167- It must be kept in mind that, since a peaceful and non-violent environment is the first pre-requisite for enhancing women's status, the continual subjugation of women to aggression, across social class, stands as the major obstacle for women's self-actualization and their participation in various spheres of society. The limited number of studies on violence reveal that especially domestic violence against women is perceived as a normal part of life. For instance, according to a 1988 study, 45% of men in Turkey think that husbands have the right to beat "non-obedient" wives. 66% of men believe that men have absolute authority at home and women have to obey them. 54% of men are convinced that men are more clever and superior than women and 64% claim that wives must accept their husbands' opinion in cases of dispute. Another study (1990) shows that 20% of women and 32% of men approve of men beating their wives. However, although violence as a value is so internalized, women resist and try to fight back. According to the findings of a 1992 study 53% of family disputes are caused by physical abuse of women by the husband and 31% by the husband beating the children.

II. INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR TECHNICAL COOPERATION

168– The Turkish Government has made a commitment to establish the necessary national mechanism for reaching gender equality and organizing the necessary activities as stipulated by the 1986 Agreement on the Prevention of All forms of Discrimination Against Women. Accordingly, as mentioned earlier in this report, the General Directorate on the Status and Problems of Women was established in 1990 and became attached to the Ministry of State for Women's Affairs and Social Services in 1991.

169– The establishment of a high level state mechanism to address women's issues is a turning point for both the strengthening of the national mechanism for women and development, as well as, initiating national policies pertaining to the subject.

170– The first national report on the social situation of women was discussed by the United Nations CEDAW committee in 1990. The second national report was sent in 1993 and entered the CEDAW list. The date for the discussion of the report will be set in January 1995.

171– A transfer of international technical co-operation resources to the Turkish women and development sectors correspond to the period when the aforementioned national mechanism was established. The resources of the UN women and development program were channeled to the Turkish National Program in 1992. In 1993 it became effective as "The National Program For The Strengthening of Women's Participation in Development" with support from the United Nations Development Program (UNDP).

172- Considerable number of women specialists have been employed in The Turkish Government-UNDP collaborative projects since the 1970s and has shown a significant increase in the recent years. 90% of the project managers, specialists and support personnel working for the TUR/92/006 National Women and Development Project, carried out jointly with the Ministry of State, General Directorate on the Status and Problems of Women, are women. The UNDP has made available a total of 600.000 US Dollars for the project, the duration of which is 5 years.

- 173- Various research on the social position of the Turkish women have been launched in connection with the Human Development Reports published by UNDP since 1990. The reports evaluating the research results have been submitted to the attention of authorities in official and political organizations.
- 174—The "Development of Women's Employment" project, which is a component of a larger project on "Employment and Education", prepared and financed jointly by The Turkish Government and the World Bank, aims at facilitating women's access to the more prestigious careers which are dominated by men. This is a research project covering a wide variety of the different aspects of the issue, such as: women's position in employment, existing opportunities for women's participation in fields which provide promotion, policy requirements, and finally, dissemination of the findings to the public. The project is financed with 1.4 million US Dollars and its duration is 4 years.
- 175- "Small Business Project" financed by the 332 000 US Dollar donation provided by Japanese Grant Foundation through the World Bank, aims at an analysis of institutional and practical problems faced by female entrepreneurs and the formation of necessary mechanisms to overcome these problems. Within this framework there are plans to establish a rotating capital fund which will provide credit to women entrepreneurs. This is a preparatory project and it will be possible to find new funding depending upon the developments achieved by the project.
- 176- Another UN organization, World Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) conducts joint projects with the Ministries of Agriculture and Forestry for improving women's economic situation by increasing her productivity and effectiveness in production through the use of extension and credit opportunities within the process of rural development.
- 177- An important dimension of international support to rural development in Turkey is provided by the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD). Muş-Bingöl (1990-1993) project supported by IFAD had rural women as an important target group. Yozgat

Rural Development Project (1991-1993) also supported by IFAD is an integrated project and is especially important in its efforts to encourage a participatory approach and organization.

