Turkey's **Gender Equality** Performance
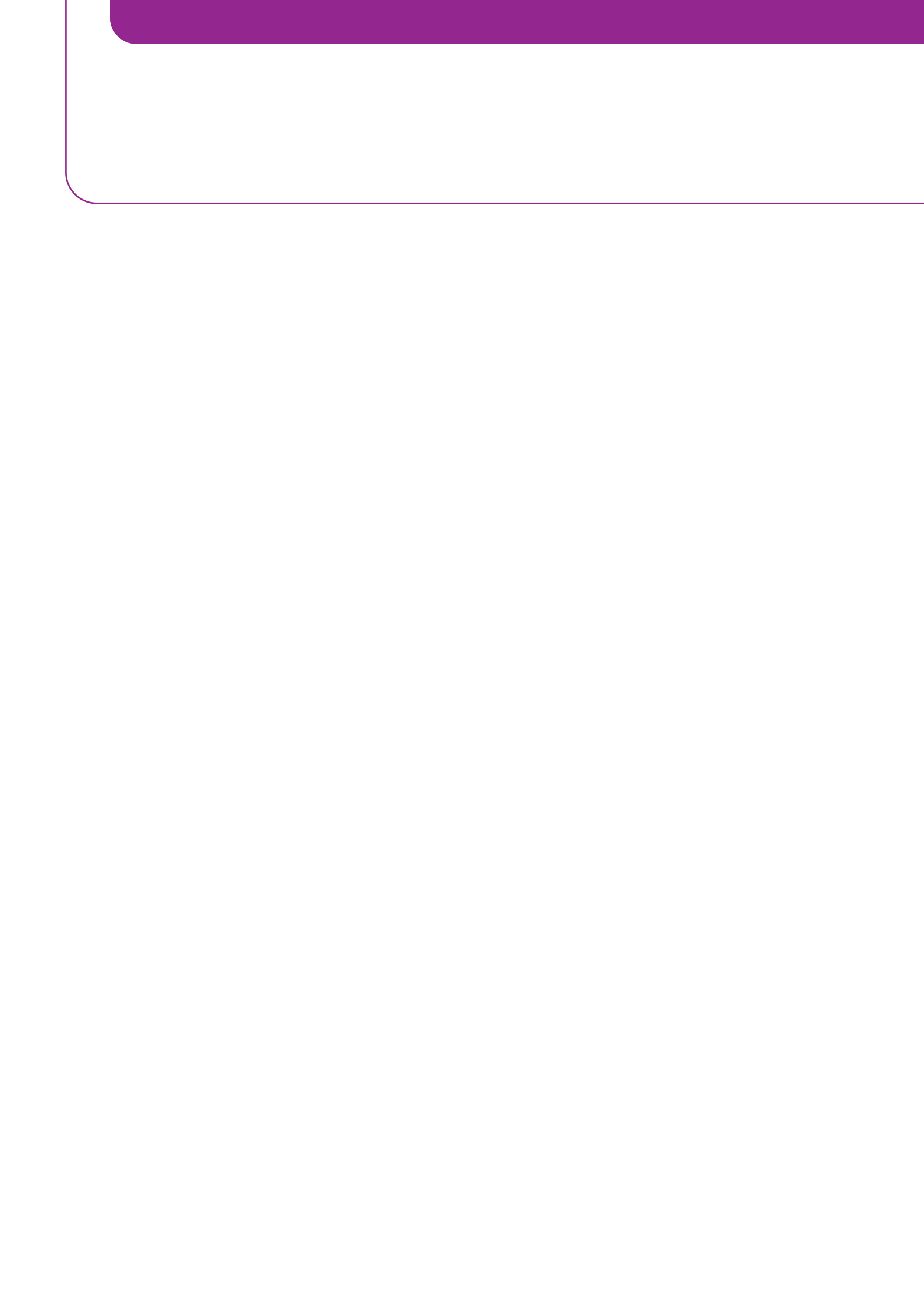
from 2000 to 2019:

A Rights-Based Analysis via UNDP Human Development and Gender Development Indices

UNDP Turkey – CEID (Association for Monitoring Gender Equality)

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Content

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Overview

This year, the United Nations (UN) called for a New Social Contract and New Global Convention that creates equal opportunities for all and respects the rights and freedoms of all, as a solution to the inequalities before and during the pandemic[1], and offered concrete proposals for a more just and sustainable way forward. It was stressed that recovery after the COVID-19 pandemic can take place with a socioeconomic recovery aimed at gender equality, and that recovery efforts should be modified accordingly in order to present regressions in gender equality and build more inclusive societies. Suggestions made have been long standing concerns within the Human Rights Conventions[2]: States committed *"..to ensure that the available resources are allocated at the maximum level to the quality public services necessary for the enjoyment of minimum and basic economic and social rights, especially health, social protection and education."* [3]

This global call highlights also that *"investing in human rights is investing in country's resilience to crises".* Nearly a century ago, it's been committed by all the States to ensure that everyone has access to justice and an effective remedy for violations of human rights, including economic, social and cultural rights. Recognizing this legal equality; the global goals and standards have been targeted and monitored by UN's development agencies to ensure de facto gender equality across the globe. Within the context of 2030 Development Agenda, the States are now committed to promote decent job generation and achieve full and productive employment and decent work for all women and men, including for young people and persons with disabilities, and equal pay for work of equal value in order to achieve inclusive and sustainable development.

In order to monitor and evaluate progress on the globally set targets, the UN agencies developed comprehensive sets of indicators over through the past three decades. The Human Development Index (HDI) and Gender Development Index (GDI) introduced by the UNDP in 1990s set the origins of these cross-country measurement of development performance and progress, which have evolved towards to the largest set of indicators established for the Sustainable Development Goals. Recommendations are made today for the use of human-rights approach to development and rights-based indicators to explore countries' development performance. In this context, the current study aims to understand changes in Turkey's HDI and GDI scores over time, making use of the information provided by the rights-based indicators developed for monitoring gender equality in Turkey.

Turkey's Human Development Index values increased from 2000 to 2019 constantly, and quite rapidly. The HDI value increased from 0.660 to 0.820, an increase of 24.2 percent. Turkey advanced from medium human development category in 2000 to very high human development category in 2019. The Gender Development Index also increased in this period although not as rapidly as the HDI. The GDI, however, first evolved from 0.847 in 2000 to 0.93 in 2016, though stagnated in 2017 and decreased afterwards. Turkey is in the 4th group of countries in the GDI. While both female and male HDI values increased, the limited increase of the female HDI caused the decrease in the GDI in the last years. The GII values exhibit a similar pattern to the GDI until 2018, demonstrating that gender gaps are narrowing rather quickly. GII, unlike GDI, does not suggest a worsening of gender inequality after 2018, but rather a slowdown in progress.

Due to the deep rooted disparity between male and female HDI values Turkey falls into the fourth group in terms of GDI value scores. Turkey's GDI scores have also been lower than both the very-

1 https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/a-new-social-contract-for-a-new-era/
2 https://news.un.org/en/story/2021/10/1102452
3 https://reliefweb.int/report/world/annual-full-day-discussion-human-rights-women-panel-2-gender-equal-socioeconomic

high HDI and the high-HDI group countries. Among the very high human development countries only two countries other than Turkey present moderate improvement in GDI when compared to their HDI scores (Saudi Arabia in Group 5 and Bahrain in Group 4).

The decomposition of the HDI growth into its components (health, education and income) demonstrate that the improvements in the HDI are driven mainly by improvements in education in all the periods under study. Throughout the period, education contributed 58 percent on average to human development. The relative importance of health and income indicators varies depending on the time period. Decomposition of growth in female and male HDIs yields similar results in terms of the contribution of education. Education is the most important factor in both female and male human development. Income is the second most important factor for women, while it is the health component for men. On average, income contributes 26 percent of female human development growth. Men's improvement of health contributes nearly as much to their human development as women's income does to theirs: 28 percent.

The analysis of the components of GDI in order to investigate the main reasons of disparities between genders in Turkey shows that the female health index has been higher than male health index in all the years under study. This implies that in terms of life expectancy, the situation of women has been better than men in Turkey over the period. However, gender inequalities in health have steadily shifted in favor of men, albeit in a small and steady way, throughout time. Contrary to health, education and income components show gender disparities in favor of men in the analyzed period. Comparing the last two we observe that gender inequality in income is higher than that in education in the whole period except 2000. The income component is trending towards equality during this period. The same is true for education until 2016. After 2016, the trend reversed, and educational disparities between men and women began to expand again.

Gender gaps in education in Turkey persisted over time and did not catch up to the level of high and very high HDI countries, the group she moved out of and up to, respectively. In both high and very high-HDI countries, the ratio of female to male education index remained around 1 on average, while it was still 0.887 in Turkey in 2019.

The observations support the persistence of large gender gap in income (GNI per capita female is still lower than half of the GNI for male in Turkey), which could not be compensated by the recent progress in education. Men in Turkey earn on average an income level equal to almost three quarters of their counterparts in the very high human development group. However, women earn only half the income her peers earn in the group. The gender gap in national income per capita reflects the gap in labor force participation rates. Women's participation in the labor force is remarkably low (34%) compared to the average rate observed in the high human development (54%) and very high human development country groups (52%). Overall, the data indicate that the relationship between women's relative educational attainment and relative incomes in Turkey during the 2000s was weak. Gender inequalities in Turkey have deepened even more in the context of the economic crisis that has developed in our country and in the world under the conditions of the Covid-19 Pandemics. There has been an unprecedented rise in unpaid care work due to the pandemics due to quarantine and stay-at-home measures, school closures, restrictions on access to health, education, social services and home services, and increased hygiene and care requirements [4] Furthermore, along with large employment losses, women's participation in the labor market decreased by 4 percentage points despite women's higher share among the essential workers in health, education and retail employment[5].

According to a closer look to education component of HDI/GDI, improvement in school enrollment can be seen as the leading determinant of education-related improvement in the indices. In GDI two indicators with respect to education are expected years of schooling and mean years of schooling. In GII the indicator is the population with at least secondary education. Two important

4 İlkkaracan, İ., and E. Memiş. «Covid-19 Küresel Salgın Sürecinde Türkiye'de Bakım Ekonomisi Ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet Temelli Eşitsizlikler.» UNDP-Turkey, 2020.
5 TUIK-Household Labor Force Statistics, 2021.

developments related to the education system influence these indicators significantly. These are the regulations about the extension of compulsory schooling to 8 years in 1997 and to 12 years in 2011.

Compulsory education of 8 years increased girls' and boys' school enrollment to a great extent and decreased the difference between men and women in both the expected years of schooling and the average years of schooling. Indeed, the regions with low HDI levels managed to catch up with other regions' HDI and GDI levels mostly due to this regulation. People usually attended the 5-year compulsory primary school and did not continue with the secondary education before this regulation. After the implementation of the regulation almost all the children continued further 3 years of education leading to higher expected years of schooling and mean years of schooling for both men and women. In fact, poverty is the determining factor in the failure of children to attend primary education and it affects girls more negatively especially in the regions of North East Anatolia, Central East Anatolia, and South East Anatolia.

With the 4+4+4 regulation in 2011, the compulsory education period was increased to 12 years. The difference between men and women with respect to the expected years of schooling, mean years of schooling and population with at least secondary education decreased until 2016. The law, which increased the compulsory education year to 12 years, also brought structural changes in education. Depending on the change in the law, the process of transforming general high schools to Anatolian high schools or transferring them to vocational and technical secondary education continues, and accordingly, the share of general high schools in secondary education continues to decline. The rate of students attending religious high schools continues to increase regularly. When the distribution is analyzed by sex, there is a more significant increase in the rate of female students attending religious high schools. There is a strong tendency for girls to be directed to religious education schools where only girls attend. With the legislative arrangements made by the Ministry of National Education in 2018 and 2019, activities related to "gender equality" were abolished.

The data of the indicators related to the education index indicate a break in terms of gender-based differences in 2015-2016. The gap between men and women, which tended to decrease, started to increase again. The causes of this development require extensive research and only some guesses can be made at this stage.

Despite the increase in enrollment rates over the years, there is a significant population of children who are out of school at both primary and secondary education levels. Although there is not much difference between the sexes in Turkey, gender inequalities by regions continue. Southeastern Anatolia (68.4%) and Middle East Anatolia (70.8%), the regions with the lowest secondary school enrollment rates for girls in the 2018-19 academic year, are also the regions where the difference between boys' enrollment rates and girls' enrollment rates is highest. Despite the increase in school enrollment rates there are serious problems with attendance and graduation and the absenteeism rate increases throughout the years. It results with the dropout from the school system which is slightly higher for girls than for boys. It can be said that long-term absenteeism rates will result in dropping out of school.

According to the data of the European Statistical Office (Eurostat), Turkey has the highest rate of early school leaving among European countries with comparative results. The difference between men and women is also highest in Turkey; In 2017, this rate was 34% for women and 31% for men. In Turkey, 27.2% of young people between the ages of 15-29 are neither studying nor working. This is the highest rate following Columbia (29.6%) among OECD member countries. The OECD average is 14.1%. This rate, which is 16.9% for men aged 15-29 in Turkey, is 42.4% for women in the same age group in Turkey." (OECD, 2020).

It can be concluded that since there is almost no difference in enrollment rates, the difference between the average school year and the expected school year may be due to the difference in absenteeism between girls and boys in the following period after they are registered to school

and, accordingly, in early school leaving. Besides gender-based division of labor that directs girls to being housewives, the quality problems of education in Turkey, the low level of connection with the labor market, namely the weak transition from school to working life as the very high youth unemployment rates demonstrate can be the factors behind this situation.

While educational advancements are the most important factors of human development for both women and men, income comes in second for women and health comes in second for men. Because women had a higher life expectancy at birth than men during the period of 2000-2019, the health index of women was higher than that of men. Due to the improvement in health services and conditions over the years, the life expectancy of men at birth has increased, and the male/female age gap decreased.
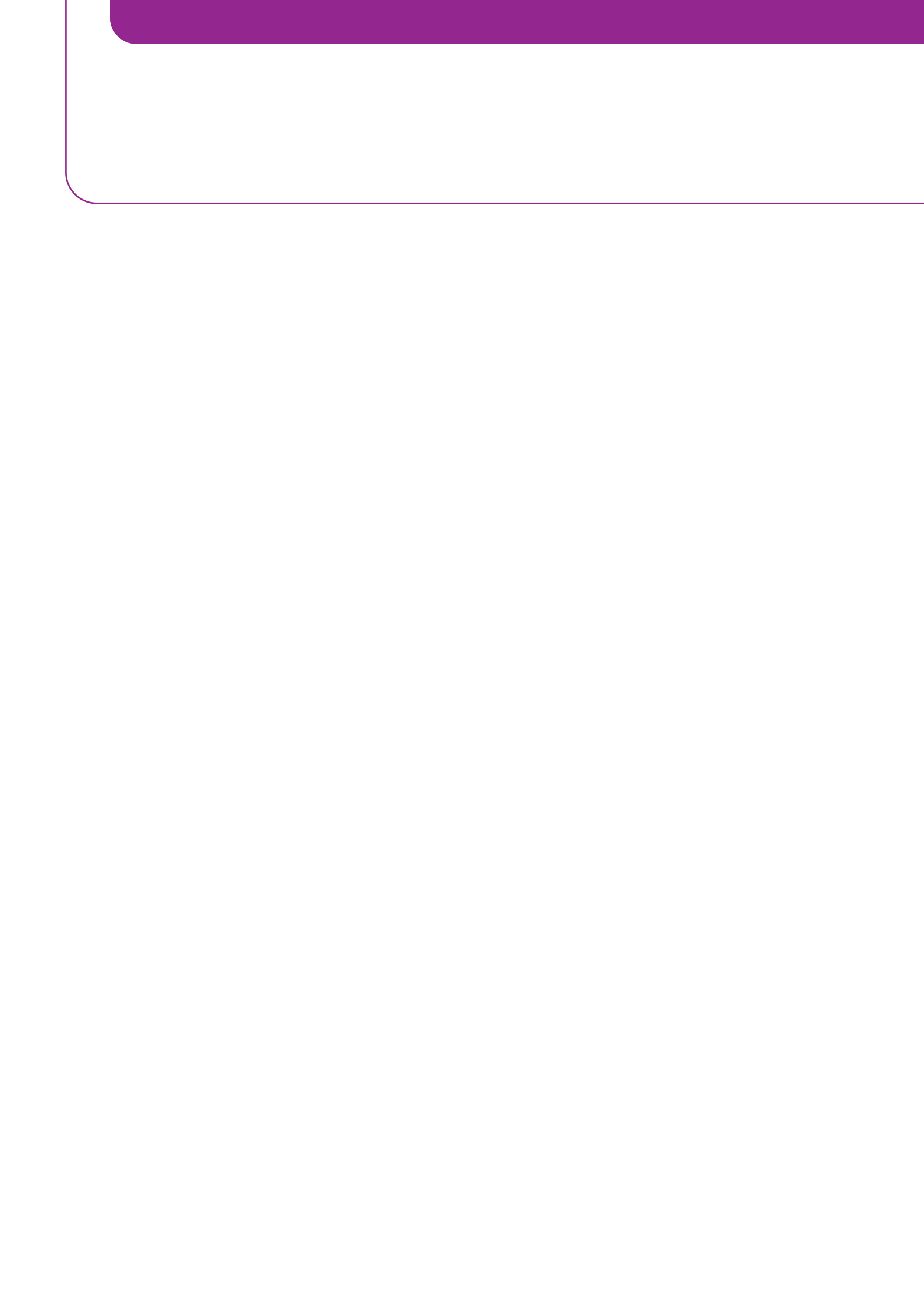
There are two main indicators under reproductive health in the GII index: Maternal mortality rate (per hundred thousand live births) and Adolescent birth rate (births per thousand women under the age of 15-19). Positive developments in "maternal health" services regarding pregnancy and childbirth in Turkey over the years are effective in decreasing maternal mortality and adolescent birth rates. However, with the gradual abandonment of the gender equality norm in political decision mechanisms, the issues of reproductive health, family planning, reproductive and sexual rights have begun to appear less and less in official documents. While women's health is not addressed holistically and considering all life stages "maternal health" is emphasized. It is problematic to deal with sexual and reproductive health by reducing it to motherhood and childbirth only. Whereas the share of induced abortions (medical intervention) has decreased versus the unexpected rise in spontaneous abortions (non-medical intervention) since 2008, this development can be related to the impossibility of access to induced abortion services in public health institutions. With one third of families having "unmet need for family planning" unwanted pregnancies and risky pregnancies can have a significant share among the causes of maternal deaths. The importance of the quality and delivery of birth control methods and family planning services in terms of women's health exist as an important issue in Turkey.

In GII one indicator of the empowerment component refers to the share of women in the parliament. The proportion of women in the parliament increased from 4.2% in 2000 to 17.4% in 2019 in Turkey. Although there is a more than four-fold increase between 2007 and 2019, this rate is lower than all country groups with different levels of human development. While this rate is 24.5% in high-development countries, it is 28.3% in countries with the highest level of development. In Turkey, none of the basic laws regulating the political decision processes and the principles of political representation include a definition of the realization of gender equality. The strategic and action plans for the empowerment of women that foresee to increase women's representation in decision-making mechanisms envisage only indirect intervention and advisory activities like awareness raising, mentality transformation etc. which have very limited impact.

With regards to the income component of HDI, the macroeconomic indicators present that despite high volatility, Turkey's GDP per capita has almost doubled from 2000 to 2019 achieving a better performance than the world average. The relatively higher growth rate between 2002-2008 in Turkey was attained partly by the favorable external conditions with the cheapened foreign currency, the rapid expansion in the world economy and hence expansion in exports with cheaper imports, larger government consumption along with lower interest rates during the period. Given relatively lower cost of borrowing and low interest rates construction activities were boosted over the whole period. Thus, throughout the first decade of 2000s, Turkey's growth performance was widely absorbed by the construction sector rather than industry or services with high potential for generating new jobs. However, over the second decade of the 2000s, lacking favorable external conditions' the growth performance could not be achieved given the highly cyclical investments in construction. Despite a higher level of total tax revenue as a share of GDP in Turkey when compared to both country groups (the high and the very high-HDI) taxes on income profits and capital gains are much lower. Unlike the direct tax rate, indirect taxes have regressive distribution effect on income. Turkey has the highest rate of consumption tax and highest share of indirect taxes in total tax revenues among the OECD countries,

In addition, Turkey's total debt service as a percentage of gross national income/or exports and primary income (36.1%) have been three times as high as the high-HDI group average over the period of analysis. Throughout the second decade of 2000s there has been a particular increase in this ratio, which had adverse impact on investment potential of the country that at the end limited the ability to generate new employment. The unemployment rates for both women and men rose sharply during the early 2000s and remained stubbornly high (around 10 percent) before rising sharply toward the end of the 2010s in Turkey. Despite very low labor force participation rates women's unemployment rate presents a steady increase particularly after the year 2011, remarkably different than her global peers. We also observe a similar trend in youth's unemployment rates which rises more rapidly than the unemployment rate for the overall population. The labor share of GDP in Turkey keeps its level over the period of analysis, which however has been lagging majorly behind the average level of the very-high-HDI country group and falls below the worlds' average.

Can Turkey achieve the gender development index scores achieved by the very-high-HDI group? Alternative scenarios could help us understand the change better. Assuming i) the gender gaps in education and income have been closed in the same pattern over time, ii) the female to male income index was equal to the average of very high HDI countries' average level, iii) the female to male education index is equal to one may inform policy for better targeting. Our computations present that only if the achievements in education could be sustained, Turkey would reach the average GDI scores of the high-HDI country group. There exists significant role for the policies that address both the gender gap in education and in employment as well as gender-based wage gap in a holistic perspective.

Introduction

Turkey has recently moved up into a higher human development country group, yet inequality remains a large challenge particularly due to persisting gender gaps. The long-standing debate on the intricate relation between economic growth and human development offers three arguments in understanding deviations across group countries in terms of inequalities:

i.   the economic growth does not necessarily result in equal gains for all,

ii. not all inequalities are issues of economic growth or development per se,

iii. there exists a two-way relation between growth and social inequalities and hence human development without a definitive path or direction.

The origins of these arguments coincide with a pioneering progress in the history of women's human rights: *the UN Beijing Declaration and Action Plan (BDAP), which was adopted at the 4th World Conference on Women in 1995*. The plan verifies that the preceding presumption of gender equality achievable through economic growth and modernization, is flawed and the assumption could be one of the impeding factors lagging progress towards gender equality.

At the 4th Conference, it was acknowledged by all member countries that despite all international efforts and rapid growth experiences across the world, substantive inequalities between women and men could not be eliminated. They persist within specific and intertwined national and international origins which likewise deteriorate the lives of the majority of people including the children that exacerbates the situation. On the other hand, gender equality and the prohibition of discrimination are mandatory for all States within the principle of equality in terms of international human rights norms and standards and States are committed to:

"...ensure the full implementation of the human rights of women and girls as an inalienable, inseparable and indivisible part of all these human rights and fundamental freedoms (Declaration item 9).

The potential impact of economic growth and development and close associations with women's rights are emphasized explicitly in BDAP:

"...Accelerated economic growth, although necessary for social development, does not by itself improve the quality of life of the population. In some cases, conditions can arise which can aggravate social inequality and marginalization. Hence, it is indispensable to search for new alternatives that ensure that all members of society benefit from economic growth based on a holistic approach to all aspects of development: growth, equality between women and men, social justice, conservation and protection of the environment, sustainability, solidarity, participation, peace and respect for human rights...(para.14)"

Furthermore, gender equality is set as a precondition for a sustained economic growth:

"...Sustainable development and economic growth that is both sustained and sustainable are possible only through improving the economic, social, political, legal and cultural status of women. Equitable social development that recognizes empowering the poor, particularly women, to utilize environmental resources sustainably is a necessary foundation for sustainable development

(para. 56)" (*para. 41) states that "...women's empowerment and their full participation on the basis of equality in all spheres of society, including participation in the decision-making process and access to power, are fundamental for the achievement of equality, development and peace. The advancement of women and the achievement of equality between women and men are a matter of human rights and a condition for social justice and should not be seen in isolation as a women's issue."*

In addition States declared their determinacy to *"promote people-centred sustainable development, including sustained economic growth, through the provision of basic education, life-long education, literacy and training, and primary health care for girls and women (para 27) and the design, implementation and monitoring of the gender-sensitive policies and programmes, including development policies and programmes with the full participation of women are considered to be essential"* (para 19).

In line with this process, UNDP leads the efforts for data collection and regular reporting on gender equality through "gender development index", "gender inequality index" and the "gender social norms index". Different aspects of gender equality and women's empowerment have also been presented at world scale and in a way enabling comparison between countries by the "life course gender gap" and "women's empowerment" dashboards. UNDP as the leading agency in helping countries achieve the Sustainable Development Goals by 2030 emphasizes the role of collaborative work with civil society organizations in implementing the policies leading to SDGs. In this context this project offers the potential of a new collaborative work between UNDP Turkey and Association for Gender Equality Monitoring (CEID).

The UNDP-Turkey Office carried out path-breaking research reports focusing on the specificities and the peculiar context of the country. These national reports allowed comprehensive exploration of composite indexes based on longitudinal analyses. Between the years 2014 and 2019 Turkey has excelled in Human Development Index, index value jumping from 0,796 to 0,820 points and moved up 5 places in the ranking. The long-term growth rates present a stable trend with an average annual growth rate at around 4,5% over the last fifty-year period in Turkey. Despite this stable trend, unwarranted short-term fluctuations remark the growth patterns of the country in the 2000s. In addition, the population growth rates declined in the 2000s, which had positive impacts on one the income component of HDI via GDP per capita. Demographic indicators present a relatively younger composition with lower elderly dependency rates than the very high HDI country group, yet however young dependency ratios are notably high when compared to her group average.

Turkey has been on a positive trend in terms of improving gender equality outlook in the country throughout the last decades, too. However, the overall standing of the country is far from being ideal. Turkey ranks in the Global Gender Inequality Index 68th despite its 54th place in the Human Development Index. By 2019, HDI value for men is 0,848 and the same index value for women is 0,784[6], and this gap is indicative of the extent and persistence of gender inequalities. Meanwhile, gender social norms index reflects a negative trend, the share of people with at least one and at least two biases rising for both men and women between the periods 2005-2009 and 2010-2014.

In this context, the current study examines the gender indicator values for Turkey between the years of 2000 and 2019 looking at UNDP gender-inequality and gender-disaggregated HDI indices. Main objective of this research report is to pinpoint the primary dynamics both driving and restricting positive change towards greater gender equalities. To that end more specific objectives are:

- to put together the main findings of the UNDP country reports going back to 2001 and 2008 in terms of gender equality indexes

- to conduct a trend analysis on gender inequality index and gender development index values

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6 In parallel, gender development index value (Ratio of female to male HDI values) has fluctuated and presented a high variation between 2014 and 2019 as opposed to the general positive trend before 2014 and ended up as equal to 2014 value in 2019, as well. Downward trend is significant in 2018 and 2019. Estimations indicate that this loses will be deepened by the adverse impact of the Covid-19 crises.

- to analyze general trends in a causal framework and drivers of progress and obstacles/bottlenecks against positive change will be identified at the level of socio-economic, and policy parameters

- to present the main reasons for the gap between Turkey's human development and gender development performance and for the stagnant performance in gender inequality index over the years

- to provide policy recommendations and action points for the development actors

In order to explore the underlying factors behind the trends observed between 2000-2019, we conduct a longitudinal analysis bringing these indexes together with the following additional country specific indicators:

- evaluation of the socio-economic situation in Turkey with the selected socio-economic indicators at the national level particularly impact of macroeconomic policies on employment and income distribution

- theme specific rights-based institutional and structural monitoring indicators compiled by CEID

Analysis above also makes use of the relevant thematic reports produced by CEID on gender equality monitoring with a rights-based perspective. The data compiled along with the thematic reports provides the background resources for the current research. Assessments derived from each thematic report as well as the consolidated Monitoring Report 2019-2020 of CEID are utilized to support periodization analysis briefly explained. Supportive/preventive underlying factors behind the progress achieved in terms of gender equality indicators are tried to be identified and elaborated based on the detailed discussions covered in each thematic report.

