

NATIONAL GENDER PROFILE
OF AGRICULTURAL AND
RURAL LIVELIHOODS
TURKEY

Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations

Ankara, 2016

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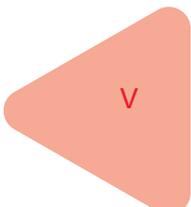
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Preface

This National Gender Profile for Turkey was written by Elisabeth Duban under the guidance of Dono Abdurazakova, Gender and Social Protection Specialist, and Giorgi Kvinikadze, Statistician, of the FAO Regional Office for Europe and Central Asia (REU). Ayse Idil Aybars, Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology at the Middle East Technical University, made important contributions to this report in the form of research and analysis, and her work has been incorporated in the final version. This gender profile has also benefitted from the logistical and organizational support provided by Gözde Ulug Ata, in particular in her role as a liaison with the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock.

This National Gender Profile was prepared under the “Strengthening national capacities for production and analysis of sex-disaggregated data through the implementation of the FAO Gender and Agriculture Framework (GASF)” project, funded by the FAO / Turkey Partnership Programme (FTPP). The overall objectives of the project were to assist beneficiary countries in developing gender-sensitive and sex-disaggregated datasets on the agricultural and rural sector, to assess the current status of the rural population – both women and men – and to ensure evidence-based and informed policy-making processes.

Within the scope of this project, expert meetings and a workshop organized jointly by FAO REU and the FAO Sub-regional Office for Central Asia (SEC), were conducted in Ankara in 2014 and 2016. The meetings included discussions on existing indicators and data sources that could be used to generate gender statistics, as well as critical data gaps relevant to gender and agriculture.

Special thanks are extended to participants of a validation workshop held in Ankara on 06 March 2016 who provided feedback on an earlier draft of this report. The recommendations made by the group of experts, both data producers and data users, were addressed as comprehensively as possible in the final draft. In addition, the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock and the Turkish Statistical Institute both provided data for inclusion in this national gender profile. All such contributions are greatly appreciated.



1. INTRODUCTION

The Republic of Turkey (Turkey) is a geographically diverse country with a land area of 780 043 square kilometres and 8 333 kilometres of coastline. Turkey spans both Europe and Asia, with approximately three percent of the country located in Southeast Europe (Thrace, or the area west of the Bosphorus) and the majority in Anatolia (Southwest Asia). Most of the country's population of just under 80 million people lives in province and district centres (only 7.9 percent of the population lives in towns and villages).¹ Turkey is experiencing intensive urbanization, and between 1950 and 2010 the share of the population living in cities increased from 25 percent to 76 percent.² Such growth in the urban population has put strains on local housing, services and the labour market and has also resulted in the growth of unplanned settlements around urban areas. The rate of urbanization differs from region to region: the West is the most densely populated and industrialized part of the country; and provinces in the South, Central and Eastern regions are characterized by smaller-scale industrial production and agriculture, including animal husbandry.

Historically, agriculture was one of the most important contributors to Turkey's economy in terms of employment and gross domestic product (GDP). In recent decades, however, industry and services have become more significant economic drivers. In 1968, agriculture accounted for a third of the country's GDP, compared with around eight percent of GDP today.³ However, the agricultural sector continues to provide just under a quarter of all employment (with seasonal variations of 18 to 22 percent),⁴ and most forms of rural employment. For rural women, agriculture is virtually the only type of employment. The combined sectors of agriculture, forestry and fisheries make a larger contribution to Turkey's gross value added (GVA - 7.1 percent in 2014) than they do for comparable countries (for example, the average is 1.6 percent for the European Union members).⁵

In today's global market, Turkey is estimated to be the seventh largest agricultural producer⁶ and key export crops include cotton, tobacco, citrus, grapes, figs, hazelnuts and pistachios. Turkey's exports of food, live animals, drinks and tobacco were valued at around 11 billion Euros in 2014 and were considerably greater than those from any other European Union enlargement country.⁷ Due to its agricultural production, Turkey is also largely food self-sufficient. The country grows several crops principally for domestic consumption (for example, wheat, barley, sugar beets, potatoes, leguminous plants and rice).⁸

Turkey's favourable climate, arable lands and fresh water supply, as well as its large labour force, mean that there are opportunities to further expand the country's agriculture sector. While the majority of farming enterprises are small-sized holdings and family farms, the government of Turkey aims to increase competitiveness of the agricultural sector by encouraging growth and investment in agribusiness subsectors, with an emphasis on industries such as fruit and vegetable processing, production of dairy products, animal feed, livestock and poultry, as well as cold chain construction and operation.⁹

Turkey has made important progress in meeting the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), especially in terms of eliminating extreme poverty. However, poverty persists in rural households, many of which depend on subsistence farming. The critical issues for Turkey's rural areas are: the lower standard of living; unemployment, due in part to the lower levels of education and skills of the rural workforce; inadequately maintained physical, cultural and social infrastructure; a lack of efficient farmer organizations; the limited diversification of agricultural and non-agricultural income-generating activities; low incomes; and increasing internal migration from rural areas fuelled by growth in the industrial and service sectors.¹⁰

The government of Turkey has long recognized the importance of increasing agricultural productivity and improving the living and working conditions of rural populations, as seen in the ten successive national-level development plans adopted since the early 1960s. Over time, the national development plans have also become increasingly gender sensitive and have evolved from a focus on isolated issues that concern women (for example, reproductive health, literacy and family issues) to a more integrated approach that envisions improving

1 Data provided by TurkStat. Population of province / district centers and towns / villages, by years and sex, 1927-2015.

2 Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies. 2014. Turkey Demographic and Health Survey 2013. Ankara. p. 8.

3 TurkStat. Gross Domestic Product in Constant Prices by Kind of Economic Activity. (available at http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?alt_id=1105). [accessed May 2016].

4 TurkStat. Economic Activity by Years. (available at http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?alt_id=1007). [accessed May 2016].

5 Eurostat. no date (a). Enlargement countries – agriculture, forestry and fishing statistics. (available at http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Enlargement_countries_-_agriculture,_forestry_and_fishing_statistics).

6 OECD. 2011. Evaluation of Agricultural Policy Reforms in Turkey. Paris. (available at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264113220-en>). p. 9.

7 Eurostat. no date (a). Enlargement countries – agriculture, forestry and fishing statistics. (available at http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Enlargement_countries_-_agriculture,_forestry_and_fishing_statistics).

8 Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, 2014, p. 5.

9 See for example, Prime Ministry. 2014. Agriculture and Food Industry Report. (available at <http://www.invest.gov.tr/en-US/infocenter/publications/Documents/FOOD.AND.AGRICULTURE.INDUSTRY.pdf>).

10 OECD, 2011, p. 58.

gender equality across multiple dimensions. However, Turkey's current national development plan for 2014-2018 addresses agriculture, food and rural development. Improving the status of women remain separate priority areas and the plan does not include cross-cutting goals for gender equality in the agricultural sphere or address the needs of rural women in particular. The Turkish government does, however, take a gender mainstreaming approach to policy-making in which gender equality goals are articulated in a stand-alone Gender Equality National Action Plan (2008-2013), which is implemented jointly by various line ministries, government agencies, academic institutions and other organizations. Gender is also incorporated in government planning at the sectoral level through ministerial action plans. While the strategic and policy framework is sound, there are a number of critical gaps where gender disparities in agriculture and rural livelihoods are not adequately reflected in national plans. One of the reasons for these gaps is the lack of clear data that would aid in identifying the barriers to gender equality more precisely, so that they can be reflected in state policy.