178– The Turkish Government-UNICEF co-operation programs are based on the assumption that women's status and problems emanate from the discrimination against female children, therefore, they favor positive discrimination for the improvement of the status of girls. Strategies on the health, education and development of young girls and women have been integrated into the 1991-1995 The Turkish Government–UNICEF co-operation program. Within this framework, Mother and Child Care, Basic Education Program, Communication and Support Program for Women and Regional Integrated Projects have been launched.

179– United Nations Fund for Population (UNFPA) which provides support for women and family planning, mother and child care and population planning, conducts joint activities with the Turkish Ministry of Health in the less developed regions.

180- International Labor Organization (ILO), which carries out joint projects with the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, works for the implementation of the provisions introduced under the ILO agreements to expand employment and improve work conditions.

181– The Turkish Government, which has adopted "The Agreement on the Prevention of All Discrimination Against Women" and "1985 Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies for the Development of Women" as its basic principles, has made significant accomplishments towards improving the status of Turkish women and its efforts regarding women's issues in the world.

182- This is why the support of international technical co-operation is so crucial. International support has been used effectively in order to contribute to the activities of the national institutions established by the government, especially to strengthen the national mechanism operating in favor of women and to build up public opinion about the situation of women. The projects which have received international support have become important milestones in the improvement of women's education and employment, in the formation of the institutional infrastructure and

policies in the development of data banks on information about women and research and implementation regarding women's issues.

183- Moreover, the international technical co-operation support needs to be used more efficiently. Above all, the units of international organizations that provide program support in the field of women and development must be strengthened. Furthermore, the budget and the specialists allocated to women's programs by the UN organizations and other international technical co-operation and finance organizations, need to be increased in capacity. UN should provide the necessary support to UN national representatives successfully working on the issue of women and development.

184- Turkey has constantly kept national and international women's issues on its agenda and has covered significant ground in developing, a healthily and efficient institutionalization to address these issues in the long run. Thus, the Turkish Government wishes for a stronger International Women and Development Co-operation. This wish, gains further importance, especially when one takes into consideration the adverse impact of socio-economic problems encountered in the recent years. The sustainability of contemporary values of women and development, is further endangered by the potential threat posed by the fundamentalist trends at the national level.

185– In the recent years, Turkey has assumed an important political, economic as strategic role in the Middle East and the Balkans. Therefore, this cooperation is crucial for the establishment of gender-sensitive, secular and modern development strategies in the region. Since Turkey has gained experience in issue of women and development, it has the capacity to provide technical and advisory assistance to neighboring countries.

186- Considering that, in spite of the significant economic growth rate, Turkey has failed to display a parallel success in achieving a people -centered development, thus permanent international support for program and project resources that include social and human development models are extremely important. Therefore, international technical co-operation funds need to be rapidly channeled towards social development programs with a focus on the human element.

187- Another issue that needs to be emphasized, is the need to simplify the bureaucratic procedures in receiving international technical co-operation and project support, as well as, the need to adapt the project fund supports to the conditions of each country. This will provide stronger support to activities on women and development.

188- Turkey also wishes to make use of international co-operation in strengthening regional technical co-operation programs geared towards improving the situation of women. Therefore, there is need to increase the international support made available to women and development activities carried out by Turkey alone or jointly with other countries in the region.

III. STRATEGIC TARGETS FOR THE FUTURE

189— Although, gender related issues have occupied the social agenda for the past decade, it is not possible to say that sufficient progress has been achieved in securing equality among the sexes and in extending the principles of participatory democracy throughout society regardless of class, race and gender. There are still important steps to be taken. Below are some strategic targets and relevant recommendations with regard to those topics which shape the framework of the National Report.

190- However, before proceeding with the recommendations, it is necessary to emphasize the significance of women's participation and contribution to the arts, a process which is the very basis of creativity and enrichment in any society. Especially in the developing countries, the arts have a particularly important function in the establishment of universal values and their diffusion in society. Moreover, the free and equal access of women to artistic production provides them with the opportunities of self-actualization, as well as, with the common grounds in which emancipatory women images are created. Thus, the Turkish National Report draws attention to the need to give due support to the promotion of women's role in the arts, to the establishment of platforms which will deal with their problems and to the importance of international cooperation in this respect.