In the report the first chapter deals with Turkey's performance in Human Development and Gender Development Index Scores throughout the years comparing her with other country groups by HDI level. The second chapter is on the relative roles of components of HDI and GDI. The third chapter tackles Turkey's gender equality performance via thematic areas like education, access to health services and participation in political decisions. The fourth chapter is on economic growth and macroeconomic indicators. Final chapter is on discussion and policy recommendations.

Chapter 1.

Turkey's Performance in Human Development and Gender Equality Index Scores

This chapter presents the differences in Turkey's performance based on the selected development indices over the period of our analysis (2000-2019). We explore Turkey's trends in the Human Development Index (HDI), the inequality adjusted Human Development Index (IHDI), the Gender Development Index (GDI), and the Gender Inequality Index (GII) together with the OECD countries and the country groups by the level of human development and discuss comparatively here.

Highlights of this chapter can be listed as:

4. Trends in inequality adjusted indices including GDI, GII and IHDI present diverse performance across dimensions,

5. Despite the rapid rise in HDI over the recent years, HDI value scores for Turkey continue to lie below all OECD member countries (except for Mexico and Colombia in 2019),

6. Turkey's GDI scores do not reflect her performance in terms of HDI: country's relative ranking in terms of GDI remained unchanged over the period and stands below all the OECD member countries,

7. Gender gap in national income per capita reflects the large gap in labor force participation rates,

8. Women's participation in the labor force is remarkably low in Turkey when compared to her peers including the high human development countries she moved out,

9. Women' participation in political life present much lower scores compared to her global peers,

10. Recent progress in educational opportunities could not provide adequate counterbalance to the massively uneven gender development in economic and political life in Turkey.

1.1. Trends in HDI, GDI and Other Complementary Indices

Section 1.1 presents the human development index (HDI), the Gender Development Index (GDI), and the Gender Inequality Index (GII) value scores for Turkey and explores the changes across dimensions over the period of analysis.

> HDI summarizes average achievements in key dimensions of human development (health, education and income), while the GDI measures gender gaps in HDI using the same component indicators as in the HDI. UNDP has been producing an additional indicator which discounts each dimension's average value according to its level of inequality. Inequality adjusted HDI takes into account the human development costs of inequality.

> GDI is simply the ratio of the HDI calculated for females and that of males. In calculating the HDI, the health dimension is constructed using life expectancy at birth. The education dimension is measured using the average number of years of schooling for adults aged 25 and up and the expected years of schooling for children of school entering age. Gross national income per capita is used to calculate the income index. Thus, higher HDI and GDI values indicate higher achievements in human development and smaller gender disparities respectively.

The GII, on the other hand, is a three-dimensional gender inequality index that analyzes discrepancies between men and women in three areas: reproductive, health, empowerment, and economic status. Maternal mortality ratio and adolescent birth rates are used to produce value scores for the reproductive health; and empowerment dimension stands for the proportion of female parliamentary seats held and the proportion of adult females and males aged 25 and older with at least some secondary education; and economic status is measured by the labor force participation rate of female and male populations aged 15 years and older. In contrast to the GDI, higher GII levels indicate bigger differences between males and females.

Source: UNDP HDR Database.

Table 1.1 presents Turkey's performance in HDI values along with the female HDI, the male HDI, the GDI, and the GII from 2000 to 2019. Turkey's HDI values increased from 2000 to 2019 constantly, and quite rapidly. The HDI value increased from 0.660 to 0.820, an increase of 24.2 percent. Turkey advanced from medium human development category in 2000 to very high human development category in 2019. The GDI also increased in this period although not as rapidly as the HDI. The GDI, however, first evolved from 0.847 in 2000 to 0.93 in 2016, though stagnated in 2017 and decreased afterwards. While both female and male HDI values increased, the limited increase of the female HDI caused the decrease in the GDI in the last years. The GII values exhibit a similar pattern to the GDI until 2018, demonstrating that gender gaps are narrowing rather quickly. GII, unlike GDI, does not suggest a worsening of gender inequality after 2018, but rather a slowdown in progress[7].

Table 1.1: Trends in HDI, GDI and GII Values for Turkey, 2000-2019

	HDI	Female HDI	Male HDI	GDI	GII
2000	0.660	0.598	0.706	0.847	0.554
2005	0.696	0.632	0.739	0.855	0.531
2010	0.739	0.707	0.779	0.908	0.427
2011	0.753	0.724	0.794	0.912	0.387
2012	0.765	0.731	0.800	0.914	0.378
2013	0.785	0.741	0.808	0.917	0.362
2014	0.796	0.755	0.817	0.924	0.355
2015	0.801	0.766	0.825	0.928	0.339
2016	0.808	0.767	0.824	0.930	0.334
2017	0.814	0.775	0.832	0.931	0.325
2018	0.817	0.777	0.839	0.926	0.308
2019	0.820	0.784	0.848	0.925	0.306
Source of Data: UNDP Human Development Data Center (http://hdr.undp.org/en/data)					

7 All three dimensions of the GII display the same pattern as the GII in the period under consideration.

1.2. Comparison of Turkey's Performance in Human Development with Her Global Peers

Since HDI's first introduction in 1990 by the UNDP, Turkey's performance follows the high human development group countries' average very closely (Figure 1.1). Over the period, while the OECD countries and the very-high-HDI group of countries' HDI values range between 0,78 and 0,95, the high-HDI peers present a significant rise starting from a score value equal to 0,57 up to 0,75. We observe a catching-up trend between the high-HDI and very-high-HDI group over the 90s and first half of 2000s. Turkey singles out with a faster rise in HDI particularly from 2010 to 2016 with a much rapid annual growth rate than that of the high-HDI group. Over the whole period (1990-2020) annual growth in HDI scores has been higher in Turkey (1,25) than both the high-HDI group average (1,04) and the very-high HDI group average growth rate (0,55) (Table 1-2).
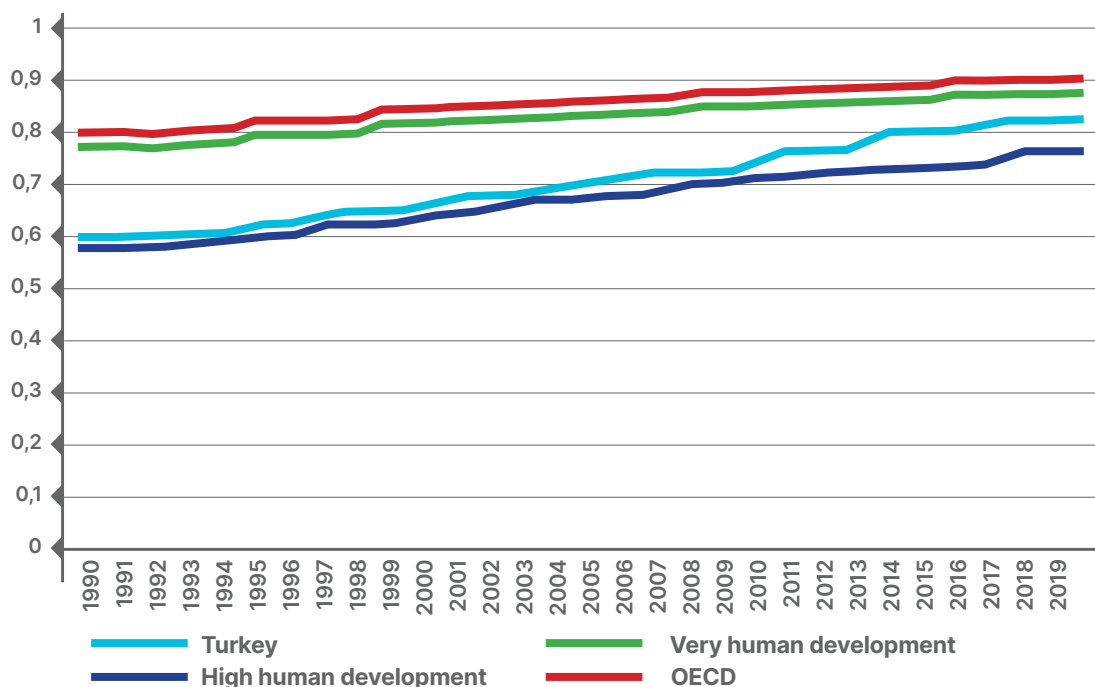
Figure 1.1. HDI Index

Figure 1.2 illustrates how Turkey compares to other OECD member countries in terms of human development (HDI) and gender equality (GDI). The x-axis refers to the HDI and the y-axis refers to the GDI. OECD member countries are denoted by blue dots and Turkey by the red dot.

When panel A (year 2000) and panel B (year 2019) of Figure 1.2 are compared, it is clear that Turkey, like the majority of countries, progressed in terms of human development and gender equality between the two years. Despite the improvement, Turkey's HDI and GDI values remain lower than those of the majority of OECD countries. The rise in HDI is more prominent than the rise in GDI. In 2000, Turkey's HDI was the lowest among OECD countries, and outperformed only two countries (Mexico and Colombia) in 2019.
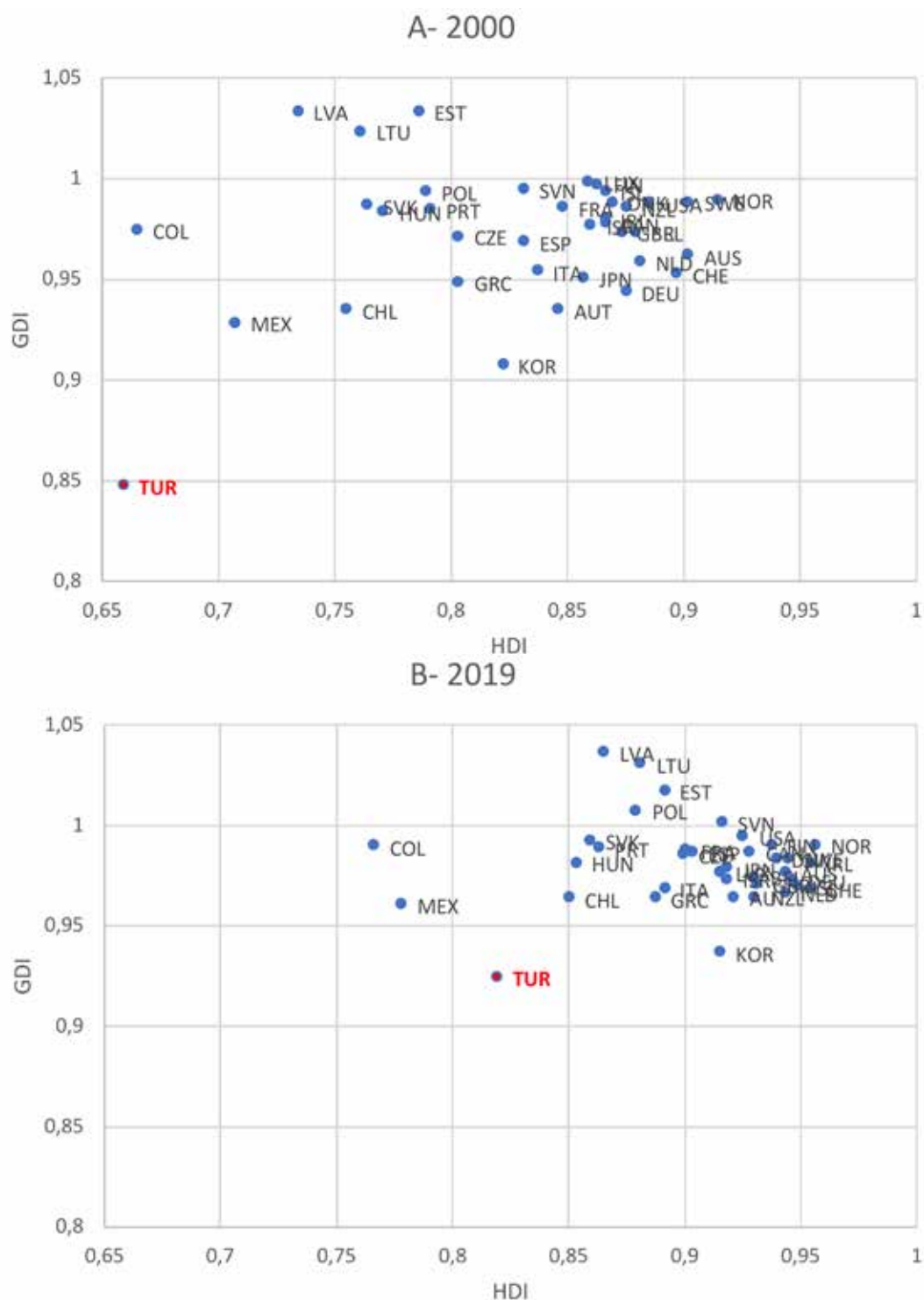
Figure 1.2. Comparison of HDI and GDI in OECD and Partner Countries (2000, 2019)

Note: AUS: Australia, AUT: Austria, BEL: Belgium, CAN: Canada, CHL: Chile, COL: Colombia, CZE: Czechia, DNK: Denmark, EST: Estonia, FIN: Finland, FRA: France, DEU: Germany, GRC: Greece, HUN: Hungary, ISL: Iceland, IRL: Ireland, ISR: Israel, ITA: Italy, JPN: Japan, KOR: Korea (Republic of), LVA: Latvia, LTU: Lithuania, LUX: Luxembourg, MEX: Mexico, NLD: Netherlands, NZL: New Zealand, NOR: Norway, POL: Poland, PRT: Portugal, SVK: Slovak Republic, SVN: Slovenia, ESP: Spain, SWE: Sweden, CHE: Switzerland, TUR: Turkey, GBR: United Kingdom, USA: United States

Table 1.2 Index Value Scores: Turkey vis-à-vis Country Groups by HDI Level

Country/ Country Group	Human Development Index (HDI) Value								Average annual HDI growth (%)			
	1990	2000	2010	2014	2015	2017	2018	2019	1990-2000	2000-2010	2010-2019	1990-2019
Turkey	0,583	0,660	0,739	0,796	0,801	0,814	0,817	0,820	1,25	1,14	1,16	1,18
Very high human development	0,782	0,826	0,870	0,885	0,889	0,894	0,896	0,898	0,55	0,52	0,35	0,48
High human development	0,567	0,629	0,705	0,730	0,735	0,744	0,748	0,753	1,04	1,15	0,73	0,98
Medium human development	0,433	0,492	0,571	0,601	0,609	0,624	0,627	0,631	1,29	1,50	1,12	1,31
Low human development	0,345	0,381	0,468	0,497	0,500	0,507	0,509	0,513	1,00	2,08	1,03	1,38
World	0,601	0,644	0,699	0,720	0,724	0,732	0,734	0,737	0,69	0,82	0,59	0,71

Country/ Country Group	Inequality-adjusted HDI (IHDI)			Coefficient of human inequality	Inequality in life expectancy	Inequality-adjusted life expectancy index	Inequality in education	Inequality-adjusted education index	Inequality in income	Inequality-adjusted income index
	Value	Overall loss (%)	Difference from HDI rank		(%)	Value	(%)	Value	(%)	Value
	2019	2019	2019	2019	2015–2020	2019	2019	2019	2019	2019
Turkey	0,683	16,7	-11	16,5	9,0	0,808	16,5	0,611	24,1	0,645
Very high human development	0,800	10,9	—	10,7	5,2	0,869	6,4	0,803	20,4	0,733
High human development	0,618	17,9	—	17,6	10,1	0,765	14,5	0,572	28,0	0,539
Medium human development	0,465	26,3	—	25,9	20,8	0,601	37,1	0,334	19,7	0,499
Low human development	0,352	31,4	—	31,3	30,8	0,441	37,9	0,263	25,1	0,375
World	0,587	20,4	—	20,2	14,7	0,692	22,1	0,497	23,8	0,589

Source: UNDP HDR Database

The inequality adjusted HDI (IHDI) in table 1.2 discounts each dimension's average value according to its level of inequality. As termed by UNDP the difference between the IHDI and HDI is the overall loss to human development due to inequality i.e., human development cost of inequality. In addition, a recent indicator for inequality is produced: the coefficient of human inequality which is calculated as an unweighted average of inequality across three dimensions, the life expectancy, education and the inequality in income. When HDI performance is discounted by the inequalities in each dimension, Turkey's loss has been higher than her recent group peers with a score standing near to the high human development group.

The inequality loss is also observed in her ranking, a decline by 11 ranks (Table 1.2). The coefficient of inequality calculated for Turkey presents scores parallel to the high human development group rather than her recent group (even larger inequality coefficients than the high development group as high as Mexico until 2013) (UNDP Database). Except for inequality in income, Turkey's inequality scores both in life expectancy and education are still closer to the country group she moved up from. The coefficient of inequality in income dimension appears to stand equidistant from the high and very high human development country group averages. The progress in the overall HDI trend mainly reflects changes in the education dimension. However, despite the achievements when discounted with the cost of inequalities in education we still observe a notably high value for Turkey, which is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

As elaborated in Chapter 3, the development in Turkey's HDI scores is mostly driven by the improvements in the education dimension across the study period. Gender gaps in education, on the other hand, persisted over time and did not catch up to the level of high and very high HDI countries, the group she moved out of and up to, respectively. In both high and very high-HDI countries, the ratio of female to male education index remained around 1 on average, while it was still 0.887 in Turkey in 2019[8]. In high and very high HDI countries, gender disparities in income are larger than those in education. In 2019, the female to male income index ratio in high and very high HDI countries is 0.86 and 0.92, respectively, and 0.87 in Turkey. As a result, in terms of income disparity between men and women, Turkey is at the level of the high HDI country group and below the very high HDI group. Table 2.3 below, presents Gini index and income distribution statistics also support these different trends in Turkey across dimensions in income dimension. In table 2.3 we observe that despite rising GNI per capita in Turkey the inequality score represented by the Gini coefficient remains at its high level (41,9). The income share of the poorest 40 percent in Turkey receives only 16% of the total income produced whereas the richest 10 percent gets almost one third (33%). According to Table 1.3, inequalities in Turkey are greater than in both high and very high HDI countries.

Table 1.3 Income Inequality Indicators

	Income shares held by (%)			
	Poorest 40 percent	**Richest 10 percent**	**Richest 1 percent**	**Gini coefficient**
Country/Country Groups	2010-2018	2010-2018	2010-2017	2010-2018
Turkey	15,9	32,6	23,4	41,9
Very high human development	18,3	27,7	15,6	—
High human development	16,6	31,3	..	—
Medium human development	18,8	31,0	..	—
Low human development	16,7	31,9	16,0	—
World	17,6	30,6	17,1	—
Source: UNDP HDR Database.				

8 The data used in this section is obtained from the Global Data Lab (https://globaldatalab.org/sgdi/SGDI/). Using country level female and male indices, we derived the averages of the very high and high HDI countries. The countries included in this data set are the same as the ones in the UNDP data set and the two data sets are consistent in terms of values of the indices. However, 10 countries in the high HDI group and 5 countries in the very high HDI group absent in our analysis. These are the countries that have HDI data but no observations at the female-male level in the UNDP dataset.

1.3. Trends in Gender Development Index

In contrast to HDI performance, Turkey's relative ranking in terms of GDI remained unchanged. Turkey's GDI was the lowest among OECD countries in 2000, and it remained so in 2019 (see Figure 1.2). Figure 2.4 also shows that Turkey's GDI scores have always been lower than both the very-high HDI and the high-HDI group countries. We observe a significant change from 2005 to 2010 approaching her towards her group average. Along with the progress over the following decade the difference narrows down, but is inadequate to close it down. On top of that in the last two years we observe a rebound effect in Turkey.

Turkey falls into the fourth group in terms of GDI value scores. Among the very high human development countries, only two countries other than Turkey present significantly different performance than their HDI scores (Saudi Arabia in Group 5 and Bahrain in Group 4).

The observations support the persistence of a large gender gap in income (GNI per capita female is still lower than half of the GNI for male in Turkey), which could not be compensated by the recent progress in education (Table 1.4). Men in Turkey earn on average an income level equal to almost three quarters of their counterparts in the very high human development group. However, women earn only half the income her peers earn in the group. The gender gap in national income per capita reflects the gap in labor force participation rates. Women's participation in the labor force is remarkably low (34%) compared to the average rate observed in the high human development (54%) and very high human development country groups (52%) (Table 1.5).
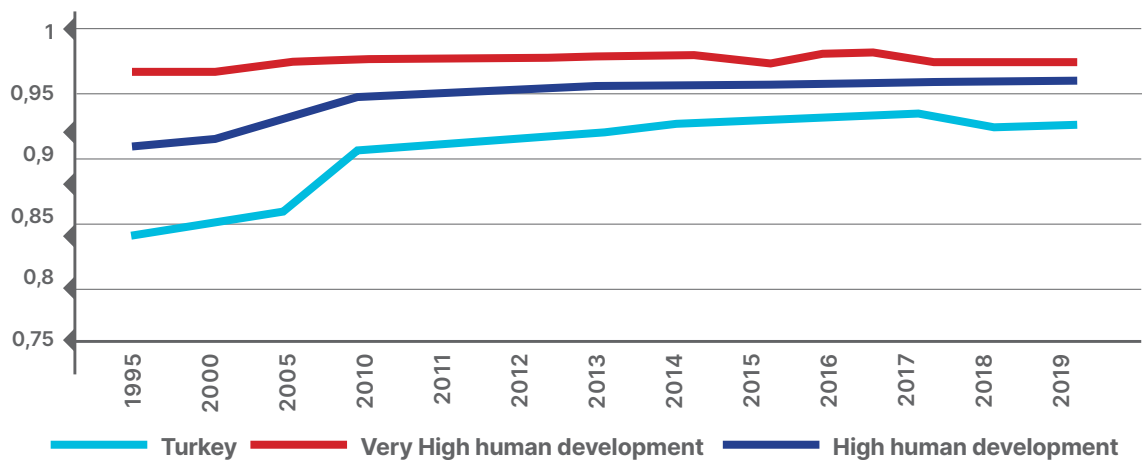
Figure 1.3. GDI Index

1.4. Trends in Gender Inequality Index

In GII, a pattern similar to GDI can be noticed (Figure 1.4). In 2000, Turkey had higher gender inequalities than both high and very high HDI countries, but by 2015, it had caught up with high HDI countries and had lower inequalities afterwards. However, progress has slowed in recent years, and the country has always lagged behind the countries with very high HDI. In addition to the very low participation of women in the labor force, women's participation in political life stays very low compared to Turkey's global peers (Table 1.5). Improvements in educational opportunities do not automatically pass progress in human development performance unless simultaneous trends are achieved in economic and political life. The inequalities in sub-dimensions of both indices are dealt in more detail in the third chapter.
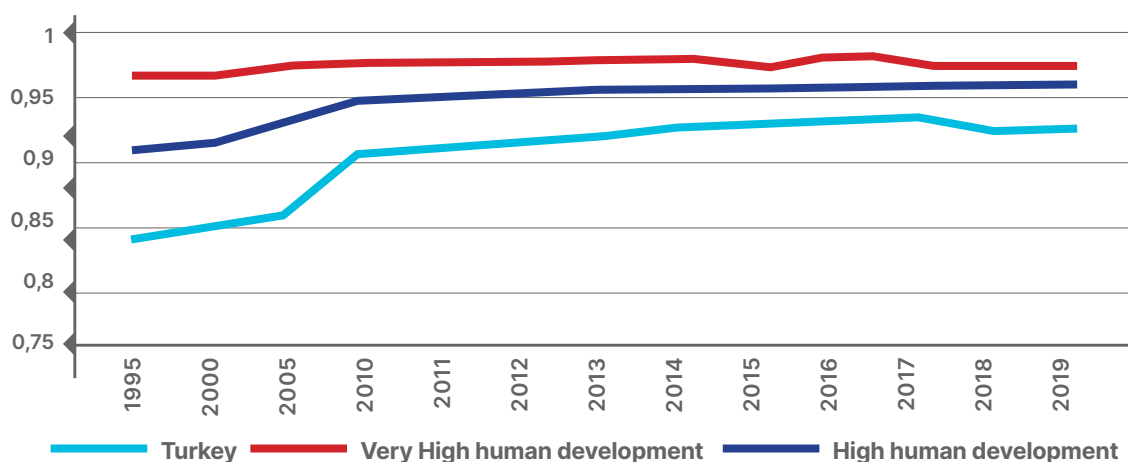
Figure 1.4. GII Ind

Table 1.4. 2019 Gender Development Index with Sub-Dimensions

2019	Gender Development Index		Human Development Index Value		Life expectancy at birth (years)		Expected years of schooling (years)		Mean years of schooling (years)		Estimated gross national income per capita (2017 PPP $)	
Country/ Country Group	Value	Group	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Turkey	0,924	4	0,784	0,848	80,6	74,7	16,0	17,1	7,3	9,0	17.854	37.807
Very high human development	0,981	—	0,886	0,903	82,4	76,8	16,6	16,0	12,0	12,2	33.668	55.720
High human development	0,961	—	0,736	0,766	78,0	72,8	14,1	13,9	8,2	8,7	10.529	17.912
Medium human development	0,835	—	0,567	0,679	70,8	67,9	11,7	11,4	5,3	8,1	2.530	9.598
Low human development	0,861	—	0,474	0,551	63,0	59,9	8,7	10,1	3,9	6,0	2.043	3.446
World	0,943	—	0,714	0,757	75,0	70,6	12,7	12,7	8,1	9,2	12.063	21.323

Source: UNDP HDR Database.

Table 1.5. Trends in Gender Inequality Index with Sub-Dimensions

	Gender Inequality Index		Maternal mortality ratio (deaths per 100,000 live births)	Adolescent birth rate (births per 1,000 women ages 15–19)	Share of seats in parliament (% held by women)	Population with at least some secondary education (% ages 25 and older)		Labor force participation rate (% ages 15 and older)	
	Value	Rank				Female	Male	Female	Male
Country	2019	2019	2017	2015-2020	2019	2015–2019	2015–2019	2019	2019
Turkey	0,306	68	17	26,6	17,4	50,2	72,2	34,0	72,6
Very high human development	0,173	—	14	17,2	28,3	86,5	88,6	52,3	69,1
High human development	0,340	—	62	33,6	24,5	69,8	75,1	54,2	75,4
Medium human development	0,501	—	161	34,6	20,4	30,1	46,3	28,3	77,1
Low human development	0,592	—	572	102,8	22,2	17,2	30,1	57,7	72,3
World	0,436	—	204	43,3	24,6	61,0	68,3	47,2	74,2

Chapter 2.

The Role of Components of HDI and GDI

Trends in HDI and GDI reflect the contributions of the achievements in key dimensions of human development (health, education and income) as aggregated or disaggregated by female and male in the latter. In order to explore the underlying factors behind the changes and gender gaps in HDI and the trends in regional HDI and GDI, Chapter 2 presents the methodology developed for this purpose and the findings of this analysis.

Highlights of this chapter so far are:

1. Progress in Turkey's HDI scores are driven mainly by the improvements in education dimension over the period of analysis,

2. The relative importance of health and income indicators varied depending on the time period,

3. The majority of the difference between female and male HDIs is related to differences in female and male incomes,

4. The regional HDI and GDI levels rose and the disparity across regions narrowed substantially over the period.

2.1. Contributions of Health, Income and Education Components to HDI Growth

The components of the HDI is aggregated using geometric mean since 2010. The multiplicative nature of this new calculation allows us to decompose percentage changes in HDI into percentage changes in its components[9]. If we denote the three dimensions used in the calculation of the HDI i.e health, education and income by L, H and I respectively, the HDI is expressed as

$$\text{HDI} = (\text{H} \cdot \text{E} \cdot \text{I})^{1/3} \qquad (1)$$

Thus the change in natural logarithm of HDI is

$$dln(HDI) = \frac{1}{3}dln(H) + \frac{1}{3}dln(E) + \frac{1}{3}dln(I)$$

where *dln(.)* denotes changes in natural logarithm of the relevant variable.

The contribution of natural logarithm of any component X (X = H, E, I) to the change in natural logarithm of HDI is then computed as follows.

$$C_X = \frac{dln(X)}{3*dln(HDI)} \qquad (3)$$

We use Eq (2) in order to compare the contribution of each component to the growth rate of HDI between 2000 and 2005, 2005 and 2010, and so on (Figure 2.1).