A. Gender statistics in Turkey

Gender statistics are unique among data collections because they reflect differences and inequalities in the situation of women and men in all areas of life. The term "gender statistics" refers to data with several important characteristics: (1) they are collected and presented disaggregated by sex; (2) the data reflect particular gender issues; (3) the data are based on concepts and definitions that reflect the diversity of women and men and capture all aspects of their lives; and (4) data collection tools and methods are used that take into account stereotypes and social and cultural factors that may introduce gender bias.¹¹ Gender statistics and sex-disaggregated data are the foundation of inclusive policy-making on rural development and agriculture, because these types of data reveal critical disparities that would otherwise be overlooked.

The Turkish Statistical Institute (TurkStat, the country's national statistics office or NSO)¹² has been producing and disseminating gender statistics since the early 1990s, when the Gender Statistics Division was established within the institute. The Gender Statistics Division operates under the Population and Demography Group within the Department of Social Statistics. The division's responsibilities include, determining relevant gender indicators, compiling data for the indicators, maintaining an online gender statistics database, and providing guidance on gendering household surveys. Currently, the gender indicators dataset consists of 120 indicators organized into 16 topics, primarily related to demographics, health, family life, labour and employment, political participation, time use, gender-based violence and poverty.¹³

The NSO disseminates gender statistics for these indicators through its official website (<http://www.turkstat.gov.tr>) and compiles data in a specialized publication, originally titled Women in Statistics (from 1992) and most recently, Gender Statistics (2014). TurkStat has made the official decision to cease publishing gender statistics in printed compilations from 2016 onwards and will only post gender statistics online. Online publication means that the data can be updated more regularly, but that the statistics will no longer be accompanied by analysis or explanatory text. Furthermore, data users who are not familiar with the structure of the TurkStat website or the full indicator list may have difficulty finding the data that they need, especially as it is not contained in a single webpage. While gender and agricultural production is not a dedicated topic among the set of gender indicators used by the NSO, some relevant sex-disaggregated data is available in other online datasets maintained by TurkStat. In addition to regular data collection against the set of indicators, the NSO has also conducted or provided methodological support for specific surveys with gender themes, for example, on domestic violence (2008 and 2014), time use (2006 and 2014-2015) and life satisfaction (from 2003 to 2015).

Under the National Action Plan on Gender Equality, the NSO is tasked with collecting data for a specific set of indicators and updating the data included in a "Gender Equality Monitor", in order to monitor progress towards benchmarks set out in the plan itself.¹⁴ The gender indicators are collected across a range of issues, including population, health, marriage, family life, education, labour force participation, employment, poverty and violence.

As a candidate country to the European Union (EU), Turkey is required to maintain a statistical infrastructure and to conform to specific methodologies for the production and dissemination of data and statistics (Chapter 18 of the *acquis communautaire*). Within a module on gender and discrimination, guidance produced by Eurostat, the EU statistical office, describes gender statistics as, "an area that cuts across traditional fields of statistics (for instance, education, labour market, earnings and health) to identify, produce and disseminate data reflecting the realities of the lives of women and men."¹⁵ TurkStat cooperates closely with Eurostat and regularly shares data related to indicators on gender and health, education, employment rates and labour activity, and the gender pay

11 FAO. 2014a. E-learning course: Gender in Food and Nutrition Security and Policy and Legislation. Gender Statistics for Informing Policy and Legislation.

12 The Turkish Statistical Institute is also known by the acronym TÜİK.

13 TurkStat. 2015a. Gender Statistics 2014. Ankara. p. iii.

14 Prime Ministry, General Directorate on the Status of Women. 2008. National Action Plan Gender Equality 2008-2013. Ankara. p. 72.

15 Eurostat. 2015. Statistical Requirements Compendium. 201 Edition. Luxembourg. p. 110.

gap.

All EU enlargement countries provide Eurostat with information on a range of statistics for the agriculture, forestry and fishing sectors. In terms of meeting accession conditions, the European Commission identified the lack of statistics and data on agriculture and rural development as a particular area of weakness for Turkey, noting that the, "quality, quantity and completeness of available reliable and comparable official statistics are very limited in many sectors [concerning agriculture and rural development]. This makes a detailed assessment of the current situation in the agriculture sector and comparison with EU policies and structures difficult. ... The progress of negotiations under this chapter will also depend on the availability of consistent and reliable statistics."¹⁶

The production of agricultural statistics is an area of joint responsibility between TurkStat and the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock (MFAL), with inputs from other stakeholders such as the Ministry of Forests and Water Management and the Union of the Chambers of Agriculture of Turkey. As part of the accession process, efforts have been made to improve the collection and reliability of agricultural statistics in Turkey, by fostering cooperation between TurkStat and key data providers and strengthening the capacity of MFAL to produce statistics (for example, a statistics and evaluation department has been established in the ministry and an automated farm data collection system is being expanded to encompass the whole country). However, in 2015, the European Commission found that agricultural statistics continue to require improvement, based on the following issues: that "no agricultural census has been implemented since 2001"; that statistical data are not comprehensive (for example, statistics are available for animal, milk and dairy production but not for wine and olive oil); that the "coverage and availability of the farm registry, agricultural labour index and agricultural production data are in need [of] considerable improvement"; and that "[f]urther work is needed to strengthen the coordination between the NSO and the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock, and revise the strategy for improving agricultural statistics."¹⁷

Given the overall weaknesses in agricultural statistics, in terms of coverage, reliability and accessibility, it is unsurprising that sex-disaggregated data relevant to key indicators in the agricultural sector are missing. Accurate and reliable statistics are critical under the acquis, not only as a requirement in and of themselves, but because they are necessary for monitoring progress towards all other accession criteria, including those related to gender equality / anti-discrimination and agriculture and rural development (Chapter 11 of the acquis communautaire).

B. Scope and methodology of the gender profile

This National Gender Profile has been developed under a regional project to improve the production and analysis of sex-disaggregated data relevant to gender and agriculture. Therefore, the main task of this report is to compile quantitative data in order to shed light on gender disparities in rural settings and the status of rural women across a number of dimensions, with a focus on inequalities in agriculture. Although this report does not cover the full breadth of issues that impact on the lives of rural women, it focuses on the key topics that are most relevant to the FAO mandate. Nevertheless, this gender profile is a collection of data and information from diverse sources, with the aim of providing policy-makers, researchers and activists working with rural communities with a clearer picture of the types and degree of gender inequalities in rural Turkey.

The starting point for this profile was a review of the core set of 18 gender indicators pertaining to agriculture and rural areas that was developed by the FAO Regional Office for Europe and Central Asia in order to standardize data collection and comparison in the region.¹⁸ Initial study revealed that in Turkey there are only partial data available for the core indicators, making it difficult to use the core set as a template for this gender profile. Partial data refers to data that are not disaggregated by sex, are disaggregated only by sex of the household head, or are not cross-tabulated (for example, by both sex and another variable such as rural or urban residence). In drafting this report, therefore, the most recent and relevant official data sources were given priority, and the data were analysed as thoroughly as possible to shed light on the main gender inequalities in agriculture and concerning rural livelihoods. This gender profile relies on the most recently available quantitative information and survey data compiled by the NSO and MFAL.

Where relevant, qualitative studies and data collected through small-scale surveys (most of which are conducted by academic institutions or non-governmental organisations (NGOs)), are used to supplement official statistics.

¹⁶ European Commission. 2006. Screening report Turkey. Chapter 11 – Agriculture and Rural Development. Brussels. p. 14.

¹⁷ European Commission. 2015. Commission Staff Working Document. Turkey 2015 Report. Brussels. p. 51.

¹⁸ The Core Set of Gender Indicators in Agriculture can be accessed from the FAO website, available at <http://www.fao.org/europe/resources/e>.