A- ACCESS TO DECISION-MAKING AND USE OF POWER

- 191— The main objective with regard to decision-making and power is to create a shift in the power structure from one of dominance over others to one that promotes peace and problem-solving and to ensure equal participation of women in the decision-making process at all levels. In order to accomplish such a goal the following measures must be taken:
- 1) Elimination of political bans and modification of political party management system, so that, women of all social standings can participate in formal politics in varying forms and degrees.
 - 2) Creation of funds to support women candidates within political

parties, and legal modifications that will allow certain part of the Treasury support made to political parties, to be used to attract women to enter political life.

- 3) Provide training and consultation services through women's organizations to encourage and support women's political participation.
- 4) Enforcement of measures such as maternity leave and kindergartens to facilitate and secure the continuity of women in their work life.
- 5) Replacement of early retirement policy, which has adverse effects on women's professional advancement, with alternative schemes that enable the spouses to share family and child-care leave at various intervals of their career.
- 6) Implementation of a quota system or positive discrimination to enable the promotion of qualified women to higher administrative positions.

B- MECHANISMS FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF WOMEN

- 191– The objective is to establish and extend supportive measures for women at national and local levels which will secure a flow of information and facilitate women to enhance their power of self-determination in all spheres of their lives. Within this context:
- 1) Women's organization can be instrumental as pressure groups as well as partners in action, to ensure that these mechanisms function effectively.
- 2) Creation of a "Higher Consultation Council" as a coordinating body between "The General Directorate on the Status and Problems of Women" and NGO's.
- 3) Provision of legal and financial means to support the volunteer organizations in order that they may work more effectively, contribute to decision-making and planning processes and to provide them with the opportunity to participate in international meetings.

4) Creation of women's departments within central and provincial branches of all Ministries and place priority to recruitment of qualified female staff to be employed in these units.

C- COMMITMENT TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS

193— The commitment towards fulfilling the requirements of universally defined standards of women's rights, necessitates the elimination of gender- biased articles in the legislation, adaptation of international standards and raising the social awareness on the issue of women's rights. Thus, the following legislative amendments are foreseen:

The Turkish Civil Code

- 1) In line with the liabilities defined in the Civil Code with regard to securing family sustenance the financial status of the spouses should be taken into consideration and their contribution to the fulfillment of this liability should be freely determined. In cases where the wife does not have an income, her contributions in housework should be accepted towards her obligation.
- 2) The couples should have the right to choose the surname of any one of the spouses or to agree on using the surname of both spouses together.
- 3) Women and men should be given the right to determine their residence separately.
- 4) The right to represent the conjugal unity should be granted to both of the spouses.
- 5) A property regime which grants both spouses the right to equal utilization and ownership of the material possessions acquired during marriage.
- 6) The elimination of the article which calls for a judge to verify all legal procedures carried out by a wife on behalf of her husband with third parties.

7) Annulment of the article which gives priority to the father in cases of dispute over custody.

The Turkish Criminal Code

- 8) Redefinition of offenses related to adultery to eliminate sex discrimination by standardizing procedures and penalties for husbands and wives indulging in adultery.
- 9) The penalty for abduction of women and any act of violence should not be linked to the victim's marital status, her age or the intention of the abductor but rather to the act itself.
- 10) In order to ensure that religious marriage ceremonies accompany the official secular ceremony and to discourage polygamy, penalty for related offenses should be increased.
- 11) Intra-marital rape should be included as a crime in the Turkish Criminal Code.
- 12) Expansion and enforcement of the arrangements which call for nursing rooms and kindergartens in the workplace.
- 13) The Labor Law should be revised to include provisions which would prevent employers from laying-off female employees during their pregnancy and maternity leave.
- 14) Equality rights should be ensured in pregnancy and maternity leaves for women, irrespective of their employment status as laborer or civil servant; furthermore, couples should be able to share, maternity and child care leave.
- 15) The principle of equal pay for equal work among male and female laborers should be defined in an explicit manner.
- 16) Social security system should be revised to cover women who do domestic work and who are unpaid family workers.
- 17) Right to establish trade unions should be altered to include civil servants and the Civil Servants Law which prohibits the right to strike should be annulled.

18) The burden of proof, in accordance with ILO Agreement no. 158, should fall upon the employer in cases of dismissal without compensation of workers who use their right to unionize.