The figure demonstrates that the improvements in the HDI are driven mainly by improvements in education in all the periods under study. Throughout the period, education contributed 58 percent on average to human development. The relative importance of health and income indicators varies depending on the time period. The change in the income component contributes less than the change in the health component over the periods 2000-2005, 2005-2010, and 2016-2019, all of which are marked by economic crises. In the relatively high growth period of 2010-2012, the income component contributed more than the health component, and in the moderate growth period of 2012-2016, it contributed about as much[10].

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9   We follow the decomposition formula as in Campos-Vazquez et. al. (2017) and Prados de la Escosura (2010).
10 According to the Turkish Institute data, average annual growth rates of real GDP for the periods 2000-2005, 2005-2010, 2010-2012, 2012-2016, and 2016-2019 periods are 5.4, 3.4, 8.3, 6.2 and 3.9 percent respectively.
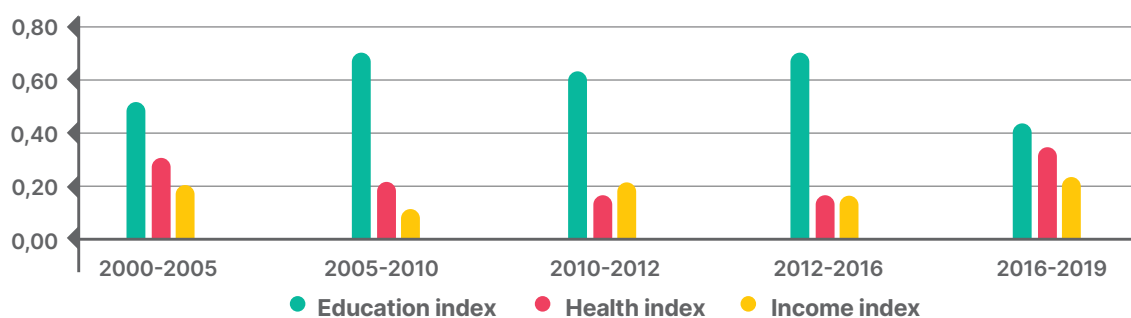
Figure 2.1: Decomposition of HDI growth into its Components
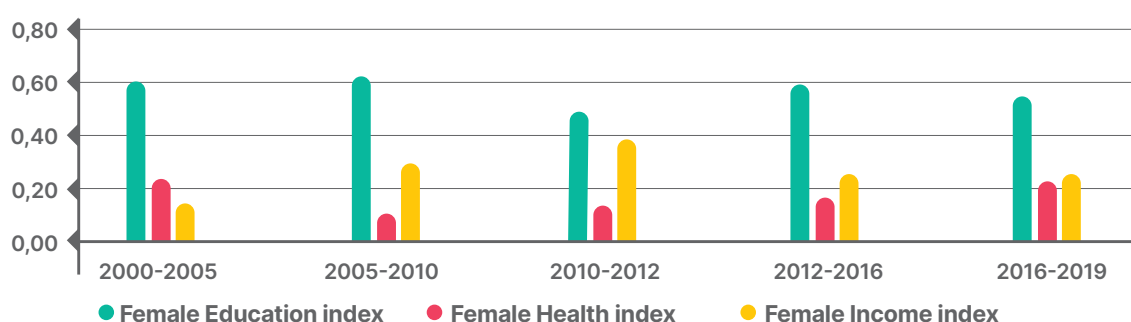
Figure 2.2a: Decomposition of Female HDI growth into its Components

Figure 2.2b: Decomposition of Male HDI growth into its Components

Decomposition of growth in female and male HDIs (Figure 2.2a and b) yields similar results in terms of the contribution of education. Education is the most important factor in both female and male human development. Income is the next most important factor for females, while it is health for males. On average, income contributes 26 percent of female human development growth. Men's improvement of health contributes nearly as much to their human development as women's income does to theirs: 28 percent.

We also analyze components of GDI in order to investigate the main reasons of disparities between genders in Turkey. Table 2.1 shows that female health index has been higher than male health index in all the years under study. This implies that in terms of life expectancy, the situation of women is better than men in Turkey. However, gender inequalities in health have steadily shifted in favor of men, albeit in a small and steady way, throughout time. Contrary to health, education and income components show gender disparities in favor of men in the analyzed period. Comparing the last two shows that gender inequality in income is higher than that in education in the whole

period except 2000. The income component is trending towards equality. The same is true for education until 2016. After 2016, the trend reversed, and educational disparities between men and women began to expand again.

When we look at the period from 2000 to 2016, we see a rapid decline in gender inequality in education (i.e. increase in Column (a/b) in Table 2.1), but only a moderate decline in gender inequality in income (i.e. increase in Column (e/f)). These observations show that in Turkey women's relative educational attainments were not reflected in their relative incomes in the 2000-2016 period. When educational disparity began to rise again between 2016 and 2019, the trend in income inequalities did not change substantially. Overall, the data indicate that the relationship between women's relative educational attainment and relative incomes in Turkey during the 2000s was weak.

Table 2.1. Trends in Components of HDI (Female and Male), 2000-2019

	Female education index (Column a)	Male education index (Column b)	Column a/b	Female health index (Column c)	Male health index (Column d)	Column c/d	Female income index (Column e)	Male income index (Column f)	Column e/f
2000	0.428	0.564	0.760	0.789	0.752	1.049	0.635	0.828	0.767
2005	0.472	0.596	0.793	0.822	0.792	1.037	0.650	0.856	0.760
2010	0.582	0.671	0.868	0.851	0.826	1.030	0.716	0.854	0.838
2011	0.606	0.694	0.873	0.857	0.834	1.028	0.733	0.866	0.846
2012	0.609	0.701	0.870	0.862	0.842	1.024	0.741	0.870	0.852
2013	0.624	0.706	0.884	0.868	0.848	1.024	0.752	0.879	0.856
2014	0.649	0.721	0.901	0.872	0.855	1.020	0.756	0.884	0.855
2015	0.667	0.732	0.911	0.877	0.862	1.018	0.766	0.889	0.862
2016	0.666	0.724	0.920	0.882	0.866	1.018	0.771	0.890	0.866
2017	0.672	0.738	0.910	0.886	0.871	1.018	0.781	0.897	0.871
2018	0.672	0.749	0.896	0.889	0.875	1.016	0.784	0.897	0.874
2019	0.688	0.775	0.887	0.894	0.880	1.016	0.783	0.897	0.874

Source: Calculations based on the data provided by the UNDP HDR Database.

2.2. Contributions of Health, Income and Education Inequality to the Male-Female HDI Gap

The difference between female and male HDIs can also be investigated using decomposition analysis[11]. The HDI values for men and women are determined in the same way as Eq (1).

$$HDI_k = (H_k \cdot E_k \cdot I_k)^{1/3}, \qquad k = \text{f, m}$$ (4)

where f and m stand for female and male respectively. The difference between the natural logarithm of female and male HDIs are

$$ln(HDI_f) - ln(HDI_m)$$ (5)

$$= \frac{1}{3}[ln(H_f) - ln(H_m)] + \frac{1}{3}[ln(E_f) - ln(E_m)] + \frac{1}{3}[ln(I_f) - ln(I_m)]$$

The contribution of each component X to the difference in the natural logarithm of female and male HDIs is calculated as follows:

$$GC_X = \frac{ln(X_f) - ln(X_m)}{3*[ln(HDI_f) - lnln(HDI_m)]}$$ (6)

Figure 2.3 depicts the findings of this analysis. The figure shows that the majority of the difference between female and male HDIs (61 percent on average) is related to differences in female and male incomes, particularly following 2005. The contribution of income rises from 54 percent in 2000 up to 69 percent in 2016, then falls to 57 percent in 2019. The Turkish economy grew at a reasonably high rate from 2010 to 2017, however on a decreasing trend. Figure 2.3 demonstrates that both GDI and the contribution of income differences to female-male HDI disparities gradually rose during this time period. The years following 2017 were marked by slower economic growth and decreased GDI. We see that income differences' contribution to female-male HDI disparities began to reduce during this time period, but it remained the major driver.

The health component has been negative and stable throughout the period under study. The negative contribution of this component points to the fact that women have a greater life expectancy at birth than men. This advantage mitigates women's disadvantages in the overall achievements in HDI. Because the contribution of health to the male-female HDI gap remained relatively constant, the change in the share of income component is mostly mirrored in the opposite direction by the change in the share of education component.

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11 One could argue that the additive HDI (as used by UNDP prior to 2010) is better suited to this type of analysis than the multiplicative one now in use. The former method for calculating the HDI used by the UNDP was as follows: HDI= (H+E+I)/3. The contribution of each component X to the female-male HDI differential in this formulation is GC'_X = (X_f - X_m) / [3*(HDI_f - HDI_m)]. Using the additive HDI formulation to calculate GC'_X's yielded similar results to those presented in this report.
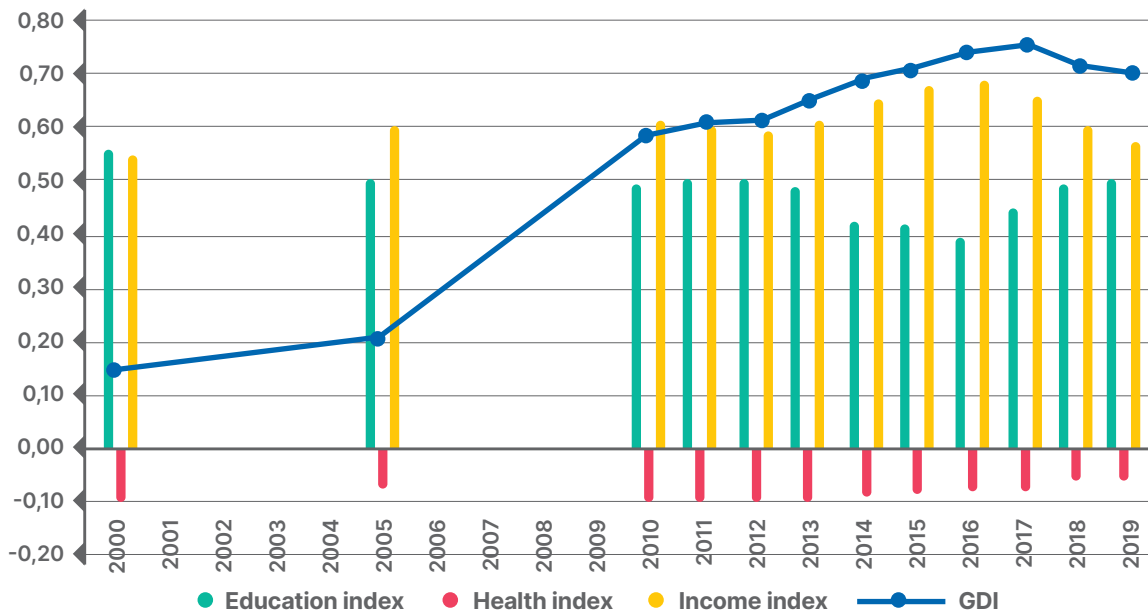
Figure 2.3: Contribution of Gender Gap in Health, Income and Education to the Overall Gender Gap in HDI.

2.3. Sub-National HDI and GDI

Figure 2.4 shows the HDI (Panel A) and GDI (Panel B) levels of different regions in Turkey for the years between 2000 and 201912. The figure shows that, as regional HDI and GDI levels rise, the disparity across regions narrows substantially between 2000 and 2019. North East Anatolia, Central East Anatolia, and South East Anatolia, which had the lowest HDI and GDI in 2000, had the fastest increases and caught up to the other regions in 2019.
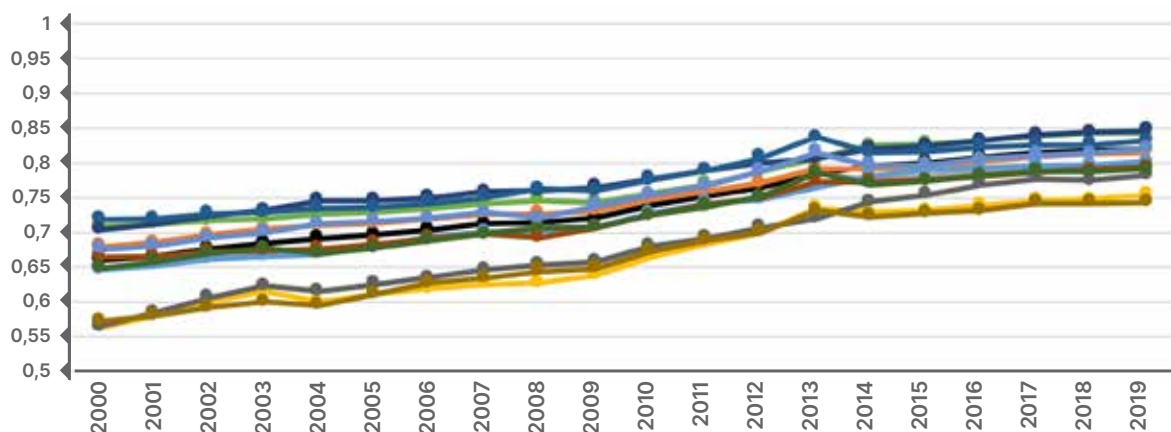
12   The sub national levels of HDI, GDI and their components are provided in the Appendix.
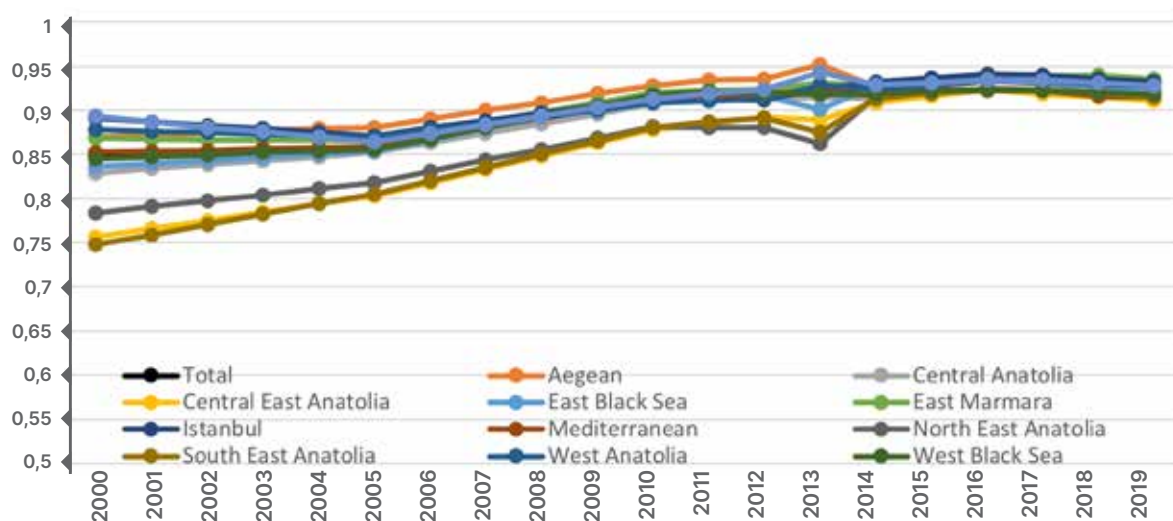
Figure 2.4: HDI and GDI levels of different regions in Turkey (2000-2019)

Table 2.3 lists the regions in order of average GDI gains from 2000 to 2019, from low to high[13]. Central Anatolia, East Black Sea, North East Anatolia, Central East Anatolia, and South East Anatolia all experienced higher GDI gains than the country average. The highest improvement was in South East Anatolia, while the lowest was in West Marmara. When the female and male values in the table are compared, we can see that all of the regions have similar patterns. In comparison to men, women advanced faster in terms of education and income.

Contrary to education and income, improvements in health favored men more than women in all the regions. Another finding from the table is that changes in education are the primary source of convergence in HDI and GDI across regions. Women and men have made greater educational gains in Central Anatolia, East Black Sea, North East Anatolia, Central East Anatolia, and South East Anatolia than in other regions. This appears to be the main reason for HDI level convergence.

The aforementioned regions also have the greatest disparity in the growth rate of the education index between men and women (in favor of women). This appears to be the cause of regional GDI convergence. Increases in the health index are also higher in these regions, but to a lesser extent. Contrary to education and health indices, the growth rates of these regions' income indices are lower than those of other regions. This is also another indication that educational gains in Turkey are not reflected in income gains. This analysis identifies educational developments as the primary source of changes in HDI and GDI at the national and subnational levels between 2000 and 2019.

To better comprehend what emerged in this matter across time, we documented the growth rates of educational indices in sub periods. Table 2.4 summarizes the trends. The regions in the table are ordered in the same way as in Table 2.3, based on GDI improvements from 2000 to 2019. According to Table 2.4, the deduction we made from Table 2.3 is primarily based on changes in the first half of the period under consideration. Central Anatolia, East Black Sea, North East Anatolia, Central East Anatolia, and South East Anatolia had higher increases in the educational index than the other regions, especially in the 2000-2005 period. The difference between women and men in terms of gains in education is also higher for these regions than the others in the 2000-2005 and 2005-2010 periods[14]. Thus, gains in education emerge as the primary determinant of both gender

13 This ordering also closely corresponds to the ordering by GDI level in 2000, from high to low. The main difference between the two orderings is the location of the West Black Sea. When regions are ordered according to 2000 GDI levels, the West Black Sea falls below the national average.

14 These trends might be due to very low levels of schooling in eastern part of Turkey and the effect of increasing compulsory education to eight years in 1997. Mean years of schooling, for example in South East Anatolia was 2 years for females and 5 years for males while it has been 6 years for females and 7.3 for males in İstanbul. South East Anatolia and İstanbul are the regions with lowest and highest years of schooling in 2000 respectively. Mean years of schooling doubled for females in South East Anatolia from 2000 to 2005. The increase is lower for males in the same region (32 percent), even lower for males in İstanbul (3 percent). Surprisingly, girls' average years of schooling in Istanbul fell to 5.4 years in 2005.

development gains and regional convergence. It also explains the recent drop in GDI, as men appear to have achieved higher educational gains than women in the last period[15].

Table 2.3: Average Yearly Increases in Female and Male Sub National HDI and Components (2000-2019)

	HDI females	HDI males	Health index females	Health index males	Educational index females	Educational index males	Income index females	Income index males
West Marmara	1.3	1.1	0.5	0.7	1.9	1.9	1.5	0.7
Istanbul	1.3	1.0	0.7	0.9	1.7	1.5	1.4	0.6
West Anatolia	1.0	0.7	0.6	0.8	1.4	0.9	1.2	0.4
Aegean	1.3	0.9	0.4	0.6	2.4	1.7	1.3	0.5
Mediterranean	1.3	0.9	0.4	0.7	2.7	1.7	1.1	0.3
East Marmara	1.3	0.8	0.2	0.5	2.7	1.6	1.1	0.4
West Black Sea	1.5	1.0	0.9	1.1	3.1	2.0	0.7	0.0
Total	1.6	1.1	0.7	0.9	3.2	2.0	1.2	0.4
Central Anatolia	1.6	1.0	0.4	0.7	3.6	1.9	1.2	0.4
East Black Sea	1.7	1.0	1.0	1.1	3.2	1.8	1.0	0.2
North East Anatolia	2.8	1.6	1.9	1.9	6.7	3.0	0.9	0.2
Central East Anatolia	2.6	1.3	1.1	1.3	7.1	2.7	1.0	0.2
South East Anatolia	2.5	1.1	0.9	1.0	7.4	2.4	0.7	-0.1

Table 2.4: Average Yearly Increases in Female and Male Educational Index

	Women					Men				
	2000-2005	2005-2010	2010-2012	2012-2016	2016-2019	2000-2005	2005-2010	2010-2012	2012-2016	2016-2019
West Marmara	-0.4	4.3	4.0	0.5	1.2	1.4	2.7	3.1	-0.5	2.4
Istanbul	-0.2	3.6	1.7	1.6	1.1	1.0	2.1	2.5	-0.5	2.3
West A	-0.7	4.1	2.7	0.2	1.1	-0.5	2.9	2.4	-1.5	2.4
Aegean	1.9	4.3	1.7	0.5	1.2	0.6	2.7	1.0	0.8	2.4
Mediterranean	2.0	4.7	2.2	0.7	1.1	0.7	2.4	2.5	0.3	2.4
East Marmara	0.4	4.4	2.0	3.7	0.5	0.1	2.0	2.2	2.4	1.1
West Black Sea	2.7	4.9	2.7	0.6	1.2	1.3	2.5	2.5	0.4	2.4
Total	2.1	4.7	2.3	2.3	1.1	1.1	2.5	2.2	0.8	2.3
Central Anatolia	3.5	4.6	2.9	1.5	1.1	1.1	2.5	2.3	0.6	2.5
East Black Sea	3.1	4.3	1.3	2.0	1.0	1.2	2.2	1.7	0.9	2.1
North East A	7.4	5.1	2.2	5.5	1.2	3.7	2.2	3.3	1.0	2.5
Central East A	9.4	6.4	3.7	2.3	1.2	3.8	2.3	2.2	0.3	2.6
South East A	10.0	7.4	3.0	1.8	1.0	3.1	3.4	1.8	-0.4	2.1

15 A similar analysis showed that this is not the case for health and income. Increases in women's income was higher than that of men in the 2016-2019 period. In terms of health, the difference between men and women is minor and varies by region.

Chapter 3.

A Closer Look to Turkey's Gender Gap with Respect to Sub-components

3.1. Background of the Gender Gap in Education

Education as a component of HDI, GDI and GII has undergone a profound transformation in the period of 2000-2019 in Turkey and its rather complicated structure deserves a closer examination. Improvement in school enrollment can be seen as the leading determinant of education-related improvement in the GDI index. In spite of a declining trend due to this improvement a consistent gap exists with respect to all indicator values for women and men in GDI indicators of expected years of schooling and mean years of schooling and GII indicator of the population with at least secondary education.

Table 3.1: Education component of the GDI and GII Indexes

Years	Expected years of schooling			Mean years of schooling			Population with at least secondary education (%)		
	Female	Male	Gap	Female	Male	Gap	Female	Male	Gap
2000	9,9	12,5	2,6	4,6	6,5	1,9	18,1	36	17,9
2005	11	12,8	1,8	5	7,2	2,2	20,9	40,2	19,3
2010	13,4	14,3	0,9	6,3	8,2	1,9	34,1	54,5	20,4
2011	13,9	14,8	0,9	6,6	8,5	1,9	37,5	58,4	20,9
2012	13,9	14,9	1,0	6,7	8,6	1,9	39,0	60,0	21,0
2013	14,3	15,2	0,9	6,8	8,5	1,7	40,5	61,5	21,0
2014	15,1	15,5	0,4	6,9	8,7	1,8	43,5	64,8	21,3
2015	15,5	15,8	0,3	7,1	8,8	1,7	44,9	59	14,1
2016	**15,7**	**16,1**	**0,4**	6,9	8,3	1,4	48,0	68,8	20,8
2017	15,9	16,5	0,6	6,9	8,4	1,5	50,2	70,8	20,6
2018	15,9	16,9	1,0	6,9	8,4	1,5	50,2	70,8	20,6
2019	16	17,1	1,1	7,3	9	1,7	50,2	72,2	22
Source: http://hdr.undp.org/en/data									

In 2000 the expected years of schooling is 9,9 years for females and 12,5 years for males with a gap of 2,6 years. Due to the legislation increasing compulsory education from 5 to 8 years in 1998 the results can be observed in the following five-year periods of 2005 and 2010 as 11 and 13,4 years for females and 12,8 and 14,3 years with males consecutively. Accordingly, the gap decreases to 0.9 years. Although the expected years of schooling rise steadily in the following years and reach to 16 years in 2019 for females and 17,1 for males the gap still consists of 1,1 years. In 2012 Turkey adopted 12 years of compulsory education and up 2013 we can see its contribution to the declining gap which goes from one year in 2012 to 0,3 years in 2015. However up 2016

the gap started to increase and accounted to 0,4 year in this year, 0,6 year in 2017, 1 year in 2018 and 1,1 years in 2019. It is not easy to explain the causes of this development and needs further investigation.

Similar observations can be made with respect to mean years of schooling. In 2000 the mean years of schooling was 4,6 years for females and 6,5 years for males with a gap of 1,9 years. In 2005 it increases to 5 years for females and 7,2 years for males with a gap of 2,2 years. In 2010 the increase is more than one year for females and a year for males, namely 6,3 years by females and 8,2 years for males, with a gap of 1,9 years. This improvement can be related to the regulation of 8 years of compulsory education. Up 2011 the mean years of schooling rises slowly till 2015 and reaches 7,1 years for females and 8,8 years for males with a gap of 1,7 years. The turning point is 2016 as in the case of expected years of schooling. It declines to 6,9 years for females and 8,3 years for males with decreasing gap of 1,4 years due to the bigger decrease in the latter. In 2017 and 2018 it remains the same both sexes. In 2019 it increases to 7,3 years for females and 9 years for males with a gap of 1,7 years.

In GII population with at least secondary education (%) is included as an indicator of empowerment component. In 2000 female population with at least secondary education is 18,1 % and male population is the double of it with 36,0 %. The percentage point gap is 17,9 %. The percentage of female population with at least secondary education increases to 20,9 % in 2005 and 34,1 % in 2010. These values are 40,2 % and 54,5 % for males consecutively. In 2010 the increase in these values are rather high due to the regulation of 8 years of compulsory education. In the following years in spite of a steady increase for both sexes the gap remains rather consistent around 20 %. In 2014 and 2015 although it increases from 43,5 % to 44,9 % by females, it decreases from 64,8 % to 59 % by males resulting in a decrease of the gap to 14,1 percentage points. In 2016 it increases to 48 % by females and to 68,8 % by males raising the gap to 20,8 percentage points. Although in the previous indicator values 2016 appears as a year of deterioration this progress by population with at least secondary education does not seem plausible. This gap is with 20,6 % the same in the following two years and increases to 22% in 2019. This fluctuating gap clearly indicates that all reforms made with respect to increasing compulsory education benefit both sexes but men benefit more as the gap stays almost the same.

Regulations on gender equality in education

Turkey has signed international conventions on education, children's and women's rights. It is stated in the Article 42 of the Constitution that education is a right for all citizens and that equal opportunities should be provided to women and men. Basic Law of National Education and the Decree of the Ministry of National Education (MONE) on the Organization and Duties (2011) also include similar regulations. Both in this decree and in the Directive on the Organization and Duties of the General Directorate of the Status of Women of the Ministry of Family and Social Policies, it is foreseen that efforts will be made to protect girls and women from all kinds of discrimination and to increase their participation in education, among other areas. MoNE Preschool Education and Primary Education Institutions Standards (2015) state that schools are sensitive to gender equality. Looking at the policy documents, action plans and strategic plans in the field of education, it is aimed to eliminate gender inequalities in the field of education in all of the national action plans related to gender equality and women, especially development plans (Tan 2018, pp.57-67).[16] However, despite all the objectives, it is seen that full equality cannot be achieved in practice.

Two main resource groups were used to monitor the developments in the field of education. The first of these is the Gender Equality Monitoring Association's (CEID) mapping and monitoring reports on gender equality in education, and the indicators developed in accordance with UNDP Sustainable Development Goals make the areas of inequality between women and men visible.

16 Göğüş Tan, M. (2018). Eğitimde Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliği Haritalama ve İzleme Çalışması. CEİD Yayınları: 3., https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/182

The other one is the Education Monitoring Reports, which the Education Reform Initiative has started to publish since 2007, and it deals with the developments in the field of education from many dimensions. The two CEID indicators that are important in terms of gender equality are given below. The complete list of the indicators can be seen in the Appendix.