Note that due to variations in methodology, sample size, locations and the years when surveys were conducted, most of the data are not directly comparable. When information is combined in this gender profile, it is for the purposes of drawing general conclusions.

The methodology adopted for this research project also included a validation workshop, conducted in Ankara on 06 March 2016, during which experts commented on a draft version of the present report. The group of reviewers consisted of both data producers and data user stakeholders, such as statisticians from the NSO, representatives of MFAL (departments of training and extension services and on women in rural areas), the Ministry of Family and Social Policy, the Ministry of Development, the Turkish Agricultural Chamber, academicians, representatives of international development organizations and gender experts from civil society organizations that support projects dedicated to rural women. In addition to providing recommendations on the scope of the national gender profile, the participants offered a number of specific suggestions and insights. The information has been incorporated into the final version of the report.

C. Overview of data sources

Producing gender statistics relevant to agriculture and rural livelihoods in Turkey is made more complex because existing datasets are generally limited to data disaggregated by sex, by sex of the household head or by urban and rural location, but all three factors are seldom cross-tabulated. While the NSO produces gender statistics for a number of indicators, only a few are directly relevant to agriculture. Other databases, such as those maintained by MFAL, are potential sources of statistics about women and men in agriculture, but these data sources have either not been fully analysed or are not accessible outside of the agency that produces them.

Household surveys have proved to be the most useful data sources for developing a picture of rural life in Turkey. These surveys generally include data disaggregated by both sex and rural and urban location. Some proxy information can be used to illuminate the particular circumstances of women (for example, data about female-headed households), but it is not as definitive as data collected about women as individuals (for example, women farmers and business owners).

Importantly, TurkStat has not been producing data disaggregated by rural and urban location since 2012, when a law was passed that created new administrative divisions and abolished the legal identity of villages by attaching them to metropolitan municipalities and districts (see Part 11, section C of this report for a fuller discussion of the impact of the law on demographic data). This means that there is no recent data on rural livelihoods and that it is not currently possible to construct a comprehensive picture on the basis of rural and urban location.

Turkey's last agricultural census was conducted in 2001¹⁹, and so it is likely that the data no longer reflect the real conditions of male and female farmers today. Surveys of the fisheries and forestry sectors were conducted more recently, but they contain very limited sex-disaggregated data (about employment). Currently, work is under way within MFAL to implement a new national system of registration: TÜKAS (Tarımsal Üretim Kayıt Sistemi – Agricultural Production Registration System), which is an updated version of the Farmer Registration System (Çiftçi Kayıt Sistemi – ÇKS). TÜKAS constitutes an important part of fulfilling EU accession criteria. It aims to develop an updated framework of all agricultural holders by registering their identity, address and agricultural activities (including land, machinery-equipment, livestock, crop production and beekeeping) within a single database. The system will obtain and update the basic variables of agricultural enterprises on a yearly basis, and include those holdings which are engaged in agricultural production but are not registered under ÇKS. All existing databases and information systems will be attached to the new system and will therefore become integrated. Only currently available data are reproduced in this report, as the system is not yet complete and fully functioning. In 2014, MFAL estimated that around 80 percent of farms were included in the system, and registration has continued since then. MFAL also maintains a number of other agricultural registration systems which could potentially serve as databases for gender statistics if they record the sex of the holder / producer. MFAL provided available sex-disaggregated data from several of these registries for this report.²⁰

Official records from other institutions could also be used to generate data about women and men involved in farming, such as land registry records or records from banks and microfinance institutions on loans taken for agricultural purposes. However, such data were not found when preparing the gender profile. The data sources that were consulted for the gender profile, as well as other potentially useful sources, are listed below along with a description and brief summary of their limitations.

¹⁹ Agricultural data has been collected in Turkey through three General Agricultural Censuses (1927, 1950, 1991) and five Agricultural Surveys (1950, 1963, 1970, 1980, 1991).

²⁰ Other MFAL registries are dedicated to milk production, greenhouse farming, organic farming and vineyards.

Table 1. Data Sources

Data source	Description
NSO Databases	Gender Statistics (2014) publication, as well as statistics on: population, time use, health, economic activity and living conditions, among others; data for rural areas available up to 2013.
Turkey Demographic and Health Survey (2013)	Household survey for monitoring the population and health situation (including household characteristics, maternal health and women's status), disaggregated by rural / urban residence.
Research on Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey (2015)	Household survey on domestic violence; includes data on the background characteristics of women, disaggregated by rural / urban residence.
General Agricultural Census (2001)	Conducted by TurkStat. Some sex-disaggregated data included. Census planned for 2014 but no data currently available. ²¹
Agricultural Holdings (Household) Wage Structure Survey	Conducted annually by TurkStat; includes sex-disaggregated data.
Agricultural Holdings Structure Survey (2006)	Conducted by TurkStat. EU requirement to conduct this survey every three years. Only 2006 survey data found; includes limited sex-disaggregated data.
Fishery Statistics (2013)	Survey conducted in 2014, with sex-disaggregated data for fishery workers only.
Forestry Statistics (2012)	Data compiled by the Ministry of Forestry and Water Affairs; no sex-disaggregated data.
Agricultural Production Registration System (TÜKAS)	MFAL database of all agricultural enterprises; in the process of being fully implemented. Data are disaggregated by sex.
Turkish Veterinary Information System (TÜRKVET)	MFAL database and registry of cattle. Data on cattle ownership are collected by the provincial directorates of MFAL. Data on cattle owners are disaggregated by sex and shared with TurkStat.
Sheep and Goat Registration System (KKKS)	MFAL database and registry of sheep and goats. Data on livestock ownership are collected by the provincial directorates of MFAL. Data on livestock owners are disaggregated by sex and shared with TurkStat.
Beekeeping Registration System	MFAL database with data on enterprises / producers with more than 30 hives. Data collected at the provincial level, and disaggregated by sex.

²¹ See Official Statistics Portal. 5.2 Agricultural Structure Statistics. (available at <http://www.officialstatistics.gov.tr/?q=en/node/101>).

II. COUNTRY OVERVIEW

For the purposes of national statistics, Turkey is divided into 12 statistical regions: Istanbul (TR1), Marmara (West - TR2 and East - TR4), Aegean (TR3), Mediterranean (TR6), Anatolia (West - TR5, Northeast - TRA, Central - TR7, Central east - TRB and Southeast - TRC), and Black Sea (West - TR8 and East - TR9). The regions vary considerably in terms of socio-economic development: the Marmara region (which encompasses Istanbul) is the most developed, and the Eastern Anatolia region is the least developed. Administratively, the country is subdivided into 81 provinces. Each province is further divided into districts (ilçe), subdivisions (bucak), and villages (köy). TurkStat collects some data at the provincial level.

Map. Administrative Divisions of Turkey



Source: Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division.

In order to assess the gender differences in agriculture and rural development more effectively, it is useful to consider how Turkey fares generally in terms of gender equality and human development. The Gender Inequality Index (GII), a measure used by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), indicates that Turkey experiences a loss in potential human development equivalent to 36 percent, due to disparities between female and male achievements, empowerment and economic status (calculated as a GII value of 0.359, where zero indicates full equality and a value of 1.00 represents the highest level of inequalities).²² The GII is based on indicators in reproductive health, literacy, political representation and labour market participation, but it does not take into account other important dimensions, such as the tendency for women to work in informal and unpaid labour, including agricultural work. Nevertheless, the most recent GII values indicate that Turkey has more positive outcomes in some dimensions (notably maternal health) than the average for the European and Central Asian regions combined, as well as for Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan specifically (the two other countries included in this FAO / Turkey partnership project). In contrast, however, female political participation, average secondary education levels for both women and men, and female labour force participation rates are considerably lower in Turkey than for the region as a whole, and the Central Asian countries in particular (see Table 2, below). Some of these topics are discussed in more detail in the context of human development in this report.