The Turkish Citizenship Law

- 19) The right to citizenship of foreigners marrying Turkish citizens should apply to both sexes.
- 20) Measures have to be taken to assist women to become aware of the legal rights which have direct bearing on their lives; be able to use their rights; develop a sensitivity to gender discriminatory provisions in the laws and express their demands as social conditions change.

D- POVERTY AND DEVELOPMENT

- 194— Eradication of poverty is a major development objective for Turkey. In this regard, special intervention measures should be taken in order to reach poor women.
- 1) Local administrations, NGO's and local initiatives should be activated to provide day care centers for children in the **gecekondu** and low income neighborhoods. These initiatives should be supported with transfer of sufficient funds from various sources.
- 2) Vocational training programs complementary with the labor force market demands should be provided for women living in low-income urban areas.
- 3) Poor women should be supported with consultancy services, education and credit to establish their own business.
- 4) In order to increase women's productivity on land their access to resources should be ensured.

E- ACCESS TO PRODUCTIVE RESOURCES

195– Increasing women's access to critical resources is an important target to enable their effective participation in daily life and in the process of development. Reaching this target, requires, first and foremost, raising levels of consciousness to overcome obstacles emanating from customs and traditions. At the institutional level, the following lines of action have to be taken:

- 1) Increasing and expanding credit opportunities for women.
- 2) Encouraging group credit system as well as individual credits.
- 3) Raising women's awareness and encouraging them to benefit from their property rights. With regard to agricultural enterprises daughters should be given equal access if they wish to manage the enterprise.
- 4) Reorganizing the agricultural extension policy and programs to reach rural women and to ensure their active participation in the process of extension planning and implementation.

F-INEQUALITY IN EDUCATION, HEALTH AND EMPLOYMENT

196— Aside from the fact that, education, health and employment are the major objectives in the process of women's empowerment, they are also a basic citizenship right. Therefore, achievement of equality between men and women in these fields is a priority within Turkey's strategic targets for the future.

Education

- 1) Compulsory education should be increased to 8 years and the necessary support should be provided to enhance women's access to the right of education.
- 2) Gender-based clichés and prejudices should be eliminated from education programs, books and approaches.

Health

- 3) Subjects such as, sex education, nutrition (children and women-oriented), personal hygiene, child care and family planning should be included in school curriculum and widely discussed in the media.
 - 4) Public funds for health services should be increased.
- 5) In order to facilitate communication between those who receive and those who render health services, and to replace authoritarian approach to medicine with a participatory one, health personnel should be trained in both pre-service and in service courses.
- 6) Pre-natal care services should be improved and expanded throughout the country.
- 7) Utmost attention should be paid to decrease underage (below 20) and overage (over 35) pregnancies, those occurring frequently (less than 24 months' interval) and numerous births (4 and more). In this respect, attention has to be drawn to the negative aspects of high fertility on women's health. Particularly, those who advocate high birth rates for religious or ethnic reasons need to be made aware of the dangers involved.

Employment

- 8) Increasing women's employment should be perceived as a societal goal and supportive measures should be taken to enhance the qualification and participation of women in work life. Adult education programs and vocational training can be particularly instrumental in achieving such goals.
- 9) Special education and training programs should be provided for disabled women to enable their active and productive integration into mainstream society.
- 10) To encourage women's greater participation in work opportunities outside the home, it is important that men become aware of their responsibilities towards family life and the need to share with the tasks of housekeeping and child care. Legal arrangements should be made and laws should be enforced to open new kindergartens or day care centers in the work place and in neighborhoods.

- 11) Arrangements to prevent gender discrimination (wages, working conditions, recruitment, promotion, etc.) towards women in work life should be undertaken.
- 12) Women working in all sectors and fields should be covered under social security.
- 13) As a general state policy child care should be defined as a societal responsibility and accordingly the necessary institutional infrastructure should be developed.

G- VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND THE IMPACT OF CONFLICT

- 197- The elimination of violence depends on the existence of a peaceful environment at all levels. Thus, the attainment of national and international peace stands as a universal target. Securing peace is the common objective for all women around the world. Thus, women's groups, media, political parties and various civil organizations have to collaborate towards this goal starting with the family and moving up to global institutions.
- 1) In accordance with the responsibilities drawn under Article 19 of UN/International Convention/CEDAW (1992), Turkey should place priority on forming a joint workshop to prepare and implement a "5 Year Action Plan on Violence Against Women".
- 2) Campaigns on violence against women should be organized and supported. On these campaigns, men and women should be informed about the dimensions of violence against women, so that sensitivity is created; women should be encouraged to report the violence they are subjected to; voluntary and official consultancy services and legal assistance to the victims of violence should be organized to provide free services; modifications on the legislation should be made to enable women who are exposed to violence, rape and abuse to receive support from police-stations, Courts etc. in procedural, psychological and legal matters; a service network consisting of mostly women under the coordination of the General Directorate on the Status and Problems of Women, Ministry of

Justice, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Interior and Bars Association should be activated; programs which teach problem-solving techniques for expressing oneself and communicating with others should be made applicable within the family, workplace and organizations; family life which is one of the central institutions in which women fulfill their lives should be re-conceptualized with emphasis on individual rights as well as "the common good" of the family; after all, democracy, equality and peace in society must start within the family.

APPENDIX: 1 TABLES

Table 1: a Administrative Staff in Selected Ministries (Section Chlef and Above)

Ministry	Female (%)	Male
Agriculture and Rural Affairs	2 (1.5)	135
Culture	17 (25.8)	49
Education	25 (13.2)	164
Environment	11 (23.4)	36
Finance	11 (4.4)	237
Industry and Commerce	8 (5.9)	127
Justice	3 (8.5)	32
(Civilian Judge and Prosecutor)	1065 (15.4)	5835

Source: Provided by Individual Ministries, April 1994

Table 1: b Administrative Staff in Ministries and Related Agencies (General Director and Above)

	Fen	nale (%)	Male
Undersecretariat for Women's Affairs and	3	(0.50)	3
Social Services			
Undersecretariat of Treasury	1	(16.7)	5
Undersecretariat of Foreign Trade		(-)	11
Undersecretariat for State Planning	_	(-)	6
Organization			
Undersecretariat for Maritime Affairs	1	(0.25)	3
Ministry of Health	2	(16.7)	10
Ministry of Industry and Commerce	2	(15.4)	. 11
Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources	_	(-)	22
Ministry of Defense	_	(-)	4
Ministry of Justice		(18.2)	9
Ministry of Interior	_	(-)	11
Ministry of Public Work and Housing	_	(-)	10
Ministry of Finance	1	(6.2)	15
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	_	(-)	22
Ministry of Labor and Social Security	3	(33.3)	6
Ministry of Foresty		(-)	8
Ministry of Environment	_	(-)	6
Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs	_	(-)	13
Ministry of Culture	2	(14.3)	12
Ministry of Tourism	1	(14.3)	6
Ministry of Education	2	(8.9)	22
Presidency of State Personnel	1	(33.3)	2
State Institute of Statistics	4	(0.25)	12

Source: Provided by Individual Ministries, April 1994

Table 2: Daily Wages of Agricultural Workers in Various Provinces by Gender (1990)

	Daily Wage (1000 TL/day)			
Provinces	Male	Female		
Tekirdağ	40 – 35	20 – 25		
İstanbul (Yalova)	30 to 70	30		
Manisa	up to 50	20 – 25		
Antalya	up to 50	20 – 25		
Mersin	50	40		
Adana	26 to 100	26		
Konya	30 – 80	25		
Nevşehir (Derinkuyu)	35 – 50	25		
Eskişehir	30 – 50	20		
Tokat	30 – 50	20		
Sivas	25 – 50	15 - 30		
Erzincan	15 – 22	15 – 22		
Erzurum	25 – 35	20		
Elazığ	30	20		
Malatya	30	17		
Urfa	10 – 15	10 - 15		
Diyarbakır	25 – 30	15 - 20		
Samsun	25 – 30	20 – 25		

Source:: Turkey, Women in Development, World Bank, 1993.