- Net school enrolment according to sex and educational level (primary and secondary school and secondary education) (%)

- Proportion of boys and girls attending secondary education according to programs (general secondary education, vocational- technical education, religious education) (%)

Developments in education

Compulsory schooling of 8 years

When we look at the developments after 2000, the decision to increase the compulsory education to 8 years, taken in 1997, is important to increase girls' and boys' school enrollment and decrease the difference between men and women in both the expected years of schooling and the average years of schooling. However, the increase in the gap between men and women with at least secondary education in the GII index can be interpreted as this increase primarily benefits men. When the Education Monitoring Report of the Education Reform Initiative (ERG) was first published in 2007, it aimed to look at the entire period between 1997 and 2007, and stated that "when compulsory education was increased from five to eight years, significant progress has been made due to the investments made for students to graduate from primary education. However, existing regulations and service models cannot reach one out of every ten children at primary school age or cannot keep the children they reach in the education system." (p.16) [17]

The HDR 2008 Turkey titled "Youth in Turkey" also focuses on educational situation of young people aged 15-24 in Turkey among other aspects. The section on education opportunities deals with the low level of school enrolment in spite of the increase in compulsory education from 5 to 8 years in 1997 and particularly points to the inequalities among genders and regions with respect to enrolment rates. Whereas the pressure to work and earn money in low-income families constitute the main retentive cause for young males, it is the attitude of traditional families to withdraw their adolescent daughters from school for household chores and marriage purposes. Socio-economic factors constrain the chances of young people to receive education. One of the attempts to increase school enrolment rates has been the extension of open primary, secondary and high schools. However, there is a grave quality problem of education which has not been alleviated by the increase in the length of schooling. So various policy recommendations are made in the report and improving the quality as well as the quantity of education is considered as a priority for youth.[18]

ERG reports also underline the deterrence of poverty with respect to school attendance of boys and girls. Although the data on the characteristics of primary school age children who do not attend school are limited, it is seen that poverty is the determining factor in the failure of children to attend primary education and affects girls more negatively. In order to reduce the negative effects of poverty, Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) Education Grants were initiated in 2003 within the scope of the Social Risk Reduction Project (SRAP). While determining the amount of aid, decisions are taken in favor of girls, but the amounts are low (ERG 2007, p.34). According to the compilation of various statistics by ERG, three out of every five children who do not attend school despite being at primary school age are girls. Data on primary school graduation and secondary school attendance show that gender inequality increases in the later stages of education. "In the 2000-2001 school year, 90 female students per 100 male students attended the third year of primary education, while in the 2005-2006 school year, when this group graduated, 85 female students per 100 male students graduated from primary education. In the 2006-2007 school year, when

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17 All of the reports can be accessed through: https://www.egitimreformugirisimi.org/egitim-gozlemevi/izleme-raporlari/
18 https://www.tr.undp.org/content/turkey/en/home/library/national-hdrs/2008-nhdr.html

the same group was enrolled in secondary education, 75 female students were enrolled in the first year of secondary education for every 100 male students. In other words, although the difference in access between girls and boys in the first years of education has decreased as a result of the practices initiated in recent years, the deep inequality between the genders continues in the following years of education." (ibid, p. 37). At the same time, the difference observed between regions in access to education becomes more evident especially for girls, and the ratio of female students to male students decreases especially in the southeast and east of the country in graduation from primary education and enrollment in general high school (ibid, p.38).

In ERG monitoring reports many dimensions related to education such as the quality of education, its content, outputs, teachers' status, educational environments, education governance and financing are discussed. Undoubtedly the most important one in terms of gender inequalities is the gender distribution of students and inequalities in access to education. So in accordance with the subject of this report our analysis is limited to the explanation of the variables in UNDP's GDI and GII indices. Gender inequalities in enrollment, attendance and graduation and their persistence throughout the years draw our attention in the findings of these reports.

In spite of increasing school enrollment rates there are serious problems with attendance and graduation. Data on absenteeism can be cited from the 2009 report. "The school enrollment rate for the primary education age population (6-13 years), which was 96.5% in the 2008-2009 school year, was 98.2% in 2009-2010. Despite this improvement in enrollment rates, the absenteeism rate increased from 2.9% to 4.2% for girls and from 3.5% to 4.4% for boys. The higher absenteeism rates can be interpreted as a result of the economic crisis, the swine flu epidemic, or the automatic 6-year-old enrollment in primary education. Absenteeism rates in some regions are well above the national average, for example, the absenteeism rate in Northeast Anatolia, which was 6.3% in 2008-2009, increased to 9.1% in 2009-2010" (ERG 2009, p.18). While school enrollment rates increased in secondary education, absenteeism rates also increased rapidly. According to the data obtained from the administrative records, only six out of every 10 children aged 14-17 attend school regularly. Dropout is most intense in Grade 9; from those who dropped out 76% of boys and 64% of girls were in the 9th grade. (ibid, p.21)

Although the rate of schooling in primary education is increasing, the increase observed in absenteeism is also discussed in the 2010 report. The rate of absentee students in primary education increased to 11.6% and it was observed that it was slightly higher for girls than for boys. In secondary education, although there is progress in school enrollment rates, absenteeism rates are high. It is seen that 10% of boys and 6% of girls drop out of school (ERG 2010, p.24-25). The rates of absenteeism, grade repetition and leaving school without a diploma were not shared by the Ministry of National Education in the 2011-2012 school year (ERG 2011, p.66).

On the other hand, with the Ministry of National Education's Circular No. 2010/38 dated and numbered, an "educational mobilization" was started to encourage more girls to receive education in Girls' Technical and Vocational High Schools (KTML). Additionally, with the 2014/8 dated/numbered regulation, it was stated that "in order to increase the enrollment rate of girls", there could be schools where only girls could study (Tan 2018, p.69).

Compulsory schooling of 12 years

With the 4+4+4 regulation in 2011, the compulsory education period was increased to 12 years. The Amendment Law No. 6287 on Education Law which came into force a month and a half after its coming to the agenda and radically changed the education system, was not prepared and discussed in a participatory manner beforehand. According to ERG, the importance given to students' access to education does not seem to be given the same value to improving the quality of education and training and reducing inequality. Enrollment rates in primary schools are the same as in the previous year, there is not much difference on the basis of gender. In secondary school, despite compulsory education, 7% are out of school. There are notable differences in secondary

school enrollment rates between provinces and/or regions, eg. In Ağrı, it is 30.6% for girls and 39.9% for boys (ERG 2012, p.22).

The impact of the transition to 12-year compulsory education in decreasing the gap between women and men has to be seen since 2014. The difference in the expected years of schooling between men and women, which was 0.9 years in 2013, decreased to 0.4 years in 2014 and remained so until 2016. The gap between men and women in the mean years of schooling of 1.7 years by 2015 has decreased to 1.4 years in 2016. The gap between men and women with at least secondary education, which was around 21 percentage points until 2014, decreased to 14.1 percentage points in 2015.

The law, which increased the compulsory education year to 12 years, also brought structural changes in education. Depending on the change in the law, the process of transforming general high schools to Anatolian high schools or transferring them to vocational and technical secondary education continues, and accordingly, the share of general high schools in secondary education continues to decline. The rate of students attending imam-hatip high schools continues to increase regularly. When the distribution is analyzed by sex, there is a more significant increase in the rate of female students attending imam-hatip high schools (ERG 2012, p.24).

The distribution by school types at the secondary education level is closely related to the socioeconomic status of the families. When we look at the distribution of students in the 15-year-old age group in Turkey according to the socioeconomic strata, those from the highest socioeconomic stratum predominantly go to science high schools or Anatolian high schools, while a significant portion of the students in vocational high schools and other secondary education institutions like religious high schools come from the lowest socioeconomic strata. As a result, the expectation of breaking the inequality and poverty cycle in the society through education is not met (ERG 2013, p.23).

The increase in the share of imam-hatip secondary school students in total formal secondary school students continued in the following years. Students studying at imam-hatip secondary schools in the 2015-16 school year constitute 10.8% of all formal secondary school students (ERG 2015-16, p.24). Within the framework of the circular issued by the Ministry of National Education in 2014, the number of Anatolian imam-hatip high schools for girls, especially in the Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia Region, was increased on the grounds of schooling for girls, and as of 2017, 372 independent Anatolian imam-hatip high schools for girls were opened. 138 of these schools have hostels, and it is foreseen to open hostels for others (Tan 2018, p.102). With the legislative arrangements made by the MoNE in 2018 and 2019, activities related to "gender equality" were abolished (Tan 2020, p.23). These developments show that there is a strong tendency for girls to be directed to religious education schools where only girls attend.

Considering the distribution of formal secondary education students by program types, the program type with the highest number of students is general secondary education (43.7%). General secondary education is followed by vocational and technical education (30.8%) and religious education (11.8%) (ERG 2020, p.23-24). CEID's gender equality monitoring indicators in the field of education (Tan 2018, 2020, CEID 2021) give the gender distribution by school types using the MoNE data. Accordingly, in 2016, female students are 48.3% of students in general secondary education, 46.4% of students in vocational and technical secondary education, and 56.1% of students in imam-hatip high schools. These rates are 49.9%, 43.2%, and 55.8% for 2020, respectively. Considering the students in open education, the rate of female students in imam-hatip high schools is the majority with 66.3% in 2016 and 58.1% in 2020 (CEID 2021, p.152-153). The conscious choice of the MEB to move away from coeducation has led to the majority of female students in imam-hatip high schools among school types.

In Turkey, there are concerns that the children from various groups (girls, children with special needs and working children) are directed to open education instead of formal education, especially after the inclusion of secondary education in compulsory education as of the 2012-13 school year.

This issue needs to be clarified with more detailed statistics and research. According to the data provided by the Ministry of National Education, 6.5% of the students who are in the secondary education age (14-17 years old) and continue their secondary education in the 2013-14 school year are open high school students. Especially in provinces such as Siirt, Şırnak, Bitlis and Mardin, these rates are between 12.1% and 16.7%. If an analysis is made in terms of gender, it can be said that the rates are close to each other in most of the provinces (ERG 2013, p.75).

There is a serious student population studying in open education secondary schools and open education high schools that have become widespread in connection with the structural change in the education system. Undoubtedly, open education high schools offer an important opportunity for adults who are involved in working life and have had to leave education early. However, the number of students studying in open education high schools between the ages of 14-17 in the formal education age is 332,956 in 2017-18. These students constitute 23.9% of all students in open high school, and their ratio to students in secondary education is 5.9%. 59.7% of all students in open education are male and 40.3% are female (ERG 2017-18, p.8). However, when its internal distribution is considered, the rate of female students is 41.1% in general open education high schools, 33.3% in vocational open education high schools and 62.3% in imam hatip open education high schools (Tan 2020, p.71)[19].

According to the data dated May 2019, the number of students aged 14-17 attending open education high school decreased by 23.6% compared to the 2017-18 school year and became 254.476. These students constitute 23% of the students in open education high schools. The ratio of students aged 14-17 studying at open education high schools to all secondary education students decreased to 4.9% in 2018-19 compared to the previous year (ERG 2019, p.25). It remained unchanged at 4.9% in 2019-20. When examined in terms of gender, it is seen that 4.3% of secondary school girls and 5.5% of boys are in open education. Although there is an open education high school option, the net enrollment rate in secondary education is far from 100% (ERG 2020, p.25).

2015-2016 a turning point

The data of the indicators related to the education index indicate a break in terms of gender-based differences in 2015-2016. The gap between men and women, which tended to decrease, started to increase again. The gap of 0.4 years between men and women in the expected years of schooling in 2016 increased to 0.6 years in 2017, 1 year in 2018 and 1.1 years in 2019. The gap in the mean years of schooling between men and women increased from 1.4 years in 2016 to 1.5 years in 2017 and 2018 and 1.7 years in 2019. The gap between the male and female population with at least secondary education, which was 14.1 percentage points in 2015, increased to 20.8 percentage points in 2016, 20.6 percentage points in 2017 and 2018, and 22 percentage points in 2019. It is not easy to understand the reasons for this change. It requires extensive research and only some guesses can be made.

First of all, the enrollment rates can be tackled. Despite the increase in enrollment rates over the years, there is a significant population of children who are out of school at both primary and secondary education levels. According to the ERG 2020 report, the net enrollment rate in primary school is 93.6% in the 2019-20 school year. This rate is 93.5% for girls and 93.7% for boys. Looking at net enrollment by age, it is seen that 98.0% of children aged 6-9 are enrolled in school. Considering that there are 5,098,112 children between the ages of 6 and 9 across Turkey, the number of children in this age range who are not schooled is estimated to be 104,001. In the 2019-20 school year, the net enrollment rate in secondary school is 95.9%. In terms of gender, the net enrollment rate for girls is 96.1%, while it is 95.7% for boys. Considering that there are 5,146,652 children between the ages of 10-13 throughout Turkey, the number of children between the ages of 10-13 who are not enrolled in school is estimated to be 69,994 (ERG 2020, p.21-22).

19 Göğüş Tan, M. (2020). Eğitimde Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliği Haritalama ve İzleme Çalışması 2017-2020 Güncellemesi. CEİD Yayınları https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/1072

While the net enrollment rate in secondary education was 84.2% in the 2018-19 school year, it became 85% in the 2019-20 school year. The net enrollment rate in secondary education is 84.9% for girls and 85.2% for boys. Although there is not much difference between the sexes in Turkey, gender inequalities by regions continue. Southeastern Anatolia (68.4%) and Middle East Anatolia (70.8%), the regions with the lowest secondary school enrollment rates for girls in the 2018-19 school year, are also the regions where the difference between boys' enrollment rates and girls' enrollment rates is highest (ERG 2019, p.22).

In spite of the gap in access to education with respect to gender the general improvement in the area of education made it possible for these regions like Central East Anatolia, and South East Anatolia, to decrease the disparities with other regions. Due to greater educational gains for both women and men in Central Anatolia, East Black Sea, North East Anatolia, Central East Anatolia, and South East Anatolia than in other regions they managed to catch up with other regions' HDI and GDI levels in 2019 as mentioned in the previous chapter. We can relate this development with the transition to 8 years of compulsory schooling. In the regions with low HDI levels people usually attended the 5-year compulsory primary school and did not continue with the secondary education before this regulation. After the implementation of the regulation almost all the children continued further 3 years of education leading to higher expected years of schooling and mean years of schooling for both men and women.[20]

However, beyond school enrollment rates, absenteeism and graduation rates are also important indicators for access to education. Although it was not possible to access the absenteeism and drop-out data of the Ministry of National Education between 2011 and 2015, it was stated that the rate of students who were absent for 20 days or more in general secondary education was 28.7% in 2016 and 30% in 2017. This rate rises to 40% in vocational and technical education (ERG 2017-18, p.9). In 2018, the rate of students who were absent for 20 days or more increased from 39.8% to 44.0% in vocational and technical secondary education, and from 32.2% to 36.0% in Anatolian imam hatip high schools (ERG 2019, p. 29). It can be said that long-term absenteeism rates will result in dropping out of school. The early drop-out rate for men in Turkey was 30.6% in 2018, 29.0% in 2019; for women, it was 31.8% in 2018 and 28.8% in 2019. (ERG 2020, p.30). Although there is not much difference between genders in early school leaving rates, research is needed to reveal the differences between the reasons for leaving early in order to prevent early leaving.

As noted above, the gender disparities observed in the education-related variables of GDI and GII are by mean years of schooling and expected years of schooling. Since there is no difference in enrollment rates, it can be thought that the difference between the average school year and the expected school year may be due to the difference in absenteeism between girls and boys in the following period after they are registered to school and, accordingly, in early school leaving.

"According to the data of the European Statistical Office (Eurostat), Turkey has the highest rate of early school leaving among European countries with comparative results. The difference between men and women is also highest in Turkey; In 2017, this rate was 34% for women and 31% for men" (ERG 2017-18, p. 123). As of 2019 the figures declined to 28.6% and 28.9% respectively (Eurostat, 2020).

In Turkey, 42.4% of women 16.9% of men between the ages of 15-29 are neither studying nor working. This is the highest rate among OECD member countries. The OECD average is 15.7% for women and 11.4% for men (OECD, 2020).

Besides gender based division of labor that directs girls to being housewives, the quality problems of education in Turkey, the low level of connection with the labor market, namely the weak transition from school to working life as the very high youth unemployment rates demonstrate can be the factors behind this situation.

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20 Unfortunately the school enrollment rates according to regions for the years 2000-2010 were not available in the MoNE statistics.

Other aspects of inequalities

Another area where gender inequalities can be observed in education is pre-school education. Despite the increase over the years, it is demonstrated by the data in all the monitoring reports that the enrollment rates targeted for pre-school are constantly lagging behind. For example, as of the 2014-15 school year, the net enrollment rate for the 4-5 age group reached 41.6%, but it was stated that it fell far behind the target (70%) set for 2018 in the Tenth Development Plan (ERG 2014, p. 10). Similarly, in the 2015-2019 Strategic Plan of the Ministry of National Education, although it is aimed to reach 70% net enrollment until 2019 for 4–5-year-olds in pre-school, this rate was realized as 50.8% in 2018-19, which remains approximately 20 percentage points below the target expressed (ERG 2019, p.18). In the 2019-20 school year, the gross enrollment rate at the age of 4-5 at the preschool level is 54.6%. While the net enrollment rate at the age of 5 at the preschool level is 72.0% for boys, it is 70.4% for girls. When the data of the last 10 years for 5-year-olds are examined, it is seen that although the difference changes, girls' access to preschool is always behind boys (ERG 2020, p.14).

In the ERG 2017-18 report, the following determination is made: "Although access to pre-school education has increased, this level is not within the scope of compulsory education and it is not provided completely free even in public schools, which is a problem of the right to education. The monthly ceiling fee determined by the provincial national education directorates for kindergarten without breakfast is the lowest in Adana (20 TL), and the highest in Tunceli (140 TL)" (ERG 2017-18, p.10). According to the PISA research results, there is a significant difference in achievement between children who receive preschool education for 1-2 years and those who do not (ERG 2019, p.13). Class disadvantages and gender inequalities that manifest themselves in preschool attendance and low school success go hand in hand and negatively affect the entire school life of the child.

On the other hand, the share of children receiving education in community-based institutions that have started to be opened in preschool education in recent years is increasing. These institutions include courses for the ages of 4-6, affiliated to the Presidency of Religious Affairs, and kindergartens opened by municipalities and associations. The prevalence of informal preschool institutions that are not affiliated with the Ministry of National Education, known as "Sıbyan schools", and the impact of the services they provide on children is unknown (ERG 2015-16, p.24). The share of "community-based institutions", which was 1.7% in 2015-16, increased to 3.6% in 2016-17 (ERG 2016-17, p.29) and 5.1% in 2017-18 (ERG 2017- 18, p.49). The number of these institutions increased rapidly in 2018-19 to 2,560 and increased by 16.4% compared to 2017-18 (2019, p.15). The proportion of children receiving education in such institutions increased to 6.98% in the 2019-20 school year (ERG 2020, p.16).

Another point that draws attention in the education monitoring reports is the ratio of public education expenditures to GDP, and although this rate has been increasing over the years, the rate of increase is slow. In other words, the rate of increase in public education expenditures lags behind the rate of increase in the country's income and the resources allocated by the public for education in Turkey are lower than the OECD average of 5.8% (ERG 2008, p.22, 2009, p.19). The lack of any plan to increase the ratio of public education expenditures to GDP to 5%, which can be considered as the OECD norm, means expenditures per student that become constant or even decrease with the increasing number of students (ERG 2010, p.22).

Turkey still ranks last among OECD countries. On the other hand, starting from the 2014-15 school year, more and more families are turning to private education institutions with the implementation of education and training support that cover all private schools. Since the support amount is low, it means that the family pays the remaining amount, and mainly the middle and upper-income groups benefit from the support (ERG 2014, p.11). As a result of this practice, while the number of students at primary school level decreased in public schools, it increased in private schools. While the number of students attending private primary schools increased by 14% in 2015-16 compared to the previous year, it decreased by 2% in public primary schools (ERG 2015-16, p.24). The third of the CEID education indicators gives the gender distribution of students according to education

level and school type, in public and private schools. The proportion of boys in private schools is higher than in public schools, indicating that families are more likely to send their boys to private schools (CEID 2021, p.152). It is a question that needs to be answered why the resources offered to support families who send their children to private schools are not used to make pre-school education free.

Higher education is another area where gender inequalities are observed and their effects are reflected on working life. According to Tan, one out of every three male students among students with high achievement in mathematics and science in Turkey expects to be working in an engineer or a science-related profession when they reach the age of 30, while this rate is one in five students among females. While one out of every two high-achieving female students expects to have a health-related profession, one out of every four men expects to have a health-related profession (Tan 2020, p.73).

3.2. Background of the Gender Gap in Health

As we have seen advances in education are the main determinants of human development for both women and men. In second place comes income for women, while health comes for men. In the period 2000-2019, on average, the contribution of the income component to the human development of women was 26%, while the contribution of the health component to the human development of men was 28%. Because women had a higher life expectancy at birth than men during the period, the health index of women was higher than that of men. Due to the improvement in health services and conditions over the years, the life expectancy of men at birth has increased, and the male/female age gap, which was 7.4 years in 2000, decreased to 5.9 years in 2019. With the reflection of this on the index, the difference between the female and male index values decreased, and the female/male index ratio, which was 1.049 in 2000, decreased to 1.016 in 2019.

There are two main variables under reproductive health in the GII index: Maternal mortality rate (per hundred thousand live births) and Adolescent Motherhood (per thousand women under the age of 15-19). Among these variables, the maternal mortality rate decreased from 42 per 100,000 live births in 2000 to 17 in 2017. Adolescent motherhood (in 1,000 women under the age of 15-19) decreased from 54.7 in 2000 to 26.6 in 2019.

Table 3.2: Health Component of the GDI and GII Indexes

Years	Life Expectancy at Birth Years			Maternal Mortality Ratio Deaths per 100,000 Live Births	Adolescent Birth Rate Births per 1000 women ages 15-19
	Female	Male	Gap		
2000	73,8	66,4	7,4	42	54,7
2005	75,9	69	6,9	33	45,3
2010	77,8	71,2	6,8	24	38,5
2011	78,2	71,7	6,5	23	37,1
2012	78,5	72,2	6,3	22	35,6
2013	78,9	72,6	6,3	20	34,2
2014	79,2	73,1	6,1	19	32,7
2015	79,5	73,5	6,0	19	31,2
2016	79,8	73,8	6,0	18	30,1
2017	80,1	74,1	6,0	17	28,9
2018	80,3	74,4	5,9	NA	26,6
2019	80,6	74,7	5,9	NA	26,6
Source: http://hdr.undp.org/en/data					

Positive developments in "maternal health" services regarding pregnancy and childbirth in Turkey over the years are effective in decreasing maternal mortality rates. According to the data of the Ministry of Health, at least one antenatal care among pregnant women reached 96% and delivery in a health institution reached 99%. [21]

Regulations in health on gender equality

The evaluations below on the development of health services and gender equality in access to health services in Turkey are based on two CEID reports[22].

According to the Constitution of the World Health Organization (WHO), "Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity. The enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health is one of the fundamental rights of every human being without distinction of race, religion, political belief, economic or social condition."

The Turkish Constitution Article 56 states that "Everyone has the right to live in a healthy and balanced environment. It is the duty of the State and citizens to improve the natural environment, to protect the environmental health and to prevent environmental pollution. (...) The State shall fulfil this task by utilizing and supervising the health and social assistance institutions, in both the public and private sectors."

The Ministry of Health, which is one of the leading institutions responsible for the provision and regulation of health services and ensuring gender equality, directs its work with the strategic plans it publishes every five years. The Ministry of Health Strategic Plan 2013-2017 includes

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21 Sağlık Bakanlığı Halk Sağlığı Genel Müdürlüğü. 2019 Birim Faaliyet Raporu Halk Sağlığı Gn. Md. Ocak 2020. s.152 cited by Akın, Türkel Türkçelik 2020: 37
22 Akın A., Türkçelik E., (2018) Sağlık Hizmetlerine Erişimde Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliği Haritalama ve İzleme Çalışması, CEİD yayınları, Ankara.
Akın A., Türkel Türkçelik E., (2020) Sağlık Hizmetlerine Erişimde Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliği Haritalama ve İzleme Çalışması: 2017-2020 Güncellemesi, CEİD yayınları, Ankara.

four strategic objectives. These are; protecting the individual and society from health risks and promoting a healthy lifestyle; to provide accessible, appropriate, effective health services to individuals and communities; responding to the health needs and expectations of individuals with a human-centered and holistic approach and continuing to develop the health system as a means of contributing to Turkey's economic and social development and global health.

Due to the improvements in access to health services during the period of 2000-2019 life expectancy at birth increased both for women and men in Turkey. It reached 80,6 years for women and 74,7 years for men, decreasing the gap to 5,9 years.

In the Strategic Plan, which is stated to be based on WHO and Europe 2020 health strategies, the goals and strategies aimed at ensuring gender equality in health are listed below:

3.2.4. Improving health services within the scope of gender equality and combating violence against women

- To cooperate with the Ministry of Family and Social Policies and other relevant institutions on gender equality and violence against women.

- Organizing trainings and seminars to increase the awareness of health personnel on gender equality and violence against women.

- To increase the prevalence and quality of counseling, treatment and rehabilitation services within the scope of combating violence against women in health institutions.

There are also important targets under the target titles of improving reproductive health and maternal health.

1.4.1. Changing individual behaviours through reproductive health promotion programs and activities

- • Organizing campaigns, organizing events on special days and weeks, and organizing events for students and soldiers in order to raise awareness about reproductive health and encourage healthy behaviours.

1.4.2. Improving reproductive health services

- To prepare training materials to improve communication between individuals and health personnel in reproductive health service delivery.

- To modernize reproductive health services to meet the needs of individuals

- Strengthening reproductive health services provided by health institutions

- Establishing a 24-hour free reproductive health hotline

1.4.3. Improving reproductive health services on abortion

- To carry out educational and informational activities to reduce the use of abortions as a birth control method, to provide medical and psychological support to women who have had unwanted abortions[23]

The first of the Sexual and Reproductive Health Strategic Action Plan, prepared by the MoH General Directorate of Maternal and Child Health, was made in 1996, the last one in 2005, covering the years 2005-2015. The Action Plan was not actualized after 2015.

The ICPD+25 Nairobi Summit was held in Kenya in 2019 as the 25th anniversary of the commitments of the International Conference on Population and Development adopted in Cairo in 1994. It was

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23 Akın, Türkçelik (2018):105-107.

stated in the ICPD+25 that the governments should ensure that individuals make their sexual and reproductive health decisions freely, responsibly, free from violence and oppression, and four targets to be achieved by 2030 were listed. These are:

- Reducing maternal deaths from preventable causes to zero

- Reducing the unmet need in family planning to zero

- Elimination of gender-based violence and violence against women and harmful traditional practices (child marriage and female genital mutilation (FGM))

- Giving priority and importance to young people in the context of rights - providing services especially on sexual and reproductive health issues.

The fact that the Sexual and Reproductive Health Strategic Action Plan was not updated after 2015 is related to the mentality change observed in the governing circles since 2016. With the gradual abandonment of the gender equality norm, the issues of reproductive health, family planning, reproductive and sexual rights have begun to appear less and less in official documents. For example, in the Eleventh Development Plan (2019-2023), reproductive health, family planning, reproductive and sexual rights were not included under the headings on health. The maternal mortality rate (Per Hundred Thousand Live Births), which is directly related to women among the health targets in the plan, is 14.6 for 2018 and 13 for 2023. [24]

According to the report authors, when the objectives of the Strategic Plan of the Ministry of Health (2019-2023) are examined, it is seen that women's health is not addressed holistically and considering all life stages, and "maternal health" is emphasized. It is problematic to deal with sexual and reproductive health by reducing it to motherhood and childbirth only. Again, the emphasis is on reducing cesarean deliveries and increasing normal deliveries. Family planning or birth control methods/contraception, which are one of the important determinants of women's health, were not included in the strategic plan, even as words. The strategy of "improving health services within the scope of gender equality and combating violence against women", which was included in the previous plan (2013-2017), was not included in this plan[25].