²² UNDP. 2015. Human Development Report 2015, Work for Human Development. New York. p. 225.

Table 2. Gender Inequality Index Values for Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Turkey (2014)

	2014 GII Value	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 some secondary education (% ages 25 and over)		Labour force participation rate (% ages 15 and over)	
					F	M	F	M
Kyrgyzstan	0.353	75	29.3	23.3	94.5	96.8	56.0	79.5
Tajikistan	0.357	44	42.8	15.2	95.1	91.2	58.9	77.1
Turkey	0.359	20	30.9	14.4	39.0	60.0	29.4	70.8
Europe and Central Asia	0.300	28	30.8	19.0	70.8	80.6	45.6	70.0

Source: UNDP, 2015, Statistical Annex, Table 5: Gender Inequality Index. pp. 224–227.

The UNDP Human Development Report for 2015 is devoted to the theme of how work can enhance human development. The report notes that there are critical connections between education levels and employment in agriculture (globally, workers who lack technical skills are pushed into agricultural work).²³ UNDP also points out that while agriculture has declined in importance within economies around the world, the importance of agriculture to individual workers in terms of employment opportunities remains high. In all regions, the female share of the agricultural labour force has either remained static or has increased over the last 20 years due to a range of factors, including male migration to seek better employment.²⁴ Addressing gender imbalances in paid and unpaid work, and women's exposure to vulnerable employment in agriculture, are significant issues for Turkey and are critical to sustainable development within the country.

A. Historical context

A full overview of Turkey's recent history is beyond the scope of this national gender profile, but a review of the events that have particular significance to the topics of gender equality and rural and agricultural development is included here.

In the last decade, Turkey's preparation for accession to the European Union (EU) has had an important influence on Turkey's gender equality policies and reform measures, but the movement to advance women's rights actually began in the early days of the Turkish Republic.²⁵ Since the establishment of the Republic in 1923, gender equality has been a central theme in public debates, and addressing women's rights was seen as a core part of the country's modernization process. Turkish women gained their political rights as early as the 1930s, and gender equality in public life was promoted as an important element of the democratic development of the country. However, gender inequality in the private domain persisted and was largely left untouched by public debate. Differences in women's roles in the public and private spheres are reflected in a sharp division of labour between women and men, as well as issues such as low female participation in education and the labour force, violence against women, and women's significantly low levels of participation in decision-making processes and political life.

Turkey opened negotiations with the EU on accession in 2005, and this process constituted an important step in bringing gender equality to the public agenda and in triggering significant legal reforms. However, the country had already begun to adopt EU accession criteria several years earlier. Turkey is a party to international conventions that outline fundamental human rights relevant to gender equality, such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the European Convention on Human Rights, and has been a member of the Council of Europe (CoE) since 1949. Turkey was the first country to ratify the CoE Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence (also known by its short name, the Istanbul Convention) in 2011.

²³ Ibid. p. 64.

²⁴ Ibid. p. 113.

²⁵ European Parliament. Directorate-General for Internal Policies. 2012. Gender Equality in Turkey. Brussels. p. 4.

With the adoption of the EU acquis, the main areas of reform in Turkey concerning gender equality have been the harmonization of core legal documents, the development of a national machinery to address gender issues, and the adoption of gender mainstreaming in state policy-making. The country's accession process has been particularly effective in the amendment of fundamental laws pertaining to gender equality. Constitutional amendments (2001, 2004 and 2010), as well as the adoption of a new Civil Code (2001) and Penal Code (2004) constituted important steps in terms of the legal recognition and protection of gender equality. Other reform efforts have concentrated on improving the lives of women in several thematic areas, namely improving gender equality in the family (with attention to civil rights and issues such as early and forced marriage), eliminating gender-based violence (particularly domestic violence and honour killings, and including legal reform, social sector improvements and supporting research), access to decision-making positions and political representation, girls' enrolment in education and vocational training, and increasing women's employment opportunities. While gender equality in the agricultural sector has not been a particular priority, rural women do benefit from many programmes and projects that have been implemented in the above thematic areas.

Experts note that while new legislation has been adopted and laws passed, implementation of the law remains problematic. Furthermore, there has been criticism that more specific attention needs to be devoted to improving the rights of women in Turkey's less developed regions, and especially in terms of increasing the social inclusion and empowerment of rural women.²⁶

Although Turkey is a major global food producer and exporter, agriculture remains predominantly based on a family production model characterized by small-scale producers or subsistence production. As an illustration, Turkey has a very large area of cultivated agricultural land (around 39 million hectares); which constitutes the largest proportion of utilised agricultural land of any EU enlargement country.²⁷ However, the average farm size in Turkey is estimated to be only 5.9 hectares, which is lower than the average for the EU as a whole (14.2 hectares), and considerably less than countries such as Germany and France, where the majority of farms are larger than 20 hectares.²⁸ This particular production model of family farms relies on unpaid family labourers, of which a large proportion are women.

B. National policy context

There has been an active women's movement in Turkey since the early years of the 20th century, and the movement gained momentum with the ratification of key human rights documents and the establishment of a national mechanism for the advancement of women in the form of the General Directorate on the Status of Women (KSGM) in 1990. The KSGM was originally situated within the structure of the Prime Minister's Office but was moved under the structure of the Ministry of Family and Social Policies in 2011. Its primary functions include policy-making, formulating strategies, promoting inter-institutional cooperation and awareness-raising, as well as providing preventive and protective services in the general areas of women's human rights, strengthening women's position in economic, social, cultural and political life, and ensuring equal rights and opportunities for women.

The KSGM collaborates with other public bodies, academic institutions, trade unions, the media, civil society and international organizations. Other gender equality institutions include the Equal Opportunities Commission for Women and Men in the Turkish Parliament, which was established in 2009, and the Ombudsman's Institution (which includes a special supervisor on women's and children's rights).²⁹ The Human Rights and Equality Institution of Turkey, which was established in April 2016, aims to promote and protect human rights and to guarantee the principle of equal treatment on several grounds, including gender. The Ministry of Family and Social Policies, which replaced the State Ministry Responsible for Women in 2011, also has among its tasks the promotion of equal opportunities and the prevention of discrimination against women. Many executive offices at ministerial level have units dedicated to gender policy. Of particular relevance to this national gender profile, MFAL has a working group on women's services in rural areas and a Department on Female Farmers. Both the Ministry of Development and the Ministry of Labour and Social Security have gender equality units.³⁰ TurkStat's gender team is also considered part of the national structure to promote gender equality. Provincial and district authorities implement gender policy at the local level through the provincial representation of ministries; for example, the Prime Ministry Presidency of South-Eastern Anatolia Region Development Administration operates Multi-Purpose Community Centres for women.³¹

²⁶ European Parliament Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality. 2012. Report on a 2020 Perspective for Women in Turkey. A7-0138/2012.

²⁷ Eurostat, no date (a).

²⁸ Eurostat, no date (b). Agricultural census 2010 – main results. (available at http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Agricultural_census_2010_-_main_results#Farm_typology).

²⁹ Government of Turkey. 2014b. Report Prepared on the Occasion of the 20th Anniversary of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. (available at <http://www.unwomen.org/en/csw/csw59-2015/preparations>).

³⁰ Government of Turkey. 2014a. Consideration of reports submitted by States parties under article 18 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. para. 22.

³¹ Prime Ministry, General Directorate on the Status of Women, 2008, p. 22.