Table: 3 Women's Share in Deposits and Loans in Selected Banks

	Ziraat Bank	Halk Bank	Vakıf Bank
Women's Share of Deposits	26.3	38.5	10.1
Women as % of Depositors	26.1	12.5	13.2
Women's Share of Total Loans	2.8	7.3	6.2
Women as % of All Borrowers	3.3	4.0	3.2
Women's Share of Manufacturing Loans	_	0.9	0.1
Women as % of All Manufacturing Borrowers	_	1.8	1.5
Women's Share of Retail Loans	-	9.6	14.9
Women as % of All Retail Borrowers	-	2.1	1.3
Women's Share of Homebased Loans	-	61.3	_
Women as % of All Homebased Borrowers	_	44.0	-

Source: Turkey, Women and Development, World Bank, 1993.

Table 4: Inter-Household Property Ownership in Rural-Urban Areas

Status of Property Holder (Largest Portion)	Total %	Rural %	Urban %
Total	100.0	49.75	50.25
Parents	8.87	10.78	6.98
Man	73.13	77.96	68.34
Woman	8.71	4.66	12.71
Man–Woman Joint	5.62	3.79	7.44
Male Child	0.52	0.53	0.50
Female Child	0.10	0.02	0.18
Family Members Joint	1.61	1.37	1.83
Unknown	1.46	0.90	2.01

Source: SPO, Turkish Family Structure, 1992

Table 5: Illiteracy Rates by Sex, Age Groups and Pleace of Residence 1980 - 1990 (15 Years and Above)

A: Total

B: Female C: Male

Age Groups		ILLITERACY %							
		Tota	1		Urban		Rural		
	1980	/ 1985	/ 1990	1980	/ 1985 ,	1990	1980	/ 1985 /	1990
Total									
A	43	24	21		•				
В	60	36	31						
C	26	12	10					i i	
15-24								i	
A	21	10	7	-		_	_	_	_
В	32	14	12	16	9	8	32	19	17
C	8	4	3	4	3	3	8	6	5
25-44									
A	41	18	14	_	_	_	_	· _	-
В	62	29	24	37	22	18	62	40	34
C	18	6	5	7	4	3	18	10	7
44 +									
A	70	50	45	-	-	_	_	-	_
В	88	68	63	64	55	52	88	79	75
C	51	31	27	28	21	18	51	40	36
Unknown									
A	53	18	17						
В	61	28	27						
C	44	11	10						

Source: 1990 General Population Census (SIS)

Table 6: Literacy and School Graduated by Region (%) (6 years and over)

REGION						
Schooling - Sex Level	Total	West	South	Center	North	East
Female						
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Illiterate	28.03	19.13	27.31	23.53	30.28	48.35
No Schooling	15.52	14.50	16.21	15.47	16.71	16.19
Elemetary	43.18	48.10	43.68	47.32	43.45	28.98
Junior High	5.45	7.31	5.33	5.43	4.27	3.00
High School	5.96	8.26	5.85	6.16	4.25	2.79
Higher Education	1.85	2.72	1.63	2.09	1.04	0.68
Male						
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Illiterate	11.19	7.19	10.72	9.13	11.98	20.86
No Schooling	16.30	13.97	16.53	15.92	17.93	19.94
Elementary	49.11	52.20	51.23	49.42	49.44	41.39
Junior High	9.63	10.59	8.92	10.27	9.06	7.96
High School	9.54	10.76	8.76	10.45	8.45	7.42
Higher Education	4.22	5.29	3.83	4.81	3.14	2.43

Source: 1990 General Population Census (SIS)

Table 7: Schooling Rates

Schooling Rates (%)		Female	Male
Elementary	1985 - 1986	86.01	91.61
	1991 - 1992	85.38	91.10
Junior High (JHS)	1985 - 1986	41.06	61.34
	1991 – 1992	47.74	71.26
High	1985 – 1986	21.35	38.80
	1991 – 1992	31.06	47.29
J.H.S. Entry Rate	1985 – 1986	42.17	64.02
*	1991 – 1992	53.17	72.79

Table 8:
Percentage of Female Graduates and Female Teachers by Level of Education

Level of Education Year	% of Women	% of Female
	Receiving Diploma	Teacher
Elementary	/	
1982 - 1983	45.37	41.11
1985 - 1986	46.54	41.77
1990 - 1991	46.43	42.39
Secondary		
1982 - 1983	39.64	36.00
1985 - 1986	41.17	36.73
1990 - 1991	41.02	38.70
General		
1982 - 1983	39.48	36.21
1985 - 1986	40.62	36.83
1990 - 1991	40.28	38.88
Vocational and Technical		я
1982 - 1983	40.03	35.53
1985 - 1986	42.68	36.50
1990 - 1991	43.06	38.29