Surveys conducted by various non-governmental organizations draw attention to important problem areas related to sexual and reproductive health services in Turkey. Accordingly, family planning services, whose services and trainings were given regularly before the Health Transformation Program, remained in the background in today's system and service delivery was left to the individual interest or initiative of the health personnel. The absence of any defined performance regarding family planning services also exacerbates this situation. The abortion practice, which can also take place in Mother-Children Health and Family Planning Centers, has been virtually eliminated from primary care, and the number of secondary health care institutions where abortions are performed is very low.[26] According to another study, only 8 percent of 431 hospitals in Turkey provide voluntary abortion services[27]. In the final declaration of the 5th Congress on Women's Medicine and Women's Health on "Women, Health and Conservatism", it was stated that the reduction of female sexuality to reproduction made the sexual problems of women invisible; it has been stated that this impairs the mental health of women as well as their physical health and leads to the ignoring of different sexual identities. In addition, it was emphasized that "gender-based violence and the strong family model based on obedience are among the leading causes of increasing violence against women today".[28]

24 Akın, Türkel Türkçelik (2020): 20
25 ibid, 2020: 25
26 TAP Vakfı, Nüfus Bilim Derneği ve UNFPA, Birleşmiş Milletler Nüfus Fonu (2017) Sisteme Değil, İsteğe Bağlı Hizmet: Sağlık Çalışanlarının Gözünden İstanbul'da Kürtaj ve Aile Planlaması Hizmetlerinin Durumu (2017)
http://www.tapv.org.tr/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Sisteme-Değil-İsteğe-Bağlı-Hizmet-Sağlık-Çalışanları-Gözünden-İstanbulda-Kürtaj-ve-Aile-Planlanması.pdf cited by Akın, Türkel Türkçelik 2020: 31.
27 O'Neil, Aldanmaz, Quiles, Kılınç. (2016). Yasal ancak Ulaşılabilir Değil: Türkiye'deki Devlet Hastanelerinde Kürtaj Hizmetleri. İstanbul: Kadir Has Üniversitesi Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Kadın Çalışmaları Merkezi. http://www.khas.edu.tr/w243/files/documents/abortion-tr.pdf cited by Akın, Türkel Türkçelik 2020: 32.
28 Türk Tabipler Birliği Kadın Hekimlik ve Kadın Sağlığı Kolu, V. Kadın Hekimlik ve Kadın Sağlığı Kongresi: Kadın, Sağlık ve Muhafazakarlık (2018)
https://www.ttb.org.tr/kollar/_kadinhekim/haber_goster.php?Guid=3b040866-1ae4-11e8-af60-25b4195f91bb Cited by Akın, Türkel Türkçelik 2020: 32.

In line with the population policies followed in Turkey and the demands and needs of the society, with the laws adopted in 1965 and 1983, medical abortion and induced abortion were legalized, respectively. With widespread family planning practices, the share of unhealthy abortions in maternal deaths decreased from 53% to 2%. According to 2018 Turkey Demographic and Health Survey (TDHS) results, induced abortion is 5.9 out of 100 pregnancies. It is noteworthy that induced abortions, which were 10 out of 100 pregnancies in 2008, decreased to 4.7 in 2013 and then increased to 5.9. The reasons for the unexpected decline in induced abortions (medical intervention) since 2008, versus the unexpected rise in spontaneous abortions (non-medical intervention), warrant further investigation[29]. However, it can be assumed that this is related to the impossibility of access to induced abortion services in health institutions.

According to TDHS (2009, 2014, 2019) researches, while the unwanted birth frequency is 12.3% for 25-29 years old, it is 52.6% for 40 years and older. So more than half of the women over the age of 40 who get involuntarily pregnant have to give birth. It has been reported that for women with an unscheduled 4 or more delivery, it increased from 4.2% in 2008 to 9.3% in 2013 and 8.4% in 2018, almost doubling with comparison to 2008. The unmet family planning need was 10% in 2003, 8% in 2008, and 6% in 2013. However, according to the last TDHS share of women who doesn't want any more children but not implement pregnancy prevention increased from 6% to 12%. This result is due to 3 important factors. First is the anti-contraceptive rhetoric, second is the encouragement of women's fertility politically and third is the insufficient provision of these services in primary care institutions. On the other hand, the ratio of families who still do not want a child or who want to take a break but are protected by ineffective/traditional methods is 21%. In total, it is seen that 33% of families have "unmet need for family planning". Considering that unwanted pregnancies and risky pregnancies have a significant share among the causes of maternal deaths, the importance of the quality and delivery of birth control methods and family planning services in terms of women's health emerges.[30]

In order to reduce maternal deaths due to preventable causes and the unmet need in family planning, which are among the targets to be achieved by 2030 at the ICPD+25 Nairobi Summit, the services offered in this field should be determined in line with the needs and demands of women.

3.3. Background of the Gender Gap in Participation in Political Decisions

The empowerment component, which is among the components of the GII, has two sub-components: the first is the share of women in the parliament, and the other is the share of women and men over the age of 25 with at least secondary education. Since statistics on education level are included in the section on education, the main focus here will be on participation in political decisions. Although the GII index values improved between 2000-2019 as previously stated, the recovery rate slowed down in 2018-2019.

The data in the table below show that both the ratio of male and female population with at least secondary education and the proportion of women in parliament are in an upward trend in the 2000-2019 period. However, the gender gap, which still exists in the field of education, has tended to increase in recent years. The proportion of women in the parliament, on the other hand, increased from 4.2% in 2000 to 17.4% in 2019. Although there is a more than four-fold increase

29 Akın, Türkel Türkçelik 2020: 4
30 Hacettepe Üniversitesi Nüfus Etütleri Enstitüsü (2009) 2008 Türkiye Nüfus ve Sağlık Araştırması(TNSA-2008).TC Kalkınma Bakanlığı ve TC Sağlık Bakanlığı ve TÜBİTAK, Ankara.
Hacettepe Üniversitesi Nüfus Etütleri Enstitüsü (HÜNEE). (2014). 2013 Türkiye Nüfus ve Sağlık Araştırması(TNSA-2013). Ankara: HÜNEE, T.C. Kalkınma Bakanlığı ve TÜBİTAK. www.hips.hacettepe.edu.tr/tnsa2013/rapor/TNSA_2013_ana_rapor.pdf
Hacettepe Üniversitesi Nüfus Etütleri Enstitüsü (2019). 2018 Türkiye Nüfus ve Sağlık Araştırması(TNSA-2018). TC Cumhurbaşkanlığı Strateji ve Bütçe Başkanlığı ve TÜBİTAK Ankara.
http://www.hips.hacettepe.edu.tr/eng/tdhs2018/TDHS_2018_main_report.pdf Cited by Akın, Türkel Türkçelik 2020:38-40

between 2007 and 2019, this rate is lower than all country groups with different levels of human development. While this rate is 24.5% in high-development countries, it is 28.3% in countries with the highest level of development.

Table 3.3: Empowerment Component of the GII Index

Years	Population with at least **secondary education**		Shares in Parliamentary Seats **(% held by women)**
	Female	Male	Female
2000	18,1	36,0	4,2
2005	20,9	40,2	4,4
2010	34,1	54,5	9,1
2011	37,5	58,4	14,2
2012	39,0	60,0	14,2
2013	40,5	61,5	14,4
2014	43,5	64,8	14,4
2015	44,9	59,0	14,9
2016	48,0	68,8	14,9
2017	50,2	70,8	14,6
2018	50,2	70,8	17,4
2019	50,2	72,2	17,4
Source: http://hdr.undp.org/en/data			

Regulations on gender equality in the field of participation in political decisions

Two CEID mapping and monitoring reports on gender equality in participation in political decisions in Turkey are the sources for the following evaluations[31]. In these reports, many indicators have been determined to monitor gender equality in participation in political decisions. The table of these indicators is given in the appendix. The number and distribution of representatives elected to the national parliament by gender, which is the first indicator in this table, also coincides with the share of parliamentary seats held by women in GII. Evaluations will be limited to this indicator.

Starting with the 21st article of the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the 25th article of the UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the 7th article of CEDAW to which Turkey is a party, envisage the right of women to participate equally in political life and public administration and oblige the states to ensure this[32].

Article 10 of the Constitution gives the task of ensuring gender equality to the state. However, in Turkey, none of the basic laws regulating the political decision processes and the principles of political representation include a definition of the realization of gender equality. "The laws and relevant institutions responsible for realizing the citizens' right to equal political participation do not set any goals and task descriptions regarding gender equality and do not assume any responsibility."[33].

In the I. Gender Equality National Action Plan 2008-2013 prepared by KSGM, the first objective,

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31 Sancar S. (2018) Siyasal Kararlara Katılımda Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliği Haritalama ve İzleme Çalışması, CEİD Yayını, Ankara.
Sancar S. (2020) Siyasal Kararlara Katılımda Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliği Haritalama ve İzleme Çalışması: 2017-2020 Güncellemesi, CEİD Yayını, Ankara.
32 Sancar 2018: 37-38
33 Sancar 2018: 20-21.

under the title of "Women's Participation in Power and Decision Mechanisms" is about raising awareness, increasing the level of knowledge and consciousness in order to increase the representation of women in authority and decision-making processes. The second objective envisages making arrangements that will contribute to women's participation in political life and their participation in authority and decision-making processes. The third objective is about making public policies ensure gender equality. The foreseen activities are those that do not show the will to directly intervene and change gender-based inequalities on behalf of the public authority, and concentrate on indirect, civil and cultural areas. Activities such as role modelling and awareness raising have been suggested, and no monitoring has been undertaken to understand whether such activities have been carried out

In the Women's Empowerment Strategy Document and Action Plan 2018-2023 prepared by KSGM, the first strategy is to increase the traceability of women's representation in decision-making mechanisms and to make legal and administrative regulations supporting women. The second strategy is about carrying out awareness activities to improve social support in order to increase women's representation in decision-making mechanisms. The third strategy is to carry out activities that encourage and empower women in order to increase women's representation in decision-making mechanisms. Here, as in the previous plan, only indirect intervention and advisory activities are envisaged: for example, consciousness raising, mentality transformation, awareness raising. Action plans for increasing the very low participation rates of women at the management levels of public institutions, local governments or the national parliament do not foresee a direct intervention or actions that transform institutions. While it is obvious that equality cannot be achieved only with mentality transformation, special policies and quota applications are required for institutional transformations towards equal representation and support policies, but they are not on the agenda[34].

It is important to what extent the political parties include women candidates in their lists and how many of them are in the places that they can be elected, but women candidates often find places where they cannot be elected. In the 2007 general elections in Turkey, women's deputies started to be elected not only from the big cities of Turkey but especially from underdeveloped regions, thanks to the Democratic Society Party's participation in the elections with independent candidates, the implementation of a women's quota, and the efforts of other parties to increase the number of women candidates. Thus, the representation of women in the Turkish Grand National Assembly increased from 4.4% to 9.1%[35]. The rate of female deputies, which remained around 14% in the following general elections, increased to 17.4% in the 2018 elections. Although the number of women deputies and the number of provinces where women are elected have increased, the representation rate is far below the world average. In addition to the parliament, women are under-represented in local administrations, among mayors, municipal and provincial council memberships, and among mukhtars (local authorities). The increase in the number of women among mayors was made possible by the People's Democratic Party (HDP) nominating women in many provinces, however, after both the 2014 and 2019 local elections, administrators elected from the HDP in many municipalities were discharged and trustees were appointed in their place by the government[36].

The forms of women's participation in political parties are mainly in areas that cannot go beyond the few and auxiliary positions reserved for women in male-dominated party structures. Rather than being at the levels where political decisions are made, women are expected to undertake the party's social campaign, propaganda and support activities. This political party model is the main reason that prevents women's equal participation in political decisions in the world and in Turkey[37].

34 Sancar 2020: 27-29.
35 Sancar 2018: 22-23.
36 Sancar 2018: 22-23.
37 Sancar 2018: 94

Chapter 4.

Gender Gap in the Labor Market and the Growth Policies Behind

In this section we use theme specific rights-based institutional and structural monitoring indicators compiled by two CEID thematic reports on gender equality in employment[38]. *Highlights of this chapter are:*

1. Turkey's GDP per capita has almost doubled from 2000 to 2019, a performance which follows the global average trend closely whereas in the high-HDI country group we observe a larger change. As a group their GDP per capita has two-and-a half times higher where they start in 2000.

2. Turkey's total debt service both as a percentage of gross national income and as a percentage of exports and primary income (36.1%) are three times as high as the high-HDI group average over the period of analysis. The figures increased particularly in the second decade of 2000s that had adverse impact on investment potential of the country and thus on her ability to generate new employment.

3. Despite a higher level of total tax revenue as a share of GDP in Turkey when compared to both country groups (the high and the very high-HDI) taxes on income profits and capital gains are much lower in Turkey.

4. Unlike the direct taxes, indirect tax type such as consumption taxes have regressive distribution effects on income. Turkey has the highest rate of consumption tax and highest share of indirect taxes in total tax revenues among the OECD countries,

5. The labor share of GDP in Turkey keeps its level over the period of analysis however the figure lags majorly behind the very-high-HDI group and lower than the world average.

6. Despite low employment rates, the unemployment rates for both women and men rose sharply during the early 2000s and remained stubbornly high (around 10 percent) before rising sharply toward the end of the 2010s in Turkey.

7. Women's unemployment rate presents a steady increase particularly after the year 2011, different than her global peers. We also observe a similar trend in youth's unemployment rates which rises more rapidly than the unemployment rate for the overall population.

4.1. Economic Growth and Macroeconomic Indicators

Patterns of Economic Growth in Turkey, 2000-2019

Four major economic crises mark the period of our analysis: the banking crisis in 2000-2001; the global financial and economic crisis that Turkey was hard hit in 2008-2009; the coup attempt in 2016 and Covid-19 outbreak in 2020. Following up the crisis in 2000-2001, Turkey experienced positive and high annual growth rates in GDP per capita (with an average annual change at 5% between 2002-2008) until the global financial crisis in 2008-2009. In addition, this rapid economic growth years were achieved owing largely to labor productivity growth[39], the contribution which was lost after the crisis. Main underlying factors behind the economic growth trends in the first and second part of the two decades in 2000s, become significant when the period is compared to the previous decade in Turkey.

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38 Toksöz G., Memiş E. (2018) İstihdamda Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliği Haritalama ve İzleme Çalışması CEİD Yayını, Ankara.
https://dspace.ceid.org.tr/xmlui/handle/1/171
Toksöz G., (2020) İstihdamda Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliği Haritalama ve İzleme Çalışması, 2017-2020 Güncellemesi CEİD Yayını, Ankara.
39 OECD (2010), OECD Economic Surveys; Turkey 2010, OECD Publishing, Paris, www.oecd.org/eco/surveys/economic-survey-turkey.htm

First, there was a declining employment rate mostly due to rapid urbanization with a declining share of agricultural employment and extremely low labor force participation of urban women. This was mainly the outcome of a major structural transformation in the 1990s with migration from rural to urban areas and the sectoral shifts that came along with migration. The declining share of agriculture in the economy led to a relative rise in labor productivity due to limited absorption of industry and other high productivity sectors. Secondly, the relatively higher growth rate between 2002-2008 in Turkey was attained partly by the favorable external conditions:

    i.   the cheapened foreign currency,

    ii. the rapid expansion in the world economy and hence expansion in exports with cheaper imports,

    iii. larger government consumption along with lower interest rates during the period.

Turkey's growth performance throughout the first decade of 2000s was widely attributed to the construction sector rather than the alternative sectors including industry. Given relatively lower cost of borrowing and low interest rates construction activities were boosted over the whole period. However, empirical evidence presented that construction sector has been a follower of GDP growth rather than being a driver of growth and that construction cannot offer solutions to deep rooted structural issues in Turkey[40]. Thus, throughout the second decade of the 2000s, lacking favorable external conditions, the growth performance could not be achieved given the highly cyclical investments in construction closely associated with the lower interest rates.

Average annual growth rates over the years could be seen in Table 4.1a- 4.1c vis-à-vis very high-HDI and high-HDI group averages. Additional indicators of macroeconomic sustainability are presented in Tables 4.1d and 4.1e. Total debt service as a percentage of gross national income (11.1%) and as a percentage of exports and primary income (36.1%) are three times as high as the high-HDI group average. Foreign financing could enable to compensate savings investment gap in developing countries however, Turkey's total debt service has been rising particularly in the second decade of 2000s that had adverse impact on investment potential of the country (Table 4.1d). Note also that despite a higher level of total tax revenue as a share of GDP in Turkey when compared to both country groups (the high and the very high-HDI) taxes on income profits and capital gains are much lower (19.2%) than that of her peers (Table 4.1e). Turkey has the highest rate of consumption tax and highest share of indirect taxes in total tax revenues among the OECD countries, which in general has regressive distribution effect[41].

On the governance and institutional mechanisms front, Turkey has achieved considerable progress in improving the quality of economic and political institutions after the 2001-crisis. Economic policies in the early 2000s were focused on macro stabilization strategies, specifically on the restructuring of the financial sector and fiscal discipline to control public debt with a discretion in controlling the distribution of resources. The process of EU accession and political stability helped to improve the institutional quality[42]. The indicators of quality of institutions and governance show an improvement in Turkey's position relative to other countries in the first decade of the 2000s. The ranking of Turkey in terms of control of corruption, regulatory quality, political stability and absence of violence, voice and accountability, government effectiveness, and rule of law indicators have all shown improvement in the 2001-2007 period. Cross-country analyses stress the major role played by the external conditions and argue that this growth performance has not been exclusive to Turkey[43]. After 2007, coinciding with the global crisis, the trend towards improvement in institutional quality has stalled, and even Turkey started to slip down in some major indicators, like political stability and absence of violence, and voice and accountability. This period

40 Erol, Işıl and Ünal, Umut (2015): Role of Construction Sector in Economic Growth: New Evidence from Turkey. MPRA papers: https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/68263/
41 OECD (2020) Revenue Statistics 2020: Tax Revenue Trends in the OECD: https://www.oecd.org/tax/tax-policy/revenue-statistics-highlights-brochure.pdf
42 Memiş, E. (2016) Institutions, Politics and Policy Making, UNDP HDR Background Draft Paper.
43 Kutlay, Mustafa (2015). "Turkish economy at a crossroads: Unpacking Turkey's current account challenge." Global Turkey in Europe III: Democracy, Trade, and the Kurdish Question in Turkey-EU Relations 19: 219.

is also characterized by the deterioration of relations with the EU. The reversal in the institutional quality and governance trends has been stronger since 2015, and Turkey's score and ranking in almost all indicators have worsened in that year[44].

Table 4.1a. GDP per capita (2017 PPP, US Dollars)

Country/Country Group	2000	2005	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Turkey	15470	18201	20042	21931	22609	24117	24935	26015	26409	27934	28299	28167
Very high human development	33482	37173	38872	39687	40084	40541	41089	41789	42245	43105	43923	44454
High human development	5855	7431	10014	10544	11034	11524	12001	12412	12912	13465	14043	14569
Medium human development	2735	3316	4170	4325	4506	4710	4943	5205	5508	5769	6012	6205
Low human development	1765	2076	2475	2547	2624	2714	2801	2838	2820	2838	2854	2879
World	11089	12456	13905	14292	14578	14881	15205	15536	15855	16268	16673	16980

Source: UNDP HDR Database

Table 4.1b. GDP per capita (2017 PPP, US Dollars 1990=100 Index)

Country/Country Group	2000	2005	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Turkey	**121,6**	**143,1**	**157,5**	**172,4**	**177,7**	**189,6**	**196,0**	**204,5**	**207,6**	**219,6**	**222,4**	**221,4**
Very high human development	115,9	128,6	134,5	137,3	138,7	140,3	142,2	144,6	146,2	149,2	152,0	153,8
High human development	135,3	171,7	231,4	243,6	254,9	266,3	277,3	286,8	298,3	311,1	324,5	336,6
Medium human development	128,2	155,4	195,4	202,7	211,2	220,7	231,6	243,9	258,1	270,3	281,7	290,8
Low human development	91,8	108,0	128,8	132,5	136,5	141,2	145,7	147,7	146,7	147,7	148,5	149,8
Developing Countries	127,9	156,0	198,9	208,6	216,8	225,5	233,7	241,5	249,8	259,0	267,9	275,2
World	120,8	136,6	159,7	161,9	175,8	181,4	193,7	200,3	208,7	213,0	225,0	226,5

Source: UNDP HDR Database

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44 Memiş, 2016: 46.

Table 4.1c. GDP per capita growth rates (2017 PPP, US Dollars)

Country/ Country Group	Average Annual Growth		Annual Growth								
	2000-2005	2005-2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Turkey	3,3	1,9	9,4	3,1	6,7	3,4	4,3	1,5	5,8	1,3	-0,5
Very high human development	2,1	0,9	2,1	1,0	1,1	1,4	1,7	1,1	2,0	1,9	1,2
High human development	4,9	6,1	5,3	4,6	4,4	4,1	3,4	4,0	4,3	4,3	3,7
Medium human development	3,9	4,7	3,7	4,2	4,5	4,9	5,3	5,8	4,7	4,2	3,2
Low human development	3,3	3,6	2,9	3,0	3,4	3,2	1,3	-0,6	0,6	0,6	0,9
World	2,4	2,2	2,8	2,0	2,1	2,2	2,2	2,1	2,6	2,5	1,8

*Source: Calculations based on the data from UNDP HDR Database. Average annual growth rates are calculated for the period 1990-2010 where data is only available for each 5-year period by the formula average growth= ((end level/ start level of GDP pc)^(1/n))-1)*100%.*

Table 4.1d. Net Savings, Debt Services and Skilled Labor Force

Country	Adjusted net savings (% of GNI)	Total debt service (% of exports of goods, services and primary income)	External debt stock (% of GNI)	Total debt service (% of GNI)	Skilled labor force (% of labor force)
	2015–2018	2015–2018	2017-2018	2018	2010–2019
Turkey	12,1	36,7	59,0	11,1	46,3
Very high human development	8,5	..	..	..	84,9
High human development	16,4	12,3	22,5	3,0	..
Medium human development	13,4	12,4	24,4	2,7	24,0
Low human development	2,9	10,0	26,0	1,8	21,5
World	10,8	14,5	25,5	3,6	47,3

Table 4.1e. National Income Indicators

	General government final consumption expenditure		Total tax revenue	Taxes on income, profits and capital gains
	Total (% of GDP)	Average annual growth (%)	(% of GDP)	(% of total tax revenue)
Country	2014-2019	2014-2019	2014-2019	2014-2019
Turkey	15,7	4,4	17,9	19,2
Very high human development	17,4	2,1	14,4	36,6
High human development	15,8	..	10,9	24,6
Medium human development	12,4	7,9	11,1	39,7
Low human development	8,6	17,8	..	..
World	16,6	2,6	13,3	34,3

Adjusted net savings: Net national savings plus education expenditure and minus energy depletion, mineral depletion, net forest depletion, and carbon dioxide and particulate emissions damage. Net national savings are equal to gross national savings less the value of consumption of fixed capital.

General government final consumption expenditure: All government current expenditures for purchases of goods and services (including compensation of employees and most expenditures on national defence and security but excluding government military expenditures that are part of government capital formation), expressed as a percentage of GDP.

Total tax revenue: Compulsory transfers to the central government for public purposes, expressed as a percentage of GDP.

Taxes on income, profits and capital gains: Taxes levied on the actual or presumptive net income of individuals, on the profits of corporations and enterprises and on capital gains, whether realized or not, on land, securities and other assets.

External debt stocks: Debt owed to nonresidents repayable in currency, goods or services, which is the sum of public, publicly guaranteed and private nonguaranteed long-term debt, use of IMF credit, and short-term debt, expressed as a percentage of gross national income (GNI).

Total debt service: Sum of principal repayments and interest actually paid in foreign currency, goods or services on long-term debt; interest paid on short-term debt; and repayments (repurchases and charges) to the International Monetary Fund, expressed as a percentage of gross

national income (GNI)

UNDP-HDR database also allows us to compare Turkey's performance with global average. Tables 4.1a-4.1d provide a summary of the comparison of particular growth rates with world growth rate and vis-à-vis the country group averages. The correlation between country's growth rate and the world growth rate presents that the coefficients for Turkey are comparably lower than the coefficients for the very-high-HDI country group, which indicates Turkey have been less prone to the swings in the world economy during the period. On the other hand, we observe an increase in the correlation during the second decade much higher than the group she stands in. Turkey's GDP per capita has almost doubled over the last three decades, a performance which follows the global average trend closely. On the other hand, in the high-HDI country group we observe a larger change, GDP per capita has reached two and a half times higher than the level they start in 2000 (Table 4.1b).

Exploration of the components of economic growth may inform how Turkey's growth performance could affect HDI scores relative to the high and very-high HDI countries. For this purpose, we present a summary based on the selected macroeconomic indicators that could help to understand the patterns better. The share of consumption was around 81-82% in the early 2000s but reached 85-86% a decade later mainly because of the increase in government consumption. The share of investment in GDP fluctuated within the 17-21% band, and declined sharply during the crisis's years 2001 and 2009.

Turkey experienced substantial current account deficits since 2003, and the extent of deficits is highly correlated with the share of investment in GDP, i.e., the shares of investment and current account deficit in GDP tend to move together. The size and the type of investment expenditures could display whether the growth benefits are transferred on the generation of new employment and better employment conditions. Job-generating investments could lead to increases in wages and labor share of income, which could improve both the life expectancy, the education index and also the income related components of HDI.

Table 4.2 presents the gross capital formation as a share of GDP from 2000 to 2018. While in very high-HDI countries investment share decreases from 25% to 22%, in high-HDI group we observe a major rise (from 23% to 34%). Similarly, Turkey displays an increase but not as high as the high-HDI group (from 23% to 30%) (Table 4.2). The labor share of GDP, comprising wages and social protection transfers shows supporting evidence to Turkey's investment performance in generating new employment. However, this figure lags majorly behind the very-high-HDI group (57%) as well as the world average (54%). From 2004 to 2017, in all years in which data is available the labor share of GDP in Turkey keeps its level at 36%. (Table 4.3). This means that the link between economic growth and the patterns of income distribution highly depends on the size and quality of employment through which well-being is provisioned. The sectoral pattern of growth in Turkey has been imposed by male dominated construction sector that provides more informal type of jobs with low-wages.

Construction based, demand-driven growth led only a weak job creation effect with low-productivity in industry and left the economy without long-term widespread gains in income and well-being. As a result of these, there has been a rise in the share of "low-skilled" employment corresponding to the demographic group with less than secondary education[45] which on one hand helped reduce poverty levels and regional inequalities in income but could not be adequate to catch-up with the very-high HDI countries' scores in GDI. Contrary to expectations firms that achieve high-labor productivity and formal employment potential create fewer jobs[46]. When employment rates increase in all OECD except for the three countries gender employment gaps decreases. One of these countries is Turkey, only in Turkey, Korea and Japan, the educational attainment does not explain gender gap in employment. Large gender gaps in employment persist throughout the years unlike the patterns observed in the very-high HDI countries.

45 Atabek, A., D. Andrews and R. Gönenç (2017), "Rebalancing Turkey's growth by improving resource allocation and productivity in manufacturing", OECD Economics Department Working Papers, No. 1367, OECD Publishing, Paris, DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/c35af920-en
46 Atabek, A., D. Andrews and R. Gönenç,2017, p.15.

Additional supporting evidence for the above can be observed in Figure 4.1. Turkey's relative distance to the very-high HDI country group maintained her status in comparison to Turkey's high-HDI peers during this period. Despite the rapid growth episodes, Turkey's GDP per capita was 54 percent lower than the very high-HDI group countries' average level at the beginning of the millennium. The gap was even larger (-83%) between the high-HDI and very high HDI group countries. We do observe a catching-up trend both in Turkey and in the high-HDI group countries with the very-high-HDI group during this period. The global financial crisis (2007-2008) reinforces the divergence between Turkey and her group peers (Figure 4.1). Turkey continued her move towards the very high HDI, closing the gap without losing a pace until 2017 after which we observed an opposite picture leading to a diverging trend. Then follows a period of negative growth rates particularly due to the economic crisis period due to Covid-19 health crisis emerging in March 2020.