National policy on the advancement of women and gender equality is contained in circulars issued by the prime minister, a national action plan and sector-specific plans. In addition, gender concerns are mainstreamed in five-year national development plans. Implementation of equality goals and targets are the shared responsibility of line ministries, other government offices and civil society organizations. Turkey's first National Action Plan on Gender Equality (2008-2013) was drafted within the scope of the EU accession framework, and it outlined nine priority areas for promoting gender equality, including the development of gender equality, education, economy, poverty, decision-making mechanisms, health, media, environment, human rights and violence. Although the term of the plan is now complete, a new national action plan has not yet been adopted. The 2008-2013 plan provides information about the issues that were considered to be the most critical for rural women at the time, namely high poverty rates, relatively low levels of education, a high level of maternal mortality compared with urban women, and limited access to both natural resources and technology (such as computers and the internet). The national gender equality plan included two objectives directed at women in agriculture. The first – to improve the economic position of rural women – included strategic actions concerning access to technology, increasing women's entrepreneurship in agriculture-based businesses and membership in cooperatives, diversifying the income-generating projects available to women, increasing access to extension services, and including female agriculture workers in the state social security system.³² The second – to protect women (primarily rural women) from adverse environmental conditions and empower them to improve their standard of living – involved strategic actions to protect women working on agricultural lands and in greenhouses from harmful chemicals, and to raise awareness about self-protection in the event of natural disasters.³³ A draft National Action Plan on Gender Equality for 2014-2018 was discussed in 2014 but has not been formally adopted to date.

The National Action Plan on Gender Equality was drafted in parallel with the Ninth Development Plan 2007-2013, indicating that Turkey recognizes the important role that both women and men must play if the country is to meet its macroeconomic objectives. The current and Tenth Development Plan 2014-2018 introduces concepts such as "gender equality" and "gender-sensitive budgeting", yet it addresses gender through a chapter dedicated to "family and women". Significantly, the plan emphasizes women's empowerment in the context of preserving the institution of the family. While the Tenth Development Plan has separate sections on "agriculture and food" and "rural development", it does not articulate any cross-cutting objectives that would encompass the relative status of rural women and men or their differing roles in agriculture. The plan does, however, draw particular attention to the need to improve women's participation in the labour force.

Sector-specific development plans are another important part of national policy on gender equality. The National Action Plan on the Empowerment of Rural Women (2012-2016) aims to improve the position of rural women, promote the gender sensitivity of the agricultural sector, improve Turkey's international indicators and ranking in statistical data on women, and integrate rural women in national development studies. The Action Plan involves nine axes of development across four strategic areas, namely: (1) rural areas and women (poverty, education, health); (2) the role of rural women in agricultural production and marketing (agricultural production, entrepreneurship and marketing); (3) women and natural resources (use and management of natural resources, protection of natural resources); and (4) employment and organization of rural women (agricultural employment and organization, social security).

The latest National Rural Development Strategy (2014-2020), the second strategy following the one for the 2007-2013 period, does not have sections on gender or women, does not refer to gender among its stated objectives, and explicitly targets households in rural regions rather than women or men as individuals. A National Action Plan on Women's Employment, developed by the Turkish Employment Agency (İŞKUR), was introduced in May 2016. This plan contains actions which address both agricultural employment and rural women generally; it is described in more detail in a later section of this gender profile. The Strategic Plan for 2013-2017 of Turkey's Ministry of Health aims to improve access to health care services in rural areas, with particular support for women's maternal health. The National Climate Change Action Plan for 2011-2023 devotes particular attention to gender differences, noting that climate change, "has direct and negative impacts on ... natural resources", which in turn has a greater effect on women, "who are the first hand users of natural resources (water, food, etc.)."³⁴ Climate change has direct links with agriculture, and the plan notes that attention should be given to ensuring that training and extension services related to increasing agricultural productivity to adapt to the effects of climate change reaches female farmers.³⁵ Additionally, the plan calls for training and awareness-raising on the protection of forests and public participation in natural resources management, with an emphasis on including women in forest villages.³⁶

Despite the existence of a number of national plans and strategic documents that address the multiple areas of discrimination that women face, gender experts point out that such documents are not based on data or gender statistics but tend to contain generalized commitments and goals without providing in-depth analyses of

32 Ibid. p. 41.

33 Ibid. p. 69.

34 Ministry of Environment and Urbanization. 2011. National Climate Change Action Plan for 2011-2023. Ankara. p. 1.

35 Ibid. p. 156.

36 Ibid. p. 127.

women's position. Furthermore, in recent years there has been an increasing trend towards focusing on women within the family rather than as individuals in their own right. For instance, the primary governmental body responsible for women's affairs – formerly the Ministry for Women and Family – is now the Ministry of Family and Social Policies.³⁷

C. Demographic context

In 2015, Turkey's population was 78 741 053 people, most of whom (92 percent) live in provincial or district centres. As Table 3 illustrates, Turkey's population has not only increased in recent years, but has also been shifting toward urban centres. Note that since 2007, TurkStat has used an address-based population registration system, rather than the earlier method of using a population census. Urbanization in Turkey is primarily the result of internal migration which tends to follow a pattern of movement from the Eastern regions of the country to the, "more densely [populated] and economically developed Western parts", although there are some eastern provinces experiencing positive migration.³⁸ Migration from rural to urban areas within a particular region is also common.

Table 3. Population of Province / District Centres and Towns / Villages by Sex (2007, 2015)

	Province / district centres		Towns / villages	
	Female population	Male population	Female population	Male population
2007	24 818 874	24 928 985	10 390 849	10 447 548
2015	36 146 739	36 376 395	3 083 123	3 134 796

Source: Data provided by TurkStat. Population of province / district centres and towns / villages by year and sex, 1927-2015.

Turkey's population is diverse: it is multi-ethnic and multi-cultural and is comprised of around 50 different Muslim and non-Muslim ethnic groups. In considering gender differences in access to assets and resources, for example, it is important to also keep in mind that neither women nor men are homogeneous groups in Turkey. Some ethnic and religious minority groups may face greater deprivations than others. Turkey's population has also been shaped by complex migration patterns, not only rural to urban migration and emigration from Turkey, but also migration in the form of a sizeable population of post-conflict refugees and internally-displaced persons (including Syrians and Kurds). The topic of how Turkey's refugee situation impacts on the rural population and agricultural production specifically is a complex one that cannot be addressed in the scope of this report. Nevertheless, some additional information is provided in the context of agricultural labour in a later section of this national gender profile.

The compilation and analysis of data on rural livelihoods is made more complex because the NSO has not produced data disaggregated by rural and urban residence since 2013. Large-scale restructuring of the Turkish administrative system was initiated when the Grand National Assembly enacted Law No. 6360 in late 2012. The law established 14 new metropolitan municipalities (expanding the total number of metropolitan municipalities to 30) and abolished special provincial administrations that once had the status of metropolitan municipalities. Additionally, towns and villages within the boundaries of the metropolitan areas were eliminated, and villages were transformed into neighbourhoods. As a result of the new regulation, 47 percent of villages and 54 percent of municipalities were, "eliminated from the local government system, and a considerable amount of rural area [was] transformed into urban area."³⁹ In turn, Turkey's urban population was artificially increased to 91 percent from 77 percent in 2012, and 77 percent of Turkey's total population was classified as living in metropolitan areas.⁴⁰ Simultaneously, the rural population dropped from 22.7 percent in 2012 to 8.7 percent in 2013. The legal change impacts on the administrative definition of urban and rural areas because settlements are classified according to their administrative status. In terms of gender statistics, the NSO has officially decided that it will not produce any new data disaggregated by urban or rural location until a new methodology can be determined. However, this type of disaggregated data can still be found in pre-2013 statistical publications and, where relevant, is included in this gender profile.