Table 9: Students Receiving Diplomas From Higher Education Institutions According to Field of Study

Filed of Study Year	Diploma Received					
		Total	Female	Male	Female (%)	
Total	1982 – 1983	35.144	11.018	24.126	31.35	
	1985 – 1986	57.848	20.148	37.700	34.83	
	1990 – 1991	83.855	29.394	54.461	35.05	
Humanities	1982 – 1983	2.233	617	1.616	27.63	
	1985 – 1986	3.291	1.208	2.083	36.71	
	1990 – 1991	4.212	1.954	2.258	46.39	
Pedagogy and Teacher Education	1982 - 1983 1985 - 1986 1990 - 1991	7.989 13.396 11.353	3.061 5.685 5.362	4.928 7.711 5.991	38.32 42.44 47.23	
Fine Arts	1982 – 1983	563	246	317	43.69	
	1985 – 1986	780	389	391	49.87	
	1990 – 1991	1.229	690	539	56.14	
Law	1982 – 1983	1.084	339	745	31.27	
	1985 – 1986	1.732	533	1.199	30.77	
	1990 – 1991	2.048	764	1.284	37.30	
Positive and Natural Sciences	1982 – 1983 1985 – 1986 1990 – 1991	1.430 2.061 5.213	653 999 2.295	777 1.062 2.918	45.66 48.47 44.02	
Social Sciences	1982 – 1983	7.063	2.345	4.718	33.20	
	1985 – 1986	18.014	6.485	11.529	36.00	
	1990 – 1991	26.569	9.563	17.006	35.99	
Engineering - Total	1982 – 1983	9.917	1.857	8.060	18.73	
	1985 – 1986	12.093	2.315	9.778	19.14	
	1990 – 1991	18.486	3.575	14.911	19.34	
Engineering	1982 – 1983	8.700	1.371	7.329	15.76	
	1985 – 1986	10.952	1.761	9.191	16.08	
	1990 – 1991	16.593	2.484	14.109	14.97	
Architecture and Urban Planning	1982 – 1983 1985 – 1986 1990 – 1991	1.065 894 1.235	430 446 753	635 448 482	40.38 49.89 60.97	
Commerce and Industry	1982 – 1983	152	56	96	36.84	
	1985 – 1986	236	108	128	45.76	
	1990 – 1991	649	337	312	51.93	
Communications and Transportation	1982 – 1983 1985 – 1986 1990 – 1991	- 11 9	$\begin{array}{c c} & \frac{1}{2} \\ & \frac{1}{2} \end{array}$	11 8	11.1	
Medicine and Related	1982 1983 1985 1986 1990 1991	3.897 4.451 8.471	1.664 1.985 4.036	2.233 2.466 4.435	42.70 44.60 47.64	
Agriculture	1982 - 1983	968	236	732	24.38	
	1985 - 1986	2.030	549	1.481	27.04	
	1990 - 1991	4.436	1.155	3.281	26.04	
Other	1982 – 1983 1982 – 1983 1990 – 1991	- - 1.838	- - -	1.838	-	

Table 10: Female University Staff by Status (%)

Status	Academic Year				
	1980 – 81	1985 – 86	1991 – 92		
Total	25.40	30.26	31.88		
Professor	13.94	15.82	20.41		
Assoc. Prof.	20.95	21.01	24.92		
Asst. Prof.	23.52	24.60	26.50		
Lecturer	25.24	29.08	28.20		
Grad. Asst.	27.99	32.87	34.32		
Other	33.00	51.71	51.79		

Table 11: Main Labour Force Indicators (12 years old and over)