Percent GDP Per Capita GAP- High HDI with very high HDI (Left)
Percent GDP Per Capita GAP- Turkey with very high HDI (Right)
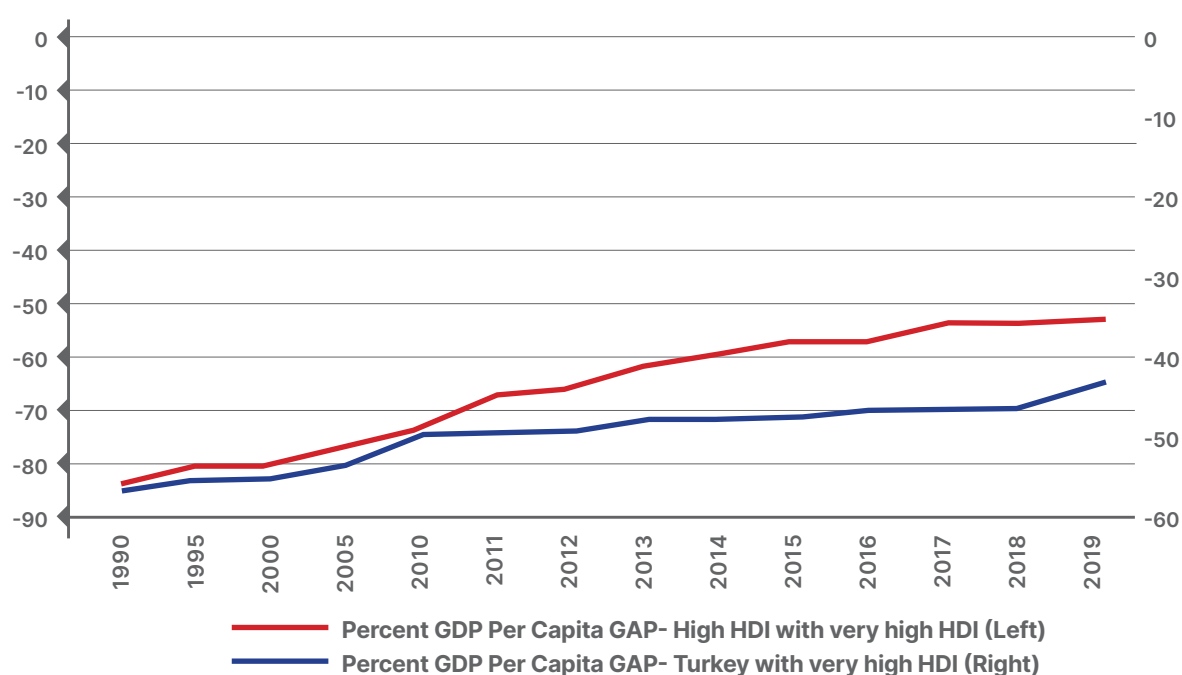
Figure 4.1. Percent Gap with GDP per capita of Very high HDI Group (%)

Source: UNDP-HDR Database based on World Bank (2020a). World Development Indicators database. GDP per capita (2017 PPP $)

Definition: GDP in a particular period divided by the total population in the same period.

During the recovery period following the global crisis of 2008-09, the increase in employment continued to be generated based on a rising trend in agriculture, construction and services rather than industry[47] leading to persistence of informality in the labor market checking labor productivity and its growth rate[48]. Along with the rising labor force participation and employment of particularly urban women starting with the 2000s employment increase has been major factor behind the GDP per capita growth. GDP per capita growth after the global financial crisis years could potentially be sustained in the following decade if the potential contribution of the new jobs for urban women were provided.

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47   OECD (2012), OECD Economic Surveys: Turkey 2012, OECD Publishing. http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/eco_surveys-tur-2012-en
48   OECD (2010), OECD Economic Surveys: Turkey 2010, OECD Publishing Paris,
www.oecd.org/eco/surveys/economic-survey-turkey.htm

Throughout the years on the second decade of 2000s the main source for the financing of the current account deficits during this rapid growth period was provided by the short-term portfolio investments[49]. This on the other hand turned the country's potential growth and its sustainability into a structure closely dependent on the international financial flows[50]. Further the rise in imports due to higher domestic demand and cheaper exchange rates could be financed mainly by the relative abundance of foreign exchange rate during this period. Despite the advantage of low-cost imports that could be transmitted to export sectors high import-dependency limited the industry's potential to generate value added and employment[51].

4.2. Employment Rate Lags Behind the 2000s' Level

The rate of change in employment rate in Turkey averaged only 0.6 percentage point over the years between 2000-2019. Overall trend of the figures for Turkey displays a move away from the world average in early 2000s, got closer in the following period, yet with 46% in 2019, the employment rate is still significantly lower than the world average (57%) (Table 4.4a). Sectoral distribution of employment presents Turkey's transformation throughout the period. The share of agriculture in employment decreases by half (from 39.3 percent to 18.4 percent) but still plays an important role in total employment unlike the case in the very-high HDI countries group (Table 4.4b). Services' share in employment increased from 37,8 % to 55,3% from 2000 to 2019, thus the employment has mainly shifted from agriculture to services in Turkey over this period of analysis (Table 4.4c) given consistently low employment rate over the period.

Despite significantly lower employment rates than her group peers', the unemployment rates for both sexes rose sharply during the early 2000s and remained persistently high (around 10 percent) before rising sharply toward the end of the second decade in 2000s in Turkey. One striking observation is that the very-high-HDI countries were able to maintain their average employment rate over the-period including women's employment rate. Unlike this group, we see major declines in all other country groups by approximately 5 percentage point and Turkey is no exception on that.

The participation of women in the labor force and employment is still very low in Turkey (Figure 4.2). In 2019, only one out of every three women is in the workforce. The employment rate for men is 63% and the employment rate for women is 29%. Although there was a limited increase in female labor force participation, unemployment increased by three quarters of the increase in employment[52]. Tables 4.5a and 4.5b present how the ratio of female unemployment to that of male change over time relative to her group peers. As can be seen in Table 4.5a the 2008-2009 global crisis years mark a significant shift in relative trends, where over the pre-recession period we observe that the figures for Turkey maintain lower levels when compared to the high-HDI and very-high-HDI groups. The figures lower than 1 present the years when women's unemployment rate is lower than their male counterparts. However, after the year 2011, over the post-recession period we observe a steady increase in Turkey's ratios different than her global peers. We also observe a similar trend in youth's unemployment rates which rises more rapidly than the unemployment rate for the overall population (Table 4.5b). The slower decline in women's unemployment rate since 2011 was partly a reflection of the rising rate of labor force participation among women, a trend that has been quite marked since 2008 (Table 4.6a). In spite of the rise in female participation in the labor market, the gender gap still remains very high (Table 4.6a-4.6c) with a little under two-thirds of women that are out of the labor force citing "being a housewife" as the main reason for their nonparticipation.

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49 Taymaz, et. al. (2016) National Human Development Report: Turkey 2016 on Inclusive Growth UNDP HDR Background Draft Paper.
50 Taymaz, E. and E. Voyvoda (2012). Marching to the beat of a late drummer: Turkey's experience of neoliberal industrialization since 1980. New Perspectives on Turkey, 47, pp 83-113 doi:10.1017/S0896634600001710
51 Yükseler, Z., & Türkan, E. (2008). Türkiye'nin Üretim ve Dış Ticaret Yapısında Dönüşüm. Turkish Industrialist's and Businessmen's Association.
52 Toksöz, 2020 ibid.

Persistently high unemployment rates of women in Turkey partly reflects the gap in job-placement ratio by the Employment Agency of Turkey (ISKUR). While at least one among two of the male applicants is being placed by the Agency, only less than one third of female applicants could be provided placements (Figure 4.3). Particularly in the second half of the period we observe a much significant progress for men when compared to women in terms of effectiveness of public employment services. One reason behind could be the case that women's unemployment reflects different experiences, with a higher risk of falling into longer term unemployment[53].

Table 4.2. Gross Fixed Capital Formation (% of GDP)

Country/Country Group	2000	2005	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Turkey	22,3	26,7	24,9	28,1	27,3	28,5	28,9	29,7	29,3	30,1	29,9
Very high human development	23,4	22,6	20,5	20,8	21,1	21,1	21,3	21,4	21,3	21,5	21,8
High human development	24,2	27,9	32,7	33,2	34,3	34,8	34,9	35,5	34,7	34,3	
Medium human development	23,1	28,7	29	28,9	28,4	27,8	27,8	26,7	26	25,9	26,1
Low human development	22,9	22,6	19,2	19	18,6	19	19,6	19,4	21	20,9	
World	23,5	23,4	23,4	23,9	24,5	24,7	25	25,2	24,9	25	

Source: Calculations based on the data from UNDP HDR Database.

Table 4.3. Labor share of GDP, comprising wages and social protection transfers (%)

Country/Country Group	2004	2005	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Turkey	36,1	35,3	35,7	34,7	36,1	35,8	36,4	36,6	37	36,2
Very high human development		57,9	57,4	56,6	56,6	56,4	56,5	56,7	56,9	56,5
High human development		47	46,9	47,1	47,3	48,3	48,7	49,4	49,2	49,2
Medium human development		51,7	51,4	49,6	48,3	47,3	47,3	46,4	46,3	46,2
Low human development		52,3	50,9	52,2	53,6	53,6	53,6	53,3	53	52,1
World		56,2	54,8	54,2	54	54	54,1	54,3	54,4	54

Source: UNDP HDR Database

Labor share of GDP, comprising wages and social protection transfers: Total compensation of employees, expressed as a percentage of GDP, which measures total output. Total compensation is the total remuneration, in cash or in kind, payable by an enterprise to an employee in return for work done by the employee during the accounting period.

Gross fixed capital formation: Value of acquisitions of new or existing fixed assets by the business sector, governments and households (excluding their unincorporated enterprises) less disposals of fixed assets, expressed as a percentage of GDP. No adjustment is made for depreciation of fixed assets.

53 Toksöz, 2020 ibid.

Table 4.4a. Employment Rate

Country/Country Group	2000	2005	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Turkey	45,6	41,1	42,6	44,5	44,8	45,3	45,2	45,8	46,1	46,9	47,2	45,7
Very high human development	55,9	55,7	55,2	55,5	55,6	55,6	56,0	56,3	56,6	57,1	57,1	57,3
High human development	66,0	63,5	62,6	62,5	62,5	62,3	62,1	61,8	61,4	61,3	61,0	61,1
Medium human development	57,6	57,9	55,5	54,9	54,3	54,2	54,2	54,1	54,0	54,1	54,1	50,5
Low human development	64,4	64,2	63,0	62,9	62,8	62,8	62,7	62,6	62,6	62,7	62,8	61,6
World	61,2	60,2	59,0	58,8	58,7	58,6	58,6	58,5	58,4	58,5	58,4	57,4
Source: UNDP HDR Database												

Table 4.4b. Employment in Agriculture (% of Total Employment)

Country/Country Group	2000	2005	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Turkey	39,3	25,7	23,7	24,2	23,6	22,9	21,1	20,4	19,5	19,4	18,4	18,4
Very high human development	8	6,2	5,5	5,3	5,2	5,1	4,9	4,8	4,6	4,4	4,4	4,4
High human development	58,5	54,2	50	48,6	47	46,5	46	45,2	44,8	44,1	43,6	41,8
Medium human development	65,8	63,8	60,3	59,6	58,8	58,4	57,8	57,4	57,4	57,1	56,8	55,2
Low human development	42,7	38,4	32,1	30,8	29,6	28	26,5	25,7	25	24,3	24,1	23,6
World	40,3	37,3	33,4	32,4	31,4	30,6	29,9	29,3	29	28,6	28,4	26,9
Source: UNDP HDR Database												

Table 4.4c. Employment in Services (% of Total Employment)

Country/Country Group	2000	2005	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Turkey	37,8	48	50,1	49,4	50,4	50,7	51,1	52,4	53,7	54,1	54,9	55,3
Very high human development	64,6	68	70,6	70,7	70,9	71,1	71,3	71,6	71,9	72,2	72,4	72,4
High human development	34,1	37,7	42,8	43,7	44,6	45,9	47	47,9	48,8	49,4	49,9	50,5
Medium human development	26	28	29,6	30,2	31,2	31,6	32,1	32,6	32,9	33,5	33,9	35,2
Low human development	25,4	26,9	29,6	30,1	30,8	31,2	31,6	31,9	31,9	32	32,2	34,1
World	38,6	41,1	44,3	45	45,7	46,3	47	47,5	48	48,4	48,7	50,1
Source: UNDP HDR Database												

Table 4.5a. Unemployment Rate (Female to Male Ratio)

Country/Country Group	2000	2005	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Turkey	0,95	1,07	1,1	1,22	1,23	1,33	1,31	1,37	1,43	1,48	1,45	1,36
Very high human development	1,17	1,12	0,98	1,03	1,06	1,06	1,08	1,09	1,12	1,14	1,15	1,17
High human development	1,22	1,22	1,19	1,16	1,14	1,14	1,12	1,14	1,14	1,14	1,15	1,16
Medium human development	0,93	1,42	1,34	1,45	1,44	1,47	1,44	1,54	1,56	1,53	1,51	1,15
Low human development	1,16	1,29	1,46	1,44	1,44	1,46	1,48	1,48	1,47	1,47	1,46	1,4
World	1,16	1,23	1,16	1,18	1,19	1,19	1,19	1,22	1,23	1,24	1,24	1,18
Source: UNDP HDR Database												

Table 4.5b. Youth Unemployment Rate (Female to Male Ratio)

Country/Country Group	2000	2005	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Turkey	0,9	1,08	1,1	1,24	1,24	1,29	1,23	1,36	1,38	1,46	1,43	1,31
Very high human development	1,07	1,06	0,99	1,03	1,05	1,05	1,05	1,07	1,07	1,07	1,08	1,1
High human development	1,19	1,21	1,23	1,21	1,19	1,2	1,18	1,16	1,17	1,17	1,17	1,19
Medium human development	0,93	1,23	1,17	1,2	1,2	1,18	1,21	1,28	1,29	1,31	1,32	1,12
Low human development	1,06	1,14	1,26	1,28	1,3	1,35	1,33	1,27	1,2	1,2	1,21	1,32
World	1,09	1,17	1,16	1,17	1,17	1,17	1,17	1,19	1,19	1,19	1,2	1,15
Source: UNDP HDR Database												

Table 4.6a. Labor Force Participation Rate (Female, % of ages 15 and over)

Country/Country Group	2000	2005	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Turkey	26,3	23,3	27	28,3	28,9	30,1	30,2	31,5	32,5	33,5	34,1	34
Very high human development	50,4	50,6	51,3	51,3	51,5	51,6	51,6	51,7	52	52,2	52,1	52,3
High human development	59	56,8	55,4	55,3	55,3	55	54,7	54,6	54,4	54,2	53,9	54,2
Medium human development	35,6	36,8	33,1	32,3	31,5	31,7	31,9	32	32,1	32,3	32,3	28,3
Low human development	58,9	58,9	57,9	57,7	57,6	57,6	57,6	57,8	58	58,2	58,2	57,7
World	51	50,3	48,8	48,5	48,2	48,2	48,1	48,1	48,1	48,1	48	47,2
Source: UNDP HDR Database												

Table 4.6b. Labor Force Participation Rate (Male, % of ages 15 and over)

Country/Country Group	2000	2005	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Turkey	72,6	70,1	69,6	70,5	69,8	70,4	71,2	71,6	72,1	72,6	72,7	72,6
Very high human development	70,9	69,8	69,4	69,3	69,3	69,2	69,2	69,2	69,2	69,2	69	69,1
High human development	80,7	78,4	77,2	77,1	77,1	76,9	76,6	76,4	76,1	75,9	75,6	75,4
Medium human development	82,9	82,6	80,5	80,2	79,8	79,7	79,5	79,4	79,1	78,9	78,9	77,1
Low human development	76,6	75,9	74,5	74,2	74	73,7	73,5	73,3	73,2	73,2	73,1	72,3
World	78,6	77,3	76,1	75,9	75,8	75,7	75,5	75,4	75,2	75,1	74,9	74,2

Source: UNDP HDR Database

Table 4.6c. Labor Force Participation Rate (Female to Male Ratio)

Country/Country Group	2000	2005	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Turkey	0,36	0,33	0,39	0,40	0,41	0,43	0,42	0,44	0,45	0,46	0,47	0,47
Very high human development	0,71	0,72	0,74	0,74	0,74	0,75	0,75	0,75	0,75	0,75	0,76	0,76
High human development	0,73	0,72	0,72	0,72	0,72	0,72	0,71	0,71	0,71	0,71	0,71	0,72
Medium human development	0,43	0,45	0,41	0,40	0,39	0,40	0,40	0,40	0,41	0,41	0,41	0,37
Low human development	0,77	0,78	0,78	0,78	0,78	0,78	0,78	0,79	0,79	0,80	0,80	0,80
World	0,65	0,65	0,64	0,64	0,64	0,64	0,64	0,64	0,64	0,64	0,64	0,64

Source: UNDP HDR Database
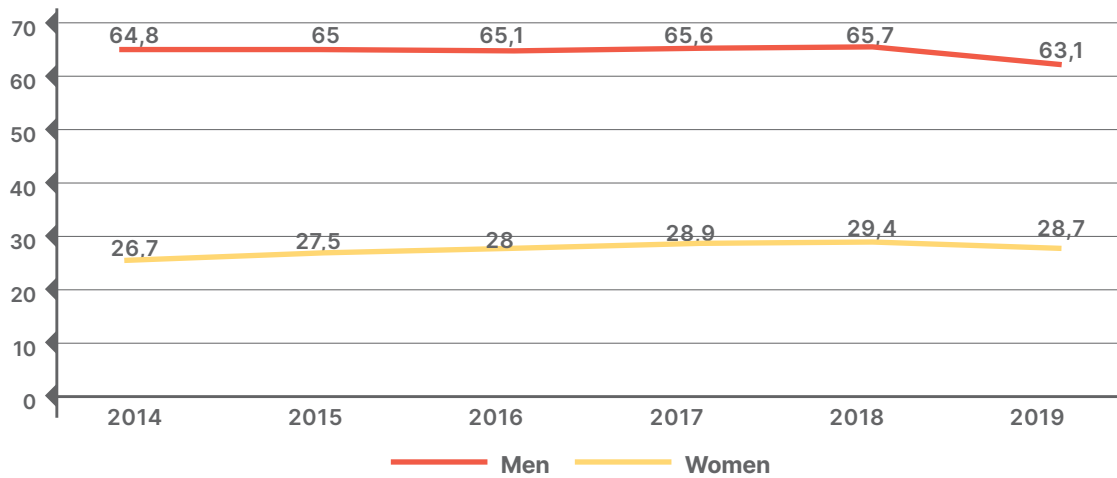
Figure 4.2. Employment Rate (%)
Source: CEID Database.
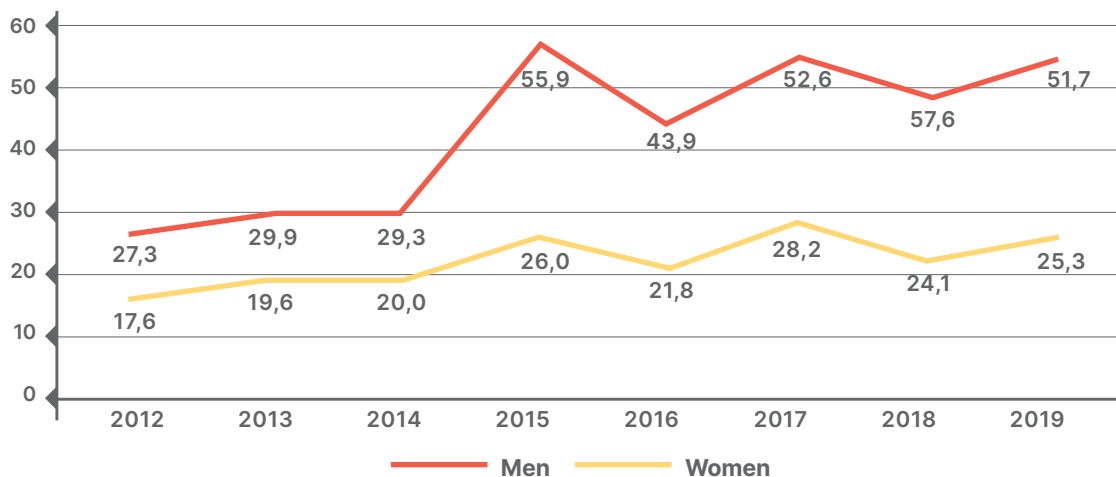
Figure 4.3. Gender Gap in Job Placement-ISKUR (%)
Source: CEID Database.

4.3. Segregated Labor Market with Income Gap

Despite a relatively significant rise in women's labor force participation in recent years, the profile of the new jobs created for women have not led to any transformation in occupational segregation. While the agricultural sector had the most important share in terms of women's employment until the early 2000s, at the point where the globalization process has reached in the last two decades, transnational production styles have led to the growth of the services sector and its replacement by the agricultural sector. In countries that follow export-based growth policies, the demand for female labor in manufacturing and services has increased as a result of the competition processes

carried out over labor costs. Women working in the industry mostly found the opportunity to work in the food, clothing and textile industries. However, due to the changing production structure in these sectors, they were more prone to home-based, informal type, irregular workforce. In Turkey, the manufacturing industry has the lowest share in female employment with 15 percent.

According to a study by ILO and TUIK, the average raw level of gender wage gap in Turkey is calculated at a level of 15,6%. The figures show a rising pattern with age; being lowest at the ages between 20-29 years old with a significant increase observed at the 30s and 40s when job promotions take place at work and women experience setbacks due maternity, marriage or reasons alike in their working life. Gender wage gap is 3.8% for the youngest among the age groups (20-29) while the gap is 29.9% for people aged 60 or over in 2018[54]. By education level, the highest figures are observed for the employees with elementary level or less (38.6%) whereas the lowest levels are achieved among their counterparts with a tertiary degree and higher (15.8%).

As a result of the gender-based employment and wage gap in Turkey, the income component of GDI presents a different trend from the very high HDI countries. This indicator is calculated as a ratio of female and male share in earned income for which the female share in economically active population is multiplied by the urban female and male ratio and by the GDP per capita in order to compute female/male share of earned income. The table below shows that even though the ratio of female and male earned income in Turkey has increased over the period of analysis from 28% to 47%, the figures have still been much larger than the gap of the very high-HDI country group two decades before (53%) (see Table 4.7).

Table 4.7 Income Components of GDI (GNI per capita, 2017 PPP, US Dollars)

	Turkey			Very high HDI Group		
	Female	**Male**	**Female-Male Ratio**	**Female**	**Male**	**Female-Male Ratio**
2000	6.702	24.037	28%	21.334	40.473	53%
2005	7.407	28.927	26%	24.201	44.337	55%
2010	11.432	28.587	40%	26.290	45.301	58%
2011	12.810	30.967	41%	26.907	46.209	58%
2012	13.494	31.678	43%	27.283	46.579	59%
2013	14.511	33.592	43%	27.639	47.108	59%
2014	14.929	34.817	43%	28.091	47.682	59%
2015	15.893	35.857	44%	28.559	48.468	59%
2016	16.422	36.118	45%	28.987	48.804	59%
2017	17.616	37.815	47%	29.699	49.617	60%
2018	17.957	38.044	47%	30.170	50.298	60%
2019	17.854	37.807	47%	33.668	55.720	60%
Source: UNDP HDR Database.						

54 ILO (2020) Measuring The Gender Wage Gap: Turkey Case https://www.ilo.org/ankara/publications/WCMS_756660/lang--en/index.htm.

Despite the developments summarized in education the gender gap in income earned, which still exists even among the population with university or higher educational attainment (Table 4.8). The female male ratio of earned income presents a rising trend throughout the period except for the university and higher-level graduates. While the enrollment rates at the tertiary level of education increase gender income gap rises providing additional evidence for the lack of education impact on income.

Table 4.8 Female-Male Ratio of Earned Income by Education Level

	Illeterate	No school	Less than high school	High school	University and higher
2006	69%	63%	48%	63%	81%
2007	54%	55%	50%	62%	76%
2008	60%	63%	52%	68%	77%
2009	58%	66%	53%	66%	75%
2010	57%	55%	50%	69%	74%
2011	61%	69%	52%	65%	75%
2012	62%	69%	52%	71%	78%
2013	66%	61%	54%	74%	77%
2014	61%	62%	54%	68%	77%
2015	69%	68%	56%	69%	77%
2016	75%	56%	57%	63%	75%
2017	74%	67%	60%	76%	73%
2018	79%	69%	60%	72%	73%
2019	68%	66%	60%	68%	73%
Source: Calculation based on the data obtained from CEID Database.					

4.4. Scattered and the Fragmented Nature of Employment Policies

The 11th Development Plan the Paragraph 594 under the title of Strengthening the Family is about the development and execution of programs for reconciling family and work life. It was stated that training activities were planned to be organized to raise awareness of responsibility on a more equal sharing of unpaid care work activities. Accordingly, quality, affordable and easily accessible public services for childcare, caring for people with disabilities and elderly would be expanded. However, there is no explanation as to what concrete steps will be taken in this direction according to the CEİD monitoring report on employment[55]. As cited by Toksöz, the Sustainable Development Goals Evaluation Report of the Presidency of Strategy and Budget (2019) states that "Between 2000-2016, in order to empower women and girls and ensure gender equality several projects have been implemented in many fields by central public institutions, local governments, international organizations, non-governmental organizations and the private sector. When the whole project stock is considered, it can be said that the programs implemented predominantly are of a scattered, small-scale and fragmented nature"[56].

The National Strategy and Action Plan for Empowerment of Women (2018-2023) also includes several strategies in order to increase women's employment:

1. Re-evaluation and improvement of the legislation on the labor market,

2. Strengthening vocational training and skills opportunities,

3. Strengthening the economic position of women and developing social policies to combat informality,

4. Development of women's entrepreneurship, knowledge and use of communication technologies, 5) Conducting studies for the participation of women who require special policies.

Despite these strategies no progress is achieved so far on adjusting the regulation on employers' obligation to provide childcare facilities in the private sector. In addition, the legislative arrangements planned for municipalities to open nursery and day care centers have not been realized yet despite their potential to offer a comprehensive solution, especially for women who cannot participate in working life due to their childcare obligations. It will also have a demand side effect on female employment through new jobs to be generated by investment in care sector[57]. Expanding childcare facilities in Industry Zones, increasing the number of institutions providing daily services for people with disabilities and elderly individuals are also targeted by employment activities included in the Strategy. However, the only activity among those listed above is the making of a regulation that encourages employers to purchase nursery services through tax deductions, with the clause added to the first paragraph of Article 23 of the Income Tax Law No. 193 in 2018. Accordingly, the payment of half of the monthly minimum wage to the childcare institution from which the employer purchases services for the child of the female employee will be exempt from income tax. This regulation can be described as direct support for employers and indirect support for working women in order to expand the procurement of nursery services[58].

The remarkable development due to the contraction trends in the Turkish economy, especially over the second half of the period is the increase in female unemployment, especially youth and female with high educational attainment. This situation has been aggravated by the effects of the

55 Toksöz, 2020, ibid.
56 Toksöz, 2020, ibid.
57 Ilkkaracan, I., Kim, K., Masterson, T., Memiş, E., & Zacharias, A. (2021). The impact of investing in social care on employment generation, time-, income-poverty by gender: A macro-micro policy simulation for Turkey. World Development, 144, 105476.
58 Toksöz, 2020, ibid.

Covid-19 Pandemics outbreak in March 2020. The reduction in employment has led to a serious increase in the number of unemployed and women out of the workforce compared to men. On the other hand, with the lockdowns announced, the arrangements for the elderly and students to stay at home with the closure of schools, along with the increasing hygiene needs, increased the unrequited labor of women in the household[59]. Women spent 4 times more time on unpaid housework than men. In terms of women working in income-generating jobs outside the household, since unpaid labor in the home is not shared sufficiently by family members, especially men, it increases the workload on women and their daily working hours exceed 10 hours. Furthermore, no attempts are observed on the public policy front on care services. Despite earlier commitments in order to alleviate the care obligation in the household in line with the goal of harmonizing work and family life in order to increase women's participation in the workforce no serious progress has been made in this regard over the period of analysis. For this reason, those who can enter the labor market and face unemployment are mainly young women, and it is inevitable that they will leave the labor market when they have children[60].

Time Constraints and Commitments

Time-use data reveals large gender gap in paid and unpaid work time across the globe: women spend on average between three and six hours on unpaid care activities, while men spend between half an hour and two hours[61]. Unpaid work time spent by women is two to ten times higher than that of men across different regions of the world from North America to Middle East and North Africa region. Across OECD countries the size of the disparity is around 2 hours 15 minutes per day for the on average i.e. women's unpaid work time is double the amount spent by men. Turkey singles out among these countries where women spend the highest amount of time on unpaid work activities and on the other front the lowest amount of paid work time. When looked at the gap between women and men, Turkey ranks as the sixth among the countries with largest gender gap; following after India, Korea, Japan, Mexico and Portugal. The strong traditional division of labor is still maintained in Turkey. The double burden of housework and childcare, which without challenging the male breadwinner family have been institutionalized as binding constraints on women's participation in the labor market[62].