The lack of current official data disaggregated by rural and urban location is problematic for several reasons. Firstly, after Turkey submitted its seventh and most recent periodic report under CEDAW, the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women submitted a list of questions for the government. Included among

³⁷ Executive Committee for NGO Forum on CEDAW-Turkey. 2015. Turkey: Shadow Report Summary for the 64th Pre-Sessional Working Group of the Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. p. 4.

³⁸ Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock. no date. Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance Rural Development (IPARD) Programme (2014-2020). Ankara. p. 3.

³⁹ Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, 2014, p. 3.

⁴⁰ Alkan, A. 2015. New Metropolitan Regime of Turkey: Authoritarian Urbanization Via (Local) Governmental Restructuring. *Lex Localis – Journal of Local Self-Government*. 13(3): 845-873.

the issues were requests to provide detailed information on a number of measures aimed at improving the lives of rural women and on, "the evaluation and outcome of those initiatives for rural women."⁴¹ Without official data disaggregated by rural area, the process of measuring any changes or improvements in the lives of rural women is complicated because there is no longer clear comparative data for urban and rural females. Secondly, within the EU accession process, Turkey receives assistance under the IPA (Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance) Rural Development Programme (the IPARD Programme). The 2014-2020 IPARD Programme includes a number of complex measures. While it is envisaged that the programme could eventually cover all 81 provinces, the classification of rural areas is not entirely clear. In the case of one activity, eligible rural settlements are those that have fewer than 10 000 inhabitants based on NGO data from 2012 (which does not correspond precisely to the previous definition of "rural settlements" used by TurkStat).⁴² At the same time, Eurostat has adopted a new typology of "predominantly rural", "intermediate" and "predominantly urban" regions based on the percentage of the population living in rural units (and derived from an OECD methodology)⁴³ that does not appear to be applied under the Turkish IPARD Programme. Again, the establishment of baseline data for monitoring and evaluation of the IPARD Programme, especially concerning the promotion of equality between men and women at all stages of the programme, may be made more difficult by the lack of clear definitions and methodologies for defining rural areas.

Despite the reclassification of many rural settlements as neighbourhoods in urban areas, distinct differences between urban and rural life remain. Turkey is described as a country with notable cultural and regional variations in which, "modern' and 'traditional' life styles [co-exist] simultaneously within the society. For the inhabitants of metropolitan areas daily life is similar to [that in] Western countries. On the other hand, people living [on] the outskirts of urban areas and in rural settlements are relatively conservative and traditional."⁴⁵

Box. 1. Previous Definitions: Urban and Rural Settlements

Before 2013, the NSO used the following definitions:⁴⁴
Urban: settlements with a population of more than 20 001.
Rural: settlements with a population of less than 20 000.

In Turkey, rural areas are closely associated with agriculture. It is important, however, to note that while the concepts of 'rural' and 'agriculture' are often used interchangeably, distinction between the two is essential in terms of the methodology of this report. Rural areas are dynamic and multifunctional systems which include different activities such as agriculture, forestry, industry, tourism, recreation and transportation. Turkey also has, for instance, a sizeable rural population of retirees who are not engaged in farming. Because of the relatively early retirement age, many people who have moved to cities return to their hometowns after leaving the workforce. As a result, a considerable number of retirees choose not to work but are captured as, "part of the idle labour force in rural statistics", which means that they are counted as part of the working age population but are not included in unemployment figures.⁴⁶ Furthermore, activities such as agrotourism and organic farming are increasingly attracting many rural women and lead to significant diversity in their empowerment and livelihoods. This diversity is indeed an important point to underline, as there is a tendency to view rural women as a homogeneous category of 'unpaid family workers, who are 'poor' and 'in need of assistance'. The different practices and activities of rural women in Turkey point to a heterogeneous group with varying levels of socio-economic status, empowerment and entrepreneurship. For instance, while women engaged in organic farming in cities like Antalya are highly educated and economically empowered entrepreneurs, those in mountainous areas of the Mediterranean Region engaged in small ruminant production are among the poorest in the country.⁴⁷ The problems outlined above concerning the limitations of data on rural women imply that this diversity is not adequately captured by existing statistics, which in turn leads to difficulties in addressing the varying needs of the different groups of women in rural areas and the agricultural sector and developing adequate policies.

Turkey also has both peri-urban and urban agriculture, around Ankara and Istanbul, for example. In fact, the first urban agriculture project began in 2004 in a municipality of Istanbul province and provided training to poor and unemployed women in subjects such as organic agriculture, composting, the processing and marketing of agricultural products and the organisation of cooperatives.⁴⁸ When analysing gender differences in agricultural employment in Turkey, or even the different farming activities that women and men undertake, it is therefore useful to consider peri-urban areas as a special category. Although usually small in scale, urban and peri-urban farming are important means for households to improve their livelihoods and food security. Moreover,

41 Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women. 2015. List of issues and questions in relation to the seventh periodic report of Turkey. CEDAW/C/TUR/Q/7. para. 14.

42 Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock, no date, p. 136.

43 See the Eurostat website for more information on the urban-rural typology (available at http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Urban-rural_typology#Identifying_rural_local_administrative_units_level_2).

44 TurkStat. Metadata and definitions for the Income and Living Conditions Survey. (available at http://www.tuik.gov.tr/MicroVeri/GYKA_Panel_2013/english/meta-data/concept/definitions-household/index.html). [accessed May 2016].

45 Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, 2014, p. 3.

46 Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock, no date, p. 3.

47 See for example, Budak, D. B., Darcan, N. & Kantar, M. 2005. Women Farmers and Extension Services in Small Ruminant Production in Mountain Areas of Turkey. *Journal of Arid Environments*, 62(3): 507-515; Akpınar, N., Talay, I., Ceylan, C. & Gündüz, S. 2005. Rural Women and Agrotourism in the Context of Sustainable Rural Development: A Case Study from Turkey. *Environment, Development and Sustainability*, 6(4): 473-486.

48 Kaya, C. 2005. Urban Agriculture in Istanbul, Turkey. *Urban Agriculture Magazine*. No. 14. Article 12. p. 41.

women play a central role in urban and peri-urban farming. Unfortunately, however, no specific data on non-rural farming were found when compiling this national gender profile.

According to TurkStat's address-based population registration system, the average household size in the country as a whole is 3.52 persons, with the following patterns for cities and villages (3.42 and 3.60 household members, respectively) and for urban and rural areas (3.53 and 3.45 household members, respectively).⁴⁹ Two-thirds of households are one-family (nuclear) households, mostly consisting of a couple with at least one child. Only 16.5 percent of Turkish households are extended families.⁵⁰ Single mothers with at least one child constitute 6.2 percent of all households (or 1 352 785 households in total), and single fathers with at least one child make up 1.6 percent of households (337 416 households).⁵¹ In other words, out of all single-parent families in 2015, around 80 percent were mothers with children. This figure represents a minor decrease from previous years (2007-2013) in which the proportion of one parent families headed by women ranged from 86 to 84 percent.⁵² Data on single-parent families are disaggregated by province but not by rural and urban area.

In Turkey, the head of the household is traditionally male, although official statistics do not use the concept of the "household head", instead collecting data on an adult "reference person". However, researchers, policy-makers and NGOs identify female-headed households (FHH) as a group that is at risk of poverty.⁵³ According to Survey of Income and Living Conditions data for 2014, 17.5 percent of all Turkish household heads are women, which translates to 8.5 million people living in FHH.⁵⁴ Female household heads are on average older than male household heads because a large proportion of FHH are widows living without children (58.5 percent of female heads are widowed), as illustrated in Table 4.