	Oct 88		Oct 90		Oct 92	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
T 1	 		<u> </u>			
Labour force	34.9	76.5	34.7	75.2	32.3	72.5
participation rate (%)					1	69.2
Urban	16.9	72.8	17.0	72.2	16.1	
Rural	50.5	79.9	53.1	78.6	50.2	76.6
Employed persons by						
educational status						
(Urban)				55.0		50.0
Illiterate	8.9	62.7	6.5	57.3	7.2	52.2
Literate without any diploma	10.0	62.6	8.2	49.8	10.7	49.5
Primary school	12.9	77.1	13.7	76.3	11.4	73.0
Junior high school	15.1	56.8	13.7	58.1	13.0	53.6
Vocational junior high school	16.0	51.0	14.9	46.7	10.2	51.0
High school	44.3	74.2	42.5	76.6	37.9	74.6
Vocational high school	50.3	82.3	50.3	80.7	49.0	78.6
Universities & other higher ed.	81.6	87.6	79.7	90.5	83.3	89.1
Unemployment rate	9.6	7.7	7.2	7.5	7.2	8.1
Urban	28.4	9.8	21.0	8.6	20.5	9.8
Rural	3.9	5.7	2.7	6.4	2.5	6.2
Underemployed persons						
by educational status						
(Urban)]		İ			
Illiterate	1					
Literate without any diploma	18.6	9.8	18.1	13.3	7.5	10.1
Primary school	25.1	8.9	21.6	10.1	21.4	16.3
Junior high school	31.3	8.8	20.4	7.6	23.1	9.1
Vocational junior high school	40.1	12.9	28.2	9.4	21.1	8.7
High School	35.4	16.1	24.0	11.8	14.8	9.3
Vocational high school	35.6	15.0	28.1	11.8	29.3	13.4
Universities & other higher ed.	21.3	11.1	25.4	11.5	19.9	14.0
Unemployed persons by	17.4	6.4	10.1	5.0	11.1	5.3
age groups						
Urban						
12 – 14						
15 – 19	42.0	23.9	29.5	15.5	21.9	21.0
20 – 24	40.4	21.3	37.1	18.2	33.0	22.2
Employed persons by	41.5	21.1	30.2	19.2	32.5	19.2
branch of economic	1		""]	
activity (%)		,				
Agriculture						
Industry	79.5	35.6	76.9	33.2	14.8	32.8
Services	7.7	18.2	9.1	19.0	13.3	19.6
Employed persons by	12.8	46.2	14.0	47.8	14.7	47.6
status in employment (%)	12.0		1			
Regular employee			1		1	
Casual employee	15.9	38.1	17.6	40.4	17.4	37.9
Employer	4.4	8.4	3.2	6.2	4.0	8.6
Self employed	0.2	4.8	0.5	6.8	0.4	7.7
Unpaid family workers	6.2	33.3	10.1	32.4	13.1	31.8
Onpaid failing workers	73.3	15.4	68.7	32. 4 14.1	65.1	14.0
	13.3	13.4	L 00.7	17.1	05.1	17.0

Source: Household Labour Force Survey (SIS)

Table 12:
Economically Active Population by Last Week's
Occupation (%)

(12 years old and over)

A: Total

B: Female

C: Male

Last week's occupation		1980	1985	1990
Total	A	100.00	100.00	100.00
	В	100.00	100.00	100.00
·	C	100.00	100.00	100.00
Scientific, technical,	· A	4.53	4.92	5.48
professional and related	В	3.75	3.98	4.77
workers	C	5.00	5.47	5.88
Administrative and	A	0.85	0.82	1.01
managerial workers	В	0.12	0.14	0.20
	C	1.28	1.21	1.46
Clerical and related	Α .	3.51	3.56	4.10
workers	В	3.09	3.15	3.85
	С	3.74	3.79	4.24
Commercial and sales	Α	4.27	4.76	5.60
workers	В	0.50	0.75	1.12
	C	6.47	7.05	8.12
Service workers	Α	4.93	5.41	6.12
	В	0.98	1.17	1.59
	С	7.23	7.83	8.66
Agricultural, animal husbandary	Α	59.69	58.71	53.58
forestry workers, fishermen and	В	87.06	86.27	82.05
hunters	C	43.75	42.91	37.59
Nonagricultural production & related	Α	22.04	21.79	24.09
workers, transport equipment	В	4.48	4.53	6.41
operators & labourers	C	32.26	31.69	34.01
Unknown	Α	0.18	0.03	0.02
	В	0.02	0.01	0.01
	C	0.27	0.05	0.03

Source: Census of Population (SIS)

Note: Excluding unemployed persons seeking a job.