The availability of childcare services becomes crucial at this point. The preschool enrolment rates of children (ages 3-5 years) show that Turkey is one of the exceptions among OECD countries with very low enrolment rates of preschool children regardless of child age[63]. A study that analyzes the demand and supply conditions related to childcare and preschool services in Turkey finds that despite an increase in the availability of childcare centers and preschool services over the last decade, both the supply of services and utilization remain very low in Turkey (WB, 2015). The employment of mothers, the location, quality of the services, safety conditions and household income level are important determining factors behind the demand for childcare services. The lack of public provisioning of these services and high costs of private services repels affordability for the low-income households and becomes a major issue behind the incompatibilities in the market. Availability of adequate and good quality care to all who need should be the key factor and if there are any gaps, the government is expected to fill in the gaps.

Public investments and expansion in social care services hold the potential to play a key role in terms of inclusive growth: İlkkaracan et. al. (2015) targeting OECD average enrolment rates provides possible outcomes of public investment in early childhood care in Turkey. Across countries we observe that as the preschool enrolment rates of children particularly under 3 years-old increases,

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59 Toksöz, 2020, ibid.

60 Toksöz, 2020, ibid.

61 Ferrant, G., Pesando, L. M., & Nowacka, K. (2014). Unpaid Care Work: The missing link in the analysis of gender gaps in labor outcomes. Boulogne Billancourt: OECD Development Center.

62 İlkkaracan, İ. (2012). Why so few women in the labor market in Turkey?. Feminist Economics, 18(1), 1-37.

63 Toksöz and Memiş, 2018.

the gap between women and men in terms of their time spent caring for children falls [64]. The lack of available and affordable services or limited demand for these services due to social and gender roles, it is almost always the case that women pick up the slack. Widening of gender gap in time spent for childcare activities when preschool enrolment rates are low supports this argument.

Higher participation of women into labor force not only supports their empowerment within the households but also transforms the distribution of resources including income as well as time leading towards equal participation in household decision making processes. It also shows that it decreases gender pay disparities, decreases occupational and sector-based segregation in the market. In countries where we observe high gender gap in unpaid work, we also observe high levels of gender wage gap, Turkey is a case in point as we have seen in the previous section. Although the mechanisms underlying behind the gender wage gap vary across countries which cannot be considered as limited to gender gap in unpaid work time, studies in the literature provide evidence that mothers pay a significant care penalty in terms of wage earnings, which accounts for an important part of the gender wage gaps in general. Beyond labor market participation, women's access to remunerative work increases the material well-being of women, their household members. It's shown that women's labor earnings have significant impact in reducing income inequality both within the household and at the macro level across households. Değirmenci and İlkkaracan (2013) provides supporting evidence from Turkey. Dual earner households' poverty risk decreases almost by half in comparison to single earner male breadwinner households[65]. In Turkey the ratio of households with dual earners is still low[66]. The male breadwinner-female homemaker type of household as the most widespread one indicates once again the unbalanced division of labor between men and women in Turkey. When female headed households are considered in this respect, the well-being of women and many children rely heavily on women's access to paid work and earning capacity. This is more critical, particularly for the households with low income, as we know participation of women in the labor market is a major coping mechanism during downturns and crises in many countries. In fact, improvements in well-being and women's empowerment are fulfilled to the extent that there are job opportunities available for women in the labor market with decent wages and work conditions. Women usually, when employed, tend to be concentrated in informal employment with more precarious work conditions and lower pay across the world. This highlights the issue of working poverty and time deficit issues as pertaining more to women than men. In addition, regardless of whether women participate in the labor market or not, and their employment status, women's unpaid work time is higher than that of men. Despite increases in women's time in the labor market, employed women still continue to specialize in unpaid work both in advanced countries as well as in the developing world[67].

64 Memiş, 2016. İbid.
65 Degirmenci, S., & İlkkaracan, İ. (2013). Economic crises and the added worker effect in the Turkish labor market. Levy Economics Institute, Working Paper, (774).
66 Memiş, 2016. İbid.
67 Addabbo, T., Arrizabalaga, M. P., & Owens, A. (2016). Gender inequalities, households and the production of well-being in modern Europe. Routledge.

Chapter 5.
Discussion and Policy Recommendations

The UN Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) was adopted in 1980 and Turkey acceded to the convention in 1985. Article 1 in the convention gives an objective definition of discrimination against women. Article 3 states that the problem is not merely legislative or institutional one but has its economic, social and cultural dimensions and obliges States Parties to combat all forms of discrimination against women in these areas as well. Article 4 explicitly defines the norm equality of treatment. the CEDAW obliges States Parties to combat systematic and structural discrimination. In its General Recommendation no. 25 related to temporary special measures on the basis of Article 4 adopted in January 2004, expresses the three aspects of equality that the Convention aims at as follows:

- Ensuring full equality of women before the law and their protection in both public and private spheres;

- Improving the de facto position of women, and

- Elimination of stereotypes related to gender relations.

The Constitution is the main document regulating all issues relating to gender equality in Turkey. In Article 10 of the document it is stated that "..everyone is equal before the law without distinction as to language, race, colour, sex, political opinion, philosophical belief, religion and sect, or any such grounds. Men and women have equal rights. The State has the obligation to ensure that this equality exists in practice. Measures taken for this purpose shall not be interpreted as contrary to the principle of equality. Measures to be taken for children, the elderly, disabled people, widows and orphans of martyrs as well as for the invalid and veterans shall not be considered as violation of the principle of equality. No privilege shall be granted to any individual, family, group or class. State organs and administrative authorities are obliged to act in compliance with the principle of equality before the law in all their proceedings."

In addition, in Article 5 of the Constitution the fundamental aims and duties of the State are stated as "....to safeguard the independence and integrity of the Turkish Nation, the indivisibility of the country, the Republic and democracy, to ensure the welfare, peace, and happiness of the individual and society; to strive for the removal of political, economic, and social obstacles which restrict the fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual in a manner incompatible with the principles of justice and of the social state governed by rule of law; and to provide the conditions required for the development of the individual's material and spiritual existence" (The Constitution of Turkey).

In addition to the Constitution, The Turkish Civil Code, Labour Law and the Penal Code are main binding documents for gender equality policies. There have been amendments in Turkish Civil Code and the Penal Code over the first half our period of analysis. In 1987, a separate unit was formed in charge of policies on women, to promote gender awareness in public policy and it is stated that the reforms within the civil code and constitutional amendments targeted to ensure gender equality before the law and within the family and the amendments also made CEDAW superior to the national law in case of a conflict with national law. The process of EU accession played a major role in implementing structural changes towards adoption of gender equality policies, which however turned into a disruptive process in the second half of the period. The withdrawal of Turkey's from the Council of Europe's Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence namely the "İstanbul Convention" indicates these developments.

Within this context, our analysis of gender development and human development performance of Turkey from 2000-2019 presents at the outset that Turkey appears to be an outlier among the very high human development group, she moved up into recently. This is especially more explicit in the Inequality-adjusted HDI and GII. In the case of GII, Turkey has lower values in sub dimensions such as share of seats in parliament held by women, females with at least some secondary education, female labor force participation rate than high human development group countries.

The HDR Turkey 2008 on "Youth in Turkey" deals with the problems of education comprehensively and points to the main problem areas with relevant recommendations. Many of the problems mentioned there still prevail today although the major step of 12 years compulsory schooling has been realized after the publication of the report. Currently it can be stated that:

- All reforms made with respect to increasing compulsory education benefit both sexes but men benefit more as the gender gap stays almost the same.

- Difference in access to education among regions is related to the level of socio-economic development

- Difference in school types at the secondary education level is related to the socioeconomic status of the families

- A significant population of children are out of school at both primary and secondary education levels

- There is a strong tendency for girls to be directed to religious education schools where only girls attend

- There is a tendency for children from various groups (girls, children with special needs and working children) to be directed to open education instead of formal education

- Almost no difference in enrollment rates, but serious attendance and graduation issues and the absenteeism rate increases throughout the years lead to higher dropout rates and the dropout rates are slightly higher for girls than for boys.

- Turkey has the highest rate of early school leaving among European countries with comparable statistics. The difference between men and women is also highest in Turkey.

- Consequently, the gender gap increased in education after 2015-2016 denoting to the gravity of gender inequalities.

For improving education services and achieving gender equality

- Increasing the share of education in public spending and investment to ensure quality education in compliance with new information and communication technologies at schools is still a prerequisite.

- Equal opportunities, appropriate and quality education to all children and young people with disadvantages, including refugee children is still crucial.

- Supporting teachers with on-the-job trainings to enhance their professional skills is still a necessity.

Keeping in mind that the increase in enrollment rates in the last decade are accompanied by absenteeism and dropouts the desperation of young people to find a decent work after graduation should be taken into consideration. Consequently, the huge category of young people especially women who are neither in education nor at work is a loss of human resources in Turkey.

- To strengthen the linkage between education and labor market with the provision of quality education relevant employment strategies should be developed.

- Gender equality strategies and measures should be implemented as committed by the national and international policy documents.

- Large gender gap in unpaid labor requires holistic approach in line with 3R-strategies - recognition, reduction and redistribution- in order to alleviate poverty and unemployment.

- Ex-ante policy simulations reveal those public expenditures to develop the social

infrastructure that supports the care economy, creating new jobs, especially in the care services sector, and in other sectors where the sector buys intermediate inputs, especially for women in Turkey.

- Rebalancing growth towards caring economy and society has been inevitable very recently which has been verified by the social and economic crises triggered via Covid-19 pandemics

In the area of health with the improvement of health services and access to the services the life expectancy has increased for both sexes and the male/female age gap decreased. However, the improvements in "maternal health services" namely the decrease in maternal mortality and adolescent birth rates are under threat because of the neglect of gender equality norm.

In access to health due to abandonment of the gender equality norm,

- women's health is not addressed holistically and considering all life stages, and "maternal health" is emphasized

- the issues of reproductive health, family planning, reproductive and sexual rights have begun to appear less in official documents

- the anti-contraceptive rhetoric, the encouragement women's fertility politically and the insufficient provision of these services in primary care institutions increase "unmet need for family planning".

To provide health services coherent with gender equality norm:

- Women's health should be addressed holistically and the issues of reproductive health, family planning, reproductive and sexual rights should be tackled adequately.

- The delivery of birth control methods and family planning services in primary healthcare institutions should be available and the obstacles to induced abortion services in public health institutions should be eliminated.

- Women are not represented adequately in political decision mechanisms and among high-ranking bureaucrats or top-level administrators. Political decisions coherent with gender equality norms necessitate a higher level of representation of women in parliaments and public institutions.

- Women should be encouraged to be part of the political life and laws targeting a fair representation of women in political parties and parliaments as well as other decision-making mechanisms should be enacted.

5.1. Can Turkey Catch up with Her Group Peers in Gender Equality?

Under alternative scenarios whether Turkey might achieve the GDI levels of the very high HDI group could help us understand the change better and allow policy makers to identify concrete policy actions for the future. Focusing on how gender gaps in education and income have changed over time in Turkey based on a simple calculation, one can compute the GDI level that would be attained if the female to male income index increased as much as the female to male education index in comparison to the year 2000. The hypothetical GDI levels to be achieved in such a scenario can be seen in Figure 5.1a (solid green line). When compared to actual GDI levels (dotted light grey line), this scenario would bring Turkey closer to the average of high HDI countries (dotted grey line), but still far from the average of very high HDI countries (dotted black line). After 2016, the rising trend that had been observed until then began to revert. This is related to a reduction in the ratio of female to male education after 2016 in actual figures. As a result, the increase in female to male income index, which is equalized to the increase in female to male education index, presents a decline after this year. Thus, even if educational achievements are reflected in the income component, Turkey will not be able to fully catch up to the average GDI scores of the high-HDI country group.
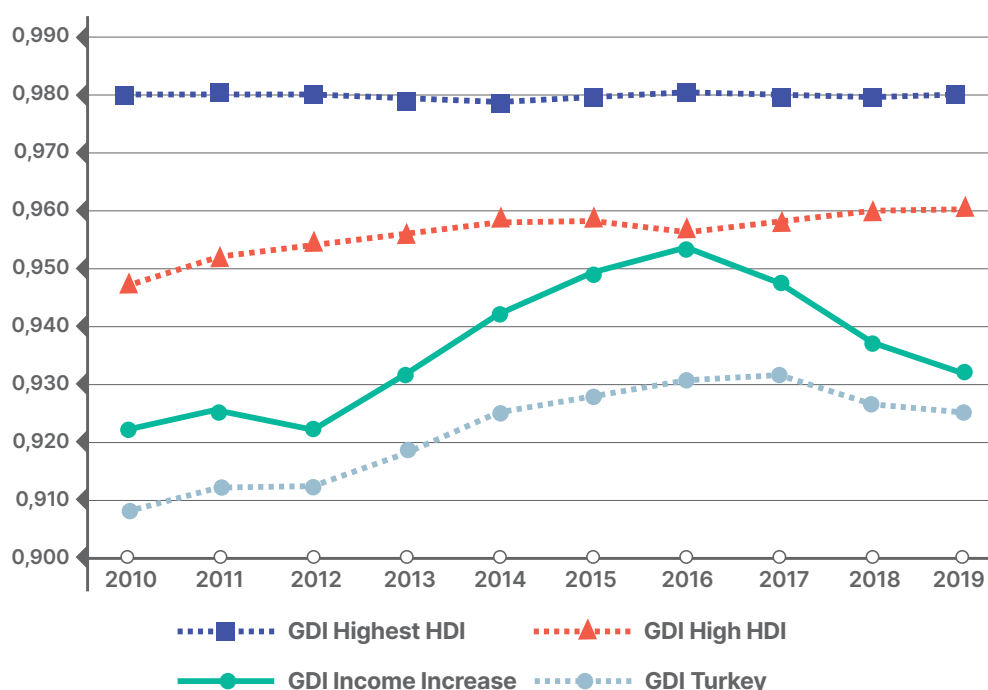
Figure 5.1a. GDI Levels of High and Very High HDI Countries (Actual) and Turkey (Actual and Under Scenario 1)
Source: Calculations based on data from Global Data Lab (https://globaldatalab.org/)

A second alternative scenario could be to compute the GDI level that would be reached if Turkey's female to male income index was equal to the average of very high HDI countries. The yellow solid line in Figure 5.1b. depicts the projections under this scenario. In most years, the new GDI levels are greater than that could be reached in the previous scenario, bringing them closer to the average of high HDI countries but still falling short of those of very high HDI countries. This scenario indicates the significant role of policies targeting gender-based income inequality and poverty in Turkey, via which both gender gap in employment and gender-based wage gap could be targeted in a holistic perspective.
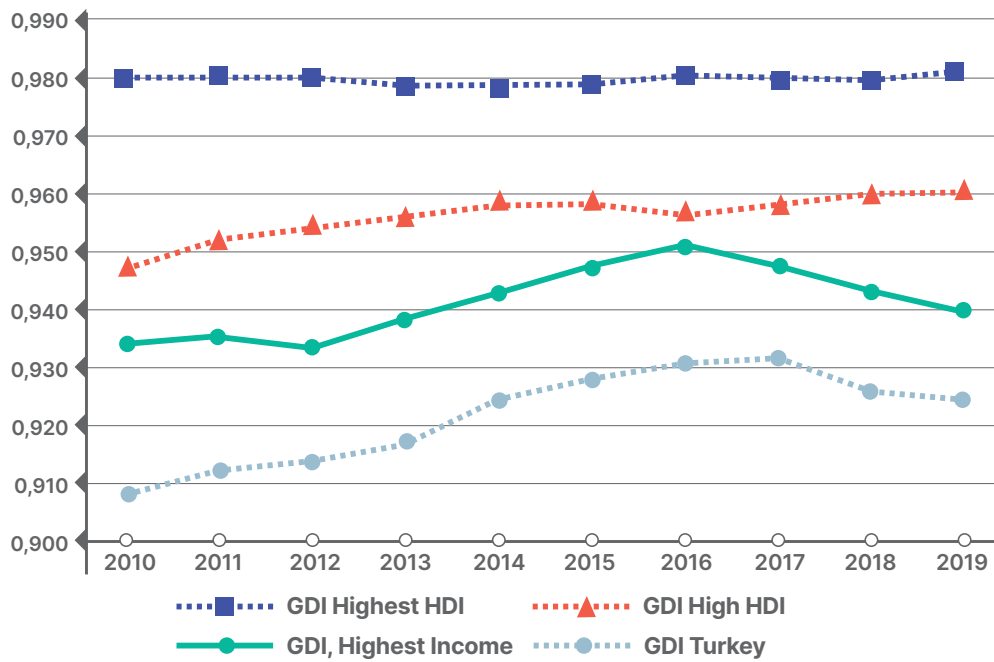
Figure 5.1b. GDI Levels of High and Very High HDI Countries (Actual) and Turkey (Actual and Under Scenario 2)
Source: Same as Figure 5.1.a

Under the third alternative where the female to male education index equals to one, Turkey could reach the highest GDI levels moving up closer to the very-high HDI country group. Among the three alternatives summarized above, only under this complete gender parity in education case Turkey could catch up her previous HDI group peers in terms of gender equality performance (solid red line in Figure 5.1b). The proposed GDI levels are almost equal to the average of high HDI countries, but they are still below the average of very high HDI countries.
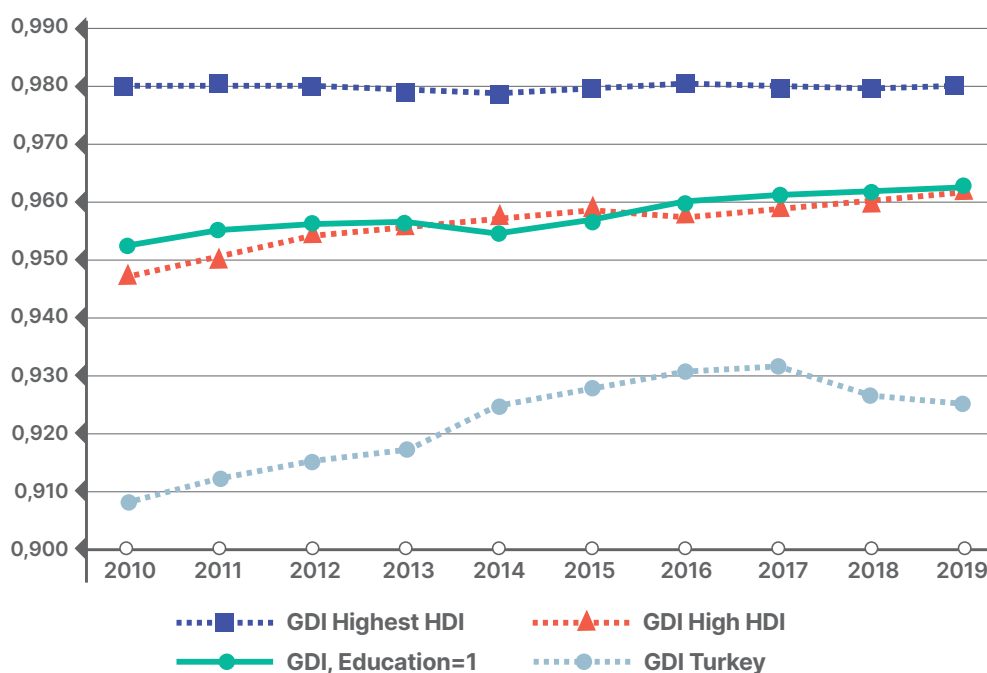
Figure 5.1c. GDI Levels of High and Very High HDI Countries (Actual) and Turkey (Actual and Under Scenario 3)
Source: Same as Figure 5.1.a

All three alternative scenarios showed that Turkey falls short of the very high HDI countries in promoting gender equality in both income and education, despite the fact that she has lately moved up to this category. Achievements in gender equality in education or income exclusively could be necessary but not sufficient in enabling a catch up with the very high HDI. Policies that promote both of them mutually could address the critical bottlenecks for Turkey's to sustain her socio-economic status among her global peers.

5.2. Low Levels of GDI Scores: Are They Sticky?

The scenario-based results shared in previous section suggest new inquiries and more research is needed on the issue. Does Turkey single out among her group in terms of a weaker gender equality performance? Are there any top-performing countries moving from lower ranks of HDI to the very-high HDI group? If yes, do their GDI trends present a similar trend with that of Turkey?

Among the medium-HDI group of countries identified in 2000, 12 countries have moved to the very high HDI group by the year 2019. Out of this group, only four countries – Panama, Kazakhstan, Belarus and Russia – achieved to be involved within the top GDI countries at the beginning of the period of our analysis (See Table 5.1). The performance of six countries including Turkey, remains at a fairly low level, either moved up by a one group in rank or continued in their starting group. Only two among them – Mauritius and Oman made relatively better on GDI performance along with their HDI trends moving up by three and two groups in rank respectively.

Not surprisingly, in all these eight countries, male HDI scores levels up with very-high-HDI country group over this period. Conversely only in three countries – Georgia, Romania and Bulgaria- the female HDI scores compare with the very-high-HDI. On the other hand, in five countries including

Turkey, female-HDI scores stay as low as the high-HDI group (Saudi Arabia, Oman, Mauritius, Malaysia accompany Turkey). The starting group, which includes the scores of these five countries, can be said to be far behind at the beginning, but we also observe different paths between them, such as Mauritius, an example of how better scores can be achieved when public spending and the social contract are implemented inclusively. Mauritius attains top rank country group in GDI, although the female HDI scores are lower than the male HDI the gap between them is somewhat smaller, unlike the other countries.

Table 5.1 The List of Countries Moved Up from Medium (M) to Very-High HDI (VH) Group Between the period 2000-2019

	GDI 2000	Group 2000 (a)	GDI 2019	Group 2019 (b)	Change (b-a)	Female HDI group 2019	Male HDI group 2019
Saudi Arabia	0.834	5	0.896	5	0	H	VH
Turkey	0.847	5	0.924	4	-1	H	VH
Oman	0.864	5	0.936	3	-2	H	VH
Mauritius	0.912	4	0.976	1	-3	H	VH
Malaysia	0.926	3	0.972	2	-1	H	VH
Georgia	0.952	2	0.980	1	-1	VH	VH
Romania	0.965	2	0.991	1	-1	VH	VH
Bulgaria	0.974	2	0.995	1	-1	VH	VH
Panama	0.981	1	1.019	1	0	VH	VH
Kazakhstan	1.004	1	0.98	1	0	VH	VH
Belarus	1.023	1	1.007	1	0	VH	VH
Russian Fed.	1.031	2	1.007	1	-1	VH	VH
Source: Calculations based on UNDP HDR Database.							

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APPENDIX

Table A1. Demographic Trends

Population								
	Total (millions)				**Urban (%)**	**<5 age (millions)**	**15–64**	**>=65**	**Median Age (years)**
	2019	**2030**	**2005/ 2010**	**2015/ 2020**	**2019**	**2019**	**2019**	**2019**	**2020**
Turkey	83,4	89,2	1,3	1,4	75,6	6,7	55,9	7,3	31,5
Very High	1.562,5	1.610,1	0,7	0,5	79,9	90,5	1.022,9	264,4	40,2
						5%	71%	24%	
High	2.957,0	3.136,9	0,9	0,8	62,3	217,5	2.034,0	280,0	34,4
						8%	83%	9%	
Medium	2.199,3	2.503,5	1,6	1,3	37,2	214,8	1.432,1	123,9	26,7
						10%	87%	3%	
Low	921,4	1.217,1	2,8	2,7	37,0	148,5	497,3	26,9	18,3
						8%	80%	12%	
World	7.713,5	8.548,5	1,2	1,1	55,7	677,4	5.035,3	702,4	30,9
						9%	81%	11%	

Source: UNDP HDR Database

Table A2. Demographic Trends

	Dependency ratio (per 100 people ages 15–64)										Total fertility rate	
Country	Young age (0–14)					Old age (65 and older)					(births per woman)	
	2000	**2005**	**2010**	**2015**	**2019**	**2000**	**2005**	**2010**	**2015**	**2019**	**2005/ 2010**	**2015/ 2020**
Turkey	48,3	44,2	40,8	38,5	36,3	9,6	10,3	10,9	11,8	13,0	2,2	2,1
Very high human development	30,1	27,9	26,7	26,6	26,9	19,4	20,4	21,3	23,7	25,9	1,8	1,7
High human development	42,5	35,7	32,7	31,7	31,6	9,4	9,8	10,3	11,7	13,8	2,0	2,0
Medium human development	61,3	56,2	51,8	47,3	44,9	7,2	7,4	7,7	8,0	8,6	3,1	2,6
Low human development	87,2	86,2	84,9	82	79,9	5,7	5,5	5,5	5,4	5,4	5,7	4,9
World	47,9	43,6	41,3	40	39,2	10,9	11,2	11,7	12,8	14,0	2,6	2,5

Source: UNDP HDR Database

Table A3. GDI, HDI and its components at national and sub national level (2000-2019)

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Sub-national GDI																				
Total	0.849	0.85	0.851	0.853	0.854	0.855	0.866	0.876	0.887	0.897	0.908	0.912	0.912	0.918	0.923	0.928	0.933	0.931	0.927	0.923
Aegean	0.87	0.872	0.874	0.877	0.879	0.881	0.89	0.9	0.909	0.919	0.928	0.934	0.935	0.952	0.927	0.93	0.934	0.933	0.93	0.926
Central Anatolia	0.829	0.834	0.838	0.843	0.847	0.852	0.863	0.874	0.885	0.896	0.907	0.913	0.913	0.915	0.913	0.918	0.925	0.924	0.921	0.915
Central East Anatolia	0.757	0.766	0.775	0.785	0.794	0.803	0.818	0.833	0.848	0.863	0.878	0.885	0.892	0.889	0.908	0.916	0.924	0.918	0.915	0.911
East Black Sea	0.836	0.84	0.843	0.847	0.85	0.854	0.867	0.879	0.892	0.904	0.917	0.923	0.916	0.901	0.928	0.931	0.933	0.932	0.927	0.923
East Marmara	0.869	0.868	0.867	0.867	0.866	0.865	0.876	0.887	0.898	0.909	0.92	0.923	0.924	0.931	0.928	0.934	0.938	0.939	0.94	0.935
Istanbul	0.891	0.887	0.883	0.879	0.875	0.871	0.88	0.888	0.897	0.905	0.914	0.915	0.913	0.924	0.932	0.937	0.941	0.94	0.935	0.932
Mediterranean	0.853	0.854	0.855	0.857	0.858	0.859	0.87	0.881	0.893	0.904	0.915	0.917	0.916	0.926	0.916	0.919	0.925	0.923	0.916	0.915
North East Anatolia	0.784	0.791	0.798	0.804	0.811	0.818	0.831	0.844	0.856	0.869	0.882	0.881	0.88	0.862	0.915	0.926	0.937	0.934	0.929	0.928
South East Anatolia	0.748	0.759	0.771	0.782	0.794	0.805	0.82	0.835	0.85	0.865	0.88	0.887	0.891	0.875	0.913	0.92	0.923	0.922	0.919	0.915
West Anatolia	0.878	0.876	0.875	0.873	0.872	0.87	0.878	0.885	0.893	0.9	0.908	0.911	0.913	0.928	0.925	0.929	0.935	0.934	0.929	0.928
West Black Sea	0.845	0.847	0.849	0.852	0.854	0.856	0.868	0.88	0.893	0.905	0.917	0.921	0.92	0.918	0.918	0.923	0.924	0.923	0.92	0.918
West Marmara	0.893	0.887	0.881	0.876	0.87	0.864	0.874	0.884	0.893	0.903	0.913	0.919	0.924	0.943	0.929	0.931	0.934	0.934	0.931	0.928
Sub-national HDI females																				
Total	0.599	0.606	0.612	0.619	0.625	0.632	0.647	0.662	0.678	0.693	0.708	0.725	0.73	0.741	0.754	0.765	0.768	0.775	0.777	0.784
Aegean	0.626	0.632	0.639	0.645	0.652	0.658	0.671	0.685	0.698	0.712	0.725	0.74	0.746	0.763	0.751	0.76	0.763	0.771	0.775	0.78
Central Anatolia	0.582	0.589	0.596	0.604	0.611	0.618	0.633	0.648	0.664	0.679	0.694	0.709	0.717	0.739	0.73	0.742	0.745	0.752	0.753	0.759
Central East Anatolia	0.476	0.488	0.499	0.511	0.522	0.534	0.552	0.57	0.589	0.607	0.625	0.648	0.659	0.681	0.684	0.695	0.699	0.704	0.706	0.715
East Black Sea	0.582	0.589	0.596	0.604	0.611	0.618	0.635	0.651	0.668	0.684	0.701	0.718	0.714	0.714	0.741	0.756	0.754	0.757	0.757	0.766
East Marmara	0.654	0.656	0.659	0.661	0.664	0.666	0.679	0.692	0.704	0.717	0.73	0.745	0.757	0.769	0.792	0.799	0.798	0.805	0.808	0.811
Istanbul	0.656	0.662	0.668	0.673	0.679	0.685	0.697	0.71	0.722	0.735	0.747	0.761	0.763	0.764	0.78	0.792	0.795	0.803	0.805	0.812
Mediterranean	0.605	0.608	0.612	0.615	0.619	0.622	0.637	0.652	0.668	0.683	0.698	0.716	0.717	0.732	0.728	0.737	0.739	0.745	0.747	0.756
North East Anatolia	0.488	0.501	0.514	0.526	0.539	0.552	0.57	0.588	0.605	0.623	0.641	0.654	0.661	0.655	0.702	0.721	0.733	0.74	0.738	0.75
South East Anatolia	0.481	0.492	0.503	0.513	0.524	0.535	0.555	0.575	0.594	0.614	0.634	0.653	0.658	0.672	0.68	0.692	0.692	0.7	0.701	0.706
West Anatolia	0.665	0.667	0.669	0.671	0.673	0.675	0.689	0.702	0.716	0.729	0.743	0.759	0.769	0.794	0.772	0.781	0.783	0.787	0.786	0.797
West Black Sea	0.587	0.593	0.599	0.604	0.61	0.616	0.633	0.649	0.666	0.682	0.699	0.713	0.719	0.741	0.725	0.738	0.74	0.747	0.746	0.754
West Marmara	0.63	0.635	0.64	0.644	0.649	0.654	0.668	0.682	0.696	0.71	0.724	0.741	0.757	0.782	0.756	0.765	0.768	0.774	0.776	0.786