Table 4. Distribution of Female and Male Household Heads by Age (2014)

Age group	Female household heads (%)	Male household heads (%)
Under age 65	61.2	87.0
Age 65 and above	38.8	13.0

Source: Uysal & Durmaz, 2016, p. 1.

The 2014 survey also indicates that out of all working female household heads, a minority was employed in agriculture (around 20 percent of the total).⁵⁵ Such data should not suggest, however, that FHH are any less or more prevalent in rural areas, due to the fact that the majority of female household heads are over retirement age or consider themselves to be too busy with household chores to work. Data on the number or percentage of FHH in rural areas are inconclusive and may vary due to the use of differing methodologies. According to the 2013 DHS, the proportion of FHH among female respondents was the same for both rural and urban locations, at 15 percent.⁵⁶ This figure represents an increase from the decade before when 11 percent of rural households and 13 percent of urban households were reported to be female-headed.⁵⁷ However, FAO reported that in 2010, 9.1 percent of rural households were female-headed.⁵⁸

Box 2. Definition: Female-Headed Household and Reference Person

FAO makes a distinction between two types of female-headed households: *de facto* FHH, those in which an adult male partner is working away from the household but remains involved through remittances and other economic and social ties; and *de jure* FHH, those which have no male partner, such as women who are widowed, divorced or never married.⁵⁹

TurkStat does not use the terms female- or male-headed households in official statistics. Instead, in household surveys it records the "reference person", who can be male or female and is the, "adult household member who is responsible for managing and providing for the household and who can best provide information about the socio-economic status of the household and the characteristics of other members of the household."⁶⁰

49 Data provided by TurkStat, Average Household Size, 2015.

50 TurkStat. 2016b. Statistics on Family 2015. Press Release No. 21523. 11 May 2016.

51 Ibid.

52 TurkStat, 2015a, p. 10.

53 See for example, Uysal, G. & Durmaz, M. 2016. 1.2 Million Female-Headed Households Suffer from Deprivation. BETAM Research Brief 10/163. Istanbul, Bahçeşehir University Center for Economic and Social Research.

54 Ibid. p. 1.

55 Ibid. p. 5.

56 Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, 2014, p. 20.

57 Ibid. p. 19.

58 Citing data compiled by Measure DHS. FAO. 2011a. The Role of Women in Agriculture. ESA Working Paper No. 11-02 (Prepared by the State of Food and Agriculture Team and Cheryl Doss). Rome. p. 46.

59 FAO. 2011b. The State of Food and Agriculture, Women in Agriculture, closing the gender gap for development. Rome. p. 23.

60 TurkStat, Metadata and definitions for the Income and Living Conditions Survey.

D. Human development context

Although not the primary focus of this national profile, women's and men's human capital, particularly health and educational attainment, plays a central role in their ability to access employment opportunities and higher paid work, and is ultimately the means of escaping poverty. Turkey exhibits some distinct gender patterns in terms of health, education and labour indicators, but very few of these indicators are also disaggregated by rural location. While these gender disparities should be given consideration in relation to rural development, greater research is needed to construct a more complete picture of the well-being of the rural population.

Health

Data on average life expectancy at birth indicates that there is a gender gap of four and a half years between males and females. On average, male life expectancy at birth is 74.7 years compared with female life expectancy of 79.2 years.⁶¹ Some of the primary causes of death for women and men are similar, including diseases of the circulatory and digestive systems. Men, however, are more likely to die from diseases of the respiratory system and neoplasm (types of cancer) and external causes of injury or poisoning (in 2014, men accounted for 70 percent of all deaths due to injury and poisoning).⁶² There may be behavioural factors underlying some of the causes of male deaths, for instance, men report much higher smoking rates than women (in 2014, 41.8 percent of males over the age of 15 reported smoking daily, compared with 13.3 percent of females)⁶³ and more frequent consumption of alcohol (24.3 percent of males over the age of 15 consume alcohol, compared with 5.8 percent of females).⁶⁴ Women are more likely than men to die of endocrine, nutritional and metabolic diseases (almost 60 percent of people dying from these combined causes in 2014 were women)⁶⁵, which may be linked to the fact that women have higher body mass indices (BMI) on average.

In general, the Turkish population is well-nourished, and the typical diet is adequate to meet the recommended daily intake of energy and most nutrients. A variety of foods are available throughout the year and in most regions, and differences among families in terms of nutrient intake and food consumption is mainly due to income levels, knowledge and inadequate distribution of food.⁶⁶ There are some differences in the rates of being under and overweight between the male and female populations (ages 15 and over), but the most significant gap is in the number of people in Turkey who are categorised as obese according to BMI calculations (24.5 percent of women and 15.3 percent of men).⁶⁷ Obesity rates are increasing for both sexes, and the prevalence of obesity is higher in rural areas. The 2013 Demographic and Health Survey for Turkey found that 31.6 percent of rural women (compared with 25.3 percent of urban women) were obese, based on a BMI of 30 or above.⁶⁸ Female rates of being overweight, however, showed no significant difference by location. As in other industrialized countries, rising obesity rates are associated with a more sedentary lifestyle and the availability and increased consumption of processed and calorie-dense foods, as well as poorer health care and the lower socio-economic status of the rural population. However, studies do also point out that BMI rates for rural women fluctuate seasonally, based on the fact that physical labour is required during some months of the agricultural calendar and fresh fruits and vegetables are available at certain times of the year. Nevertheless, eating patterns, a high-calorie diet and the introduction of agricultural and domestic machinery (which means less demanding physical work) have meant that the prevalence of obesity is increasing overall for rural women.⁶⁹

Maternal health is an area of significant progress, although there are still differences between indicators for rural and urban areas. The maternal mortality rate declined from 19.4 per hundred thousand live births in 2008 to 15.9 in 2013.⁷⁰ There has been a significant improvement in the number of women receiving antenatal care and coverage levels are high, but the percentage of rural women who do not receive such services is, "more than two times higher than the national average, and more than three times the level among urban women."⁷¹ The increasing level of antenatal care has also meant that more women are giving birth in health care facilities

61 TurkStat, 2015a, p. 51.

62 Ibid. p. 61.

63 TurkStat. Health Statistics. The percentage of individuals' status of smoking tobacco products by sex and age groups, 2010, 2012, 2014. (available at http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?alt_id=1095). [accessed May 2016].

64 TurkStat. Health Statistics. The percentage of individuals' status of consuming alcoholic drinks by sex and age groups, 2010, 2012, 2014. (available at http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?alt_id=1095). [accessed May 2016].

65 TurkStat, 2015a, p. 61.

66 FAO. 2010. Nutrition Country Profile, Summary, Turkey. (available at http://www.fao.org/ag/AGN/nutrition/TUR_en.stm). [accessed December 2015].

67 TurkStat. Health Statistics. Body mass index distribution of individuals by sex, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2014. (available at http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?alt_id=1095). [accessed May 2016].

68 Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, 2014, p. 169.

69 See for example, Sabbağ, Ç. 2012. Seasonal BMI Changes of Rural Women Living in Anatolia. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*. 9: 1159–1170.

70 Government of Turkey, 2014a, para. 184.

71 Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, 2014, p. 143.

than in the past. However, rural women are still more likely to deliver a child at home (seven percent of all rural deliveries in 2013), but the incidence has been greatly reduced in the last decade (in comparison, 35 percent of rural births were at home in 2003).⁷² Urban women are more likely to receive postnatal care than rural women. The incidence of adolescent pregnancy (aged 15-19) appears to be more prevalent in rural areas, and early childbearing is often associated with maternal health complications and poor birth outcomes (this topic is discussed in more detail below in the context of early marriage).⁷³ It is also important to note that a large share of rural women do not have health insurance (due to their lack of formal employment), a topic that is also discussed below.