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Sub-national HDI males																				
Total	0.706	0.713	0.719	0.726	0.732	0.739	0.747	0.755	0.763	0.771	0.779	0.795	0.8	0.807	0.817	0.825	0.823	0.832	0.838	0.849
Aegean	0.72	0.725	0.731	0.736	0.742	0.747	0.754	0.761	0.767	0.774	0.781	0.793	0.797	0.802	0.81	0.817	0.817	0.826	0.833	0.842
Central Anatolia	0.702	0.707	0.711	0.716	0.72	0.725	0.733	0.741	0.75	0.758	0.766	0.776	0.786	0.808	0.799	0.808	0.806	0.814	0.818	0.83
Central East Anatolia	0.628	0.635	0.643	0.65	0.658	0.665	0.674	0.684	0.693	0.703	0.712	0.732	0.738	0.766	0.753	0.759	0.757	0.767	0.772	0.785
East Black Sea	0.696	0.702	0.707	0.713	0.718	0.724	0.732	0.74	0.749	0.757	0.765	0.778	0.78	0.792	0.798	0.812	0.808	0.812	0.817	0.83
East Marmara	0.753	0.756	0.76	0.763	0.767	0.77	0.775	0.779	0.784	0.788	0.793	0.807	0.819	0.826	0.853	0.856	0.851	0.857	0.86	0.868
Istanbul	0.737	0.747	0.757	0.766	0.776	0.786	0.792	0.798	0.805	0.811	0.817	0.831	0.837	0.826	0.837	0.845	0.845	0.854	0.861	0.872
Mediterranean	0.71	0.713	0.715	0.718	0.72	0.723	0.731	0.739	0.748	0.756	0.764	0.78	0.783	0.79	0.795	0.802	0.798	0.807	0.816	0.826
North East Anatolia	0.622	0.633	0.643	0.654	0.664	0.675	0.686	0.696	0.707	0.717	0.728	0.742	0.751	0.76	0.767	0.778	0.783	0.792	0.795	0.808
South East Anatolia	0.642	0.646	0.651	0.655	0.66	0.664	0.675	0.686	0.698	0.709	0.72	0.736	0.739	0.768	0.744	0.753	0.749	0.76	0.763	0.772
West Anatolia	0.757	0.761	0.765	0.768	0.772	0.776	0.784	0.793	0.801	0.81	0.818	0.833	0.842	0.856	0.835	0.84	0.837	0.843	0.847	0.859
West Black Sea	0.695	0.7	0.705	0.709	0.714	0.719	0.728	0.736	0.745	0.753	0.762	0.774	0.782	0.807	0.79	0.799	0.8	0.808	0.811	0.822
West Marmara	0.705	0.715	0.725	0.736	0.746	0.756	0.763	0.771	0.778	0.786	0.793	0.806	0.82	0.83	0.814	0.821	0.822	0.828	0.834	0.846
Health index females																				
Total	0.789	0.796	0.802	0.809	0.815	0.822	0.828	0.834	0.839	0.845	0.851	0.857	0.862	0.868	0.872	0.877	0.882	0.886	0.889	0.894
Aegean	0.834	0.839	0.844	0.848	0.853	0.858	0.858	0.857	0.857	0.856	0.856	0.858	0.871	0.886	0.878	0.878	0.881	0.886	0.891	0.892
Central Anatolia	0.819	0.822	0.825	0.827	0.83	0.833	0.838	0.843	0.848	0.853	0.858	0.852	0.864	0.877	0.864	0.867	0.874	0.879	0.884	0.887
Central East Anatolia	0.733	0.736	0.739	0.741	0.744	0.747	0.757	0.768	0.778	0.789	0.799	0.821	0.83	0.84	0.863	0.873	0.879	0.879	0.889	0.892
East Black Sea	0.777	0.785	0.794	0.802	0.811	0.819	0.831	0.843	0.855	0.867	0.879	0.894	0.874	0.855	0.907	0.913	0.917	0.912	0.922	0.924
East Marmara	0.852	0.854	0.856	0.857	0.859	0.861	0.859	0.857	0.856	0.854	0.852	0.851	0.883	0.918	0.863	0.869	0.872	0.878	0.881	0.887
Istanbul	0.799	0.811	0.822	0.834	0.845	0.857	0.86	0.862	0.865	0.867	0.87	0.87	0.867	0.866	0.876	0.88	0.887	0.891	0.895	0.899
Mediterranean	0.825	0.824	0.824	0.823	0.823	0.822	0.828	0.834	0.839	0.845	0.851	0.861	0.855	0.85	0.872	0.875	0.881	0.886	0.886	0.89
North East Anatolia	0.65	0.67	0.69	0.711	0.731	0.751	0.762	0.772	0.783	0.793	0.804	0.808	0.811	0.815	0.854	0.862	0.872	0.876	0.875	0.888
South East Anatolia	0.759	0.761	0.763	0.765	0.767	0.769	0.781	0.794	0.806	0.819	0.831	0.845	0.843	0.842	0.867	0.877	0.874	0.885	0.888	0.889
West Anatolia	0.813	0.822	0.832	0.841	0.851	0.86	0.861	0.862	0.863	0.864	0.865	0.866	0.885	0.907	0.88	0.885	0.89	0.891	0.891	0.901
West Black Sea	0.762	0.775	0.789	0.802	0.816	0.829	0.836	0.843	0.849	0.856	0.863	0.857	0.865	0.874	0.868	0.876	0.879	0.886	0.886	0.896
West Marmara	0.807	0.815	0.824	0.832	0.841	0.849	0.852	0.855	0.857	0.86	0.863	0.858	0.892	0.929	0.866	0.868	0.876	0.878	0.881	0.888

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Health index males																				
Total	**0.752**	**0.76**	**0.768**	**0.776**	**0.784**	**0.792**	**0.799**	**0.806**	**0.812**	**0.819**	**0.826**	**0.834**	**0.842**	**0.848**	**0.855**	**0.862**	**0.866**	**0.871**	**0.875**	**0.88**
Aegean	0.786	0.793	0.8	0.806	0.813	0.82	0.822	0.824	0.825	0.827	0.829	0.833	0.848	0.861	0.857	0.863	0.866	0.869	0.872	0.875
Central Anatolia	0.775	0.78	0.785	0.791	0.796	0.801	0.806	0.812	0.817	0.823	0.828	0.825	0.841	0.855	0.852	0.859	0.863	0.867	0.871	0.879
Central East Anatolia	0.709	0.714	0.719	0.725	0.73	0.735	0.747	0.758	0.77	0.781	0.793	0.817	0.823	0.827	0.85	0.858	0.861	0.869	0.879	0.884
East Black Sea	0.743	0.752	0.762	0.771	0.781	0.79	0.798	0.806	0.815	0.823	0.831	0.838	0.839	0.838	0.865	0.875	0.882	0.878	0.89	0.895
East Marmara	0.8	0.805	0.809	0.814	0.818	0.823	0.824	0.825	0.825	0.826	0.827	0.828	0.858	0.886	0.853	0.856	0.862	0.867	0.869	0.877
Istanbul	0.76	0.772	0.784	0.795	0.807	0.819	0.824	0.828	0.833	0.837	0.842	0.846	0.847	0.846	0.856	0.862	0.869	0.873	0.878	0.886
Mediterranean	0.78	0.783	0.785	0.788	0.79	0.793	0.8	0.807	0.815	0.822	0.829	0.841	0.838	0.834	0.862	0.867	0.868	0.875	0.883	0.883
North East Anatolia	0.643	0.662	0.681	0.699	0.718	0.737	0.75	0.762	0.775	0.787	0.8	0.811	0.81	0.807	0.847	0.852	0.861	0.866	0.871	0.878
South East Anatolia	0.729	0.734	0.738	0.743	0.747	0.752	0.764	0.776	0.787	0.799	0.811	0.825	0.828	0.828	0.844	0.854	0.854	0.867	0.871	0.871
West Anatolia	0.771	0.781	0.791	0.802	0.812	0.822	0.826	0.829	0.833	0.836	0.84	0.846	0.862	0.878	0.87	0.875	0.879	0.88	0.884	0.887
West Black Sea	0.731	0.744	0.758	0.771	0.785	0.798	0.804	0.811	0.817	0.824	0.83	0.826	0.84	0.852	0.851	0.858	0.866	0.869	0.87	0.879
West Marmara	0.766	0.776	0.785	0.795	0.804	0.814	0.817	0.82	0.823	0.826	0.829	0.825	0.853	0.88	0.843	0.85	0.86	0.855	0.857	0.865
Educational index females																				
Total	**0.428**	**0.437**	**0.446**	**0.454**	**0.463**	**0.472**	**0.494**	**0.516**	**0.538**	**0.56**	**0.582**	**0.606**	**0.609**	**0.624**	**0.649**	**0.667**	**0.666**	**0.672**	**0.672**	**0.688**
Aegean	0.467	0.476	0.485	0.494	0.503	0.512	0.534	0.556	0.579	0.601	0.623	0.645	0.644	0.671	0.643	0.66	0.658	0.665	0.666	0.681
Central Anatolia	0.402	0.416	0.43	0.444	0.458	0.472	0.494	0.516	0.537	0.559	0.581	0.608	0.615	0.618	0.635	0.653	0.653	0.659	0.66	0.674
Central East Anatolia	0.261	0.286	0.31	0.335	0.359	0.384	0.408	0.433	0.457	0.482	0.506	0.535	0.543	0.509	0.58	0.594	0.593	0.595	0.596	0.614
East Black Sea	0.423	0.436	0.449	0.463	0.476	0.489	0.51	0.531	0.553	0.574	0.595	0.614	0.61	0.588	0.646	0.662	0.66	0.664	0.662	0.679
East Marmara	0.492	0.494	0.496	0.498	0.5	0.502	0.524	0.546	0.569	0.591	0.613	0.636	0.638	0.656	0.732	0.74	0.732	0.732	0.732	0.744
Istanbul	0.517	0.516	0.515	0.514	0.513	0.512	0.531	0.549	0.568	0.586	0.605	0.625	0.626	0.665	0.648	0.666	0.666	0.672	0.671	0.688
Mediterranean	0.43	0.438	0.447	0.455	0.464	0.472	0.494	0.517	0.539	0.562	0.584	0.608	0.61	0.618	0.613	0.628	0.626	0.631	0.63	0.647
North East Anatolia	0.306	0.329	0.351	0.374	0.396	0.419	0.44	0.461	0.483	0.504	0.525	0.544	0.548	0.485	0.619	0.653	0.669	0.675	0.676	0.694
South East Anatolia	0.246	0.271	0.295	0.32	0.344	0.369	0.396	0.424	0.451	0.479	0.506	0.53	0.536	0.491	0.56	0.576	0.574	0.579	0.579	0.592
West Anatolia	0.546	0.542	0.538	0.534	0.53	0.526	0.547	0.569	0.59	0.612	0.633	0.661	0.667	0.723	0.664	0.677	0.672	0.677	0.676	0.694
West Black Sea	0.424	0.435	0.447	0.458	0.47	0.481	0.505	0.528	0.552	0.575	0.599	0.625	0.631	0.624	0.631	0.649	0.647	0.653	0.655	0.671
West Marmara	0.507	0.505	0.503	0.501	0.499	0.497	0.519	0.54	0.562	0.583	0.605	0.64	0.653	0.694	0.659	0.672	0.667	0.673	0.673	0.691
Educational index males																				
Total	**0.564**	**0.57**	**0.577**	**0.583**	**0.59**	**0.596**	**0.611**	**0.626**	**0.641**	**0.656**	**0.671**	**0.694**	**0.701**	**0.706**	**0.721**	**0.732**	**0.724**	**0.738**	**0.749**	**0.775**
Aegean	0.577	0.581	0.584	0.588	0.591	0.595	0.611	0.627	0.643	0.659	0.675	0.691	0.689	0.685	0.705	0.719	0.711	0.727	0.739	0.763
Central Anatolia	0.566	0.572	0.578	0.585	0.591	0.597	0.612	0.627	0.643	0.658	0.673	0.694	0.704	0.706	0.719	0.731	0.72	0.736	0.747	0.773
Central East Anatolia	0.469	0.487	0.505	0.522	0.54	0.558	0.571	0.584	0.596	0.609	0.622	0.646	0.649	0.63	0.664	0.669	0.657	0.671	0.68	0.709
East Black Sea	0.576	0.583	0.59	0.596	0.603	0.61	0.624	0.637	0.651	0.664	0.678	0.702	0.701	0.699	0.72	0.735	0.727	0.739	0.748	0.773
East Marmara	0.617	0.618	0.618	0.619	0.619	0.62	0.632	0.644	0.657	0.669	0.681	0.705	0.711	0.72	0.795	0.797	0.78	0.783	0.783	0.805
Istanbul	0.595	0.601	0.607	0.612	0.618	0.624	0.637	0.65	0.664	0.677	0.69	0.715	0.724	0.739	0.706	0.718	0.71	0.724	0.736	0.759

Turkey's **Gender Equality** Performance from 2000 to 2019

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Mediterranean	0.562	0.566	0.57	0.574	0.578	0.582	0.596	0.61	0.625	0.639	0.653	0.679	0.686	0.678	0.689	0.701	0.693	0.705	0.716	0.742
North East Anatolia	0.487	0.505	0.523	0.54	0.558	0.576	0.588	0.601	0.613	0.626	0.638	0.663	0.68	0.652	0.688	0.708	0.707	0.724	0.733	0.76
South East Anatolia	0.465	0.479	0.494	0.508	0.523	0.537	0.555	0.573	0.592	0.61	0.628	0.649	0.65	0.638	0.639	0.648	0.64	0.651	0.658	0.681
West Anatolia	0.656	0.652	0.649	0.645	0.642	0.638	0.657	0.676	0.694	0.713	0.732	0.759	0.767	0.801	0.729	0.737	0.722	0.735	0.745	0.773
West Black Sea	0.56	0.567	0.575	0.582	0.59	0.597	0.612	0.627	0.642	0.657	0.672	0.698	0.706	0.707	0.706	0.721	0.717	0.733	0.744	0.769
West Marmara	0.572	0.58	0.588	0.596	0.604	0.612	0.629	0.645	0.662	0.678	0.695	0.726	0.738	0.747	0.722	0.732	0.723	0.738	0.75	0.776
Income index females																				
Total	0.635	0.638	0.641	0.644	0.647	0.65	0.663	0.676	0.69	0.703	0.716	0.733	0.741	0.752	0.756	0.766	0.771	0.781	0.784	0.783
Aegean	0.63	0.634	0.638	0.641	0.645	0.649	0.662	0.675	0.688	0.701	0.714	0.732	0.739	0.748	0.751	0.758	0.766	0.778	0.783	0.781
Central Anatolia	0.599	0.599	0.599	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.614	0.628	0.643	0.657	0.671	0.688	0.695	0.746	0.709	0.721	0.725	0.732	0.732	0.732
Central East Anatolia	0.564	0.557	0.55	0.544	0.537	0.53	0.545	0.56	0.574	0.589	0.604	0.62	0.634	0.738	0.64	0.648	0.656	0.667	0.664	0.668
East Black Sea	0.601	0.599	0.596	0.594	0.591	0.589	0.603	0.617	0.632	0.646	0.66	0.674	0.683	0.725	0.694	0.714	0.708	0.715	0.711	0.717
East Marmara	0.667	0.671	0.674	0.678	0.681	0.685	0.697	0.709	0.72	0.732	0.744	0.765	0.77	0.756	0.785	0.794	0.797	0.811	0.819	0.81
Istanbul	0.685	0.695	0.704	0.714	0.723	0.733	0.745	0.757	0.768	0.78	0.792	0.81	0.819	0.774	0.837	0.847	0.852	0.864	0.868	0.867
Mediterranean	0.623	0.622	0.621	0.621	0.62	0.619	0.632	0.646	0.659	0.673	0.686	0.701	0.708	0.746	0.721	0.729	0.731	0.74	0.747	0.75
North East Anatolia	0.584	0.574	0.564	0.555	0.545	0.535	0.553	0.571	0.589	0.607	0.625	0.635	0.648	0.712	0.654	0.665	0.676	0.685	0.681	0.685
South East Anatolia	0.595	0.584	0.572	0.561	0.549	0.538	0.551	0.565	0.578	0.592	0.605	0.621	0.63	0.732	0.646	0.657	0.659	0.671	0.669	0.669
West Anatolia	0.662	0.666	0.67	0.673	0.677	0.681	0.694	0.708	0.721	0.735	0.748	0.765	0.772	0.765	0.788	0.795	0.803	0.809	0.807	0.811
West Black Sea	0.627	0.619	0.61	0.602	0.593	0.585	0.6	0.615	0.631	0.646	0.661	0.677	0.682	0.747	0.696	0.706	0.711	0.719	0.715	0.713
West Marmara	0.611	0.621	0.631	0.641	0.651	0.661	0.674	0.687	0.701	0.714	0.727	0.741	0.747	0.744	0.758	0.766	0.774	0.785	0.79	0.79
Income index males																				
Total	0.828	0.834	0.839	0.845	0.85	0.856	0.856	0.855	0.855	0.854	0.854	0.866	0.87	0.879	0.884	0.889	0.89	0.897	0.897	0.897
Aegean	0.822	0.829	0.835	0.842	0.848	0.855	0.855	0.854	0.854	0.853	0.853	0.865	0.867	0.874	0.879	0.88	0.884	0.893	0.897	0.894
Central Anatolia	0.787	0.789	0.791	0.794	0.796	0.798	0.799	0.801	0.802	0.804	0.805	0.817	0.819	0.873	0.833	0.84	0.841	0.844	0.841	0.841
Central East Anatolia	0.746	0.74	0.734	0.729	0.723	0.717	0.72	0.723	0.725	0.728	0.731	0.743	0.754	0.864	0.757	0.76	0.766	0.774	0.769	0.773
East Black Sea	0.789	0.788	0.788	0.787	0.787	0.786	0.787	0.789	0.79	0.792	0.793	0.802	0.807	0.85	0.817	0.833	0.822	0.826	0.819	0.825
East Marmara	0.864	0.87	0.877	0.883	0.89	0.896	0.894	0.892	0.889	0.887	0.885	0.901	0.901	0.883	0.916	0.92	0.918	0.929	0.935	0.925
Istanbul	0.885	0.898	0.911	0.925	0.938	0.951	0.948	0.946	0.943	0.941	0.938	0.951	0.955	0.902	0.972	0.977	0.977	0.986	0.988	0.986
Mediterranean	0.815	0.816	0.817	0.818	0.819	0.82	0.82	0.821	0.821	0.822	0.822	0.831	0.834	0.872	0.846	0.849	0.846	0.852	0.858	0.86
North East Anatolia	0.769	0.76	0.751	0.742	0.733	0.724	0.73	0.736	0.743	0.749	0.755	0.76	0.769	0.835	0.772	0.78	0.788	0.793	0.786	0.791
South East Anatolia	0.783	0.772	0.761	0.749	0.738	0.727	0.728	0.729	0.731	0.732	0.733	0.744	0.749	0.857	0.764	0.771	0.769	0.778	0.774	0.774
West Anatolia	0.858	0.865	0.871	0.878	0.884	0.891	0.891	0.891	0.89	0.89	0.89	0.901	0.903	0.893	0.918	0.92	0.925	0.926	0.922	0.926
West Black Sea	0.819	0.811	0.804	0.796	0.789	0.781	0.784	0.786	0.789	0.791	0.794	0.805	0.806	0.873	0.819	0.824	0.825	0.829	0.823	0.82
West Marmara	0.801	0.815	0.828	0.842	0.855	0.869	0.869	0.868	0.868	0.867	0.867	0.875	0.876	0.87	0.887	0.889	0.893	0.9	0.904	0.904

Source: Global Data Lab (https://globaldatalab.org/shdi/)

Table A4. Gender equality monitoring indicators in education

CEİD Education Indicators	Indicator	Data Source
1	Rates of female and male illiteracy in population 15 years and older (%)	TÜİK National Education Statistics
2	Net school enrolment according to sex and educational level (primary and secondary school and secondary education) (%)	MEB Statistics
3	Proportion of boys and girls benefiting from public and private education institutions at all levels (general (%)	MEB Statistics
4	Proportion of boys and girls attending secondary education according to programs (general secondary education, vocational- technical education, religious education) (%)	MEB Statistics
5	Proportion of boys and girls attending vocational and technical education according to school type (public and private education institutions) (%)	MEB Statistics
6	Sex ratio by level of education in distant education high schools (secondary school, general secondary and religious secondary education and higher education) (%)	MEB Statistics /YÖK Statistics
7	Sex ratio in higher education (upper secondary, undergraduate, postgraduate, doctorate) (%)	YÖK Statistics
8	Sex ratio in non-formal education institutions (official and private non-formal education institutions) (%)	MEB Statistics
9	Sex ratio of teachers in basic formal education institutions (pre-primary, primary, secondary school, secondary general education and vocational-technical education) (%)	MEB Statistics
10	Proportion of boys and girls in primary and secondary education benefitting from scholarships (%)	MEB Statistics
11	Capacity of hostels for female and male students belonging to Higher Education Credit and Hostels Institutions (number)	YÖK Statistics
Source: CEİD, Türkiye'de Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliğini İzleme Raporu 2019-2020 (2021)		

Table A5. Gender equality monitoring indicators in health

CEİD Health Indicators	Indicator	Data Source
1	Life expectancy at birth (years)	Turkstat -Life Tables
2	Satisfaction with overall health status by gender (satisfied, very satisfied) (%)	Turkstat- Life Satisfaction Survey
3	Low physical activity rate by gender (%)	Turkstat
4	Usage of tobacco and tobacco products for ages 15 + by gender (%)	Turkstat
5	Obesity rate for ages 15 + by gender (%)	Turkstat
6	Incidence rate of 10 most common cancer types by gender (in 100,000. According to World Standard Population)	SB-HSGM (Ministry of Health- General Directorate of Public Health)
7	Proportion of women who have never performed breast self-examination for ages 15 + (%)	SB-2018 Annual Report/ Turkstat
8	Proportion of women who have never had cervical screening for ages 15 + (%)	SB-2018 Annual Report
9	Proportion of caesarean births in all hospital deliveries (%)	SB-HSGM
10	Maternal mortality rate (in 100,000 live births)	SB-HSGM
11	Mortality due to pregnancy-related causes (%)	SB-HSGM
12	Adolescent (Age 15-19) motherhood rate (%)	HÜNEE (Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies) -TDHS
13	Rate of receiving four or more antenatal care services (Age group 15-49, married women or women with partners) (%)	2018-TDHS
14	Rate of receiving postnatal care (Age group 15-49, married women or women with partners) (%)	2018-TDHS
15	Rate of unmet need for contraceptive use (Age group 15-49, married women or women with partners)	2018-TDHS
Source: CEİD, Türkiye'de Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliğini İzleme Raporu 2019-2020 (2021)		

Table A6. Indicators for Monitoring Gender Equality in Participation to Decision Making

CEİD Political Participation Indicators	Indicator	Data Source
1	Proportion women/men in deputies elected to the national parliament	TÜİK Statistics
2	Proportion women/men among mayors	EIGE, TÜİK, KSGM, Women's organizations
3	Proportion women/men in membership to municipal and provincial councils	EIGE, TÜİK, KSGM, Women's organizations
4	Proportion women/men in top level leaders of major political parties	Women's organizations, Web sites of political parties
5	Proportion of women nominated from the lists of political parties participating to elections	Women's organizations, Web sites of political parties
6	Proportion of women elected from the lists of political parties participating to elections	EIGE, TÜİK, KSGM, Women's organizations,
7	Proportion women/ men in public employees and top level public administration	State Personnel Department data
8	Proportion women/ men in officials exercising state authority (police, general, diplomat, magistrate, governor, etc.)	State Personnel Department data
9	Proportion women/ men in specialized professions in public administration (architect, engineer, doctor, lawyer, inspector, supervisor, banking, etc.)	State Personnel Department data
10	Proportion women/men in national courts and supreme judiciary organs	Data from State Personnel Department and Council of Judges and Prosecutors (HSK)
11	Proportion women/men in presidents of state and foundation universities active under the YÖK	YÖK statistics
12	Proportion women/men in Central Bank management and in companies marketing equities in BİSK (İstanbul Stock Exchange)	BİST and Central Bank data
13	Proportion women/men in top level management boards of workers' and employees' unions, federations and confederations	Ministry of Labor and Social Security) data

Source: CEİD, Türkiye'de Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliğini İzleme Raporu 2019-2020 (2021)

Table A7. Indicators for Monitoring Gender Equality in Employment

CEİD Employment Indicators	Indicator	Data Source
1	Number of people out of labor force and its rate by sex (%)	TUIK Household Labor Force Survey
2	Number and rate of remaining out of labor force by reasons (no hope in finding job/not looking for job but ready to work / engaged in household work / still in education and training / retired) (%)	TUIK Household Labor Force Survey
3	Number and rate of employment by sex (%)	TUIK Household Labor Force Survey
4	Share of employment (in agriculture/ non-agricultural / in unregistered in agriculture / in unregistered non-agricultural / wage earner / self-employed / employer / unpaid family worker / part time employment) (%)	TUIK Household Labor Force Survey
5	Rate of trade union members by sex (%)	Ministry of Labor and Social Security) data
6	Daily working hours of employees by sex (paid and unpaid) (hour / day)	TUIK- Time Use Survey
7	Number and rate of young people neither in education nor employment by sex (15-24 age)(%)	TUIK Household Labor Force Survey
8	Number of unemployed and rate of unemployment (out of agriculture / broadly defined / unemployed for a year or longer) (%)	TUIK Household Labor Force Survey
9	Number those placed in jobs and their percentage in total number of unemployed persons (İŞKUR records) (%)	İŞKUR – Employment Agency
10	Total annual earnings from employment gap by sex and education status (%)	TUIK-SILC Database

Source: CEİD, Türkiye'de Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliğini İzleme Raporu 2019-2020 (2021)

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