Men and women have differing opinions of their own health status that also vary by location. According to the 2012 Health Survey, 77.1 percent of men and only 64.5 percent of women declared their health to be “good” or “very good.”⁷⁴ In relation to rural women, this rate decreases to 57.1 percent, while it remains at almost 70 percent for rural men (67.9 percent). Across all age groups, the rate of satisfaction is higher for men, and among rural women above the age of 75, only a small proportion (13.2 percent) consider their health to be good.⁷⁵

Literacy and Education

In Turkey, there is a remarkable gender gap in the illiteracy rate; female illiteracy rates are higher than they are for males. In 2015, the illiteracy rate for the population above age six was 3.8 percent, down from almost 20 percent in 1990. The illiteracy rate for women was 6.2 percent, almost five times higher than for men, which was 1.3 percent.⁷⁶ Put another way, out of the approximately 2.6 percent of people over age six who are considered illiterate, around 83 percent are female. Comparable male and female data for rural and urban residents are not available, but in 2008, when illiteracy rates were higher overall, the gap in illiteracy rates between rural and urban women was pronounced (see Table 5, below).⁷⁷ In comparison, a large-scale survey of Turkish women conducted in 2014 found that literacy had improved, but also that rural women still exhibited close to double the illiteracy rate of urban women; 18.8 percent of rural women were illiterate, and this figure was 7.5 percent for urban women.⁷⁸

Table 5. Female and Male Illiteracy Rates, by Location (2008)

	Rural	Urban	Total
Female illiteracy rate (%)	25.2	11.3	18.3
Male illiteracy rate (%)	7.0	2.6	4.8

Source: Terzi, H. et al., 2011. (citing 2008 data from TurkStat).

Note that the NSO defines the illiterate population as persons who have never been to any educational institution and have not learned how to read and write.⁷⁹ When illiteracy is defined more precisely, specifying the person's ability to read, survey data show that rural women are three times more likely to be unable to read compared with urban women. Rural women are also considerably more likely to find reading difficult. Literacy levels are closely correlated with completion of primary schooling, and, as discussed below, rural women are much more likely to have no education or incomplete primary education.

Table 6. Women's Literacy and Educational Attainment, by Location (2013)

	Rural women (%)	Urban women (%)
Literacy / Ability to read*		
Not at all	14.0	4.8
With difficulty	9.6	5.2
Easily	37.8	29.4

Source: Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, 2014, pp. 46-47.

* Note: data on literacy rates refer to women with no schooling or primary schooling only.

Such surveys have also revealed positive findings, namely that literacy and school completion rates increase considerably for younger women, which suggests that programmes to improve functional literacy, access to education and to promote girls' education (such as the Mothers and Daughters at School campaign launched in 2008) have had a positive impact.

72 TurkStat, 2015a, p. 41.

73 United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) Eastern Europe and Central Asia Regional Office. 2014. Child Marriage in Turkey (Overview). Istanbul. p. 5.

74 TurkStat. 2013. Health Survey 2012. Ankara. p. 7.

75 Ibid. p. 5.

76 TurkStat. Population by literacy, 1935-2015. (available at http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?alt_id=1068). [accessed May 2016].

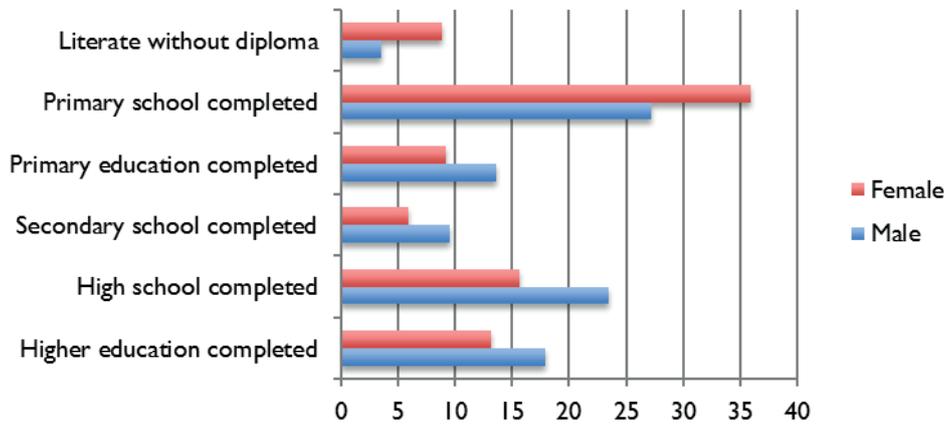
77 Terzi, H., Kocacik, & öztekin, A. 2011. Adult Literacy Education. Mothers and Daughters at School in Turkey. Turin, European Training Foundation. p. 3.

78 Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies. 2015. Research on Domestic Violence against Women in Turkey. Ankara. p. 72.

79 TurkStat, 2015a, p. xv.

Nonetheless, there are gender-based differences in educational completion rates. In relation to the population over the age of 25, females have lower educational levels at every stage, with the exception of primary school (see Figure 1, below).

Figure 1. Level of Formal Education, by Sex (2015)

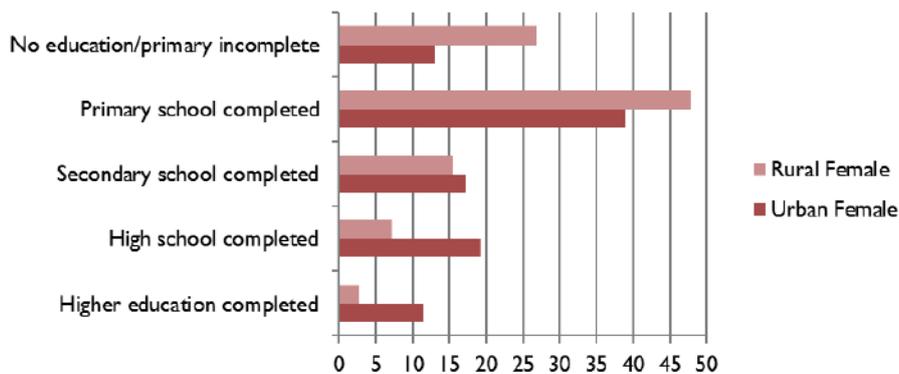


Source: TurkStat. Gender Indicators, Formal education completed and sex ratio, 1975-2015.

Note: Before 1997, the first stage of compulsory education in Turkey was a five-year "primary school". After reform of the educational system, "primary education" was introduced, which lasts for eight years.

A survey of over 10 000 households, that included questions about women's (aged 15-59) educational attainment by location, indicates that urban women have on average 5.5 years of education, compared with 4.8 years for rural women.⁸⁰ More rural women than urban women have no education, but slightly more rural women than urban women completed primary school. However, after the primary level, urban women have higher levels of educational attainment.

Figure 2. Level of Women's Formal Education, by Rural and Urban Location (2014)



Source: Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, 2015, p. 71.

There are no legal barriers in terms of enrolment requirements that would prevent girls from obtaining the same level of education as boys, but cultural and infrastructure factors play a role in preventing girls from continuing their education after primary level, especially in rural areas. Such factors include traditional norms and values about female education, household poverty, a lack of transportation to educational facilities, especially in winter when roads are closed, and in urban areas, a lack of school infrastructure to accommodate female students (for example, dining halls, dormitories and toilets).⁸¹ Because many rural households rely on unpaid family labour, children may discontinue their education when undertaking agricultural work. In 2012, of rural children who were out of school, boys were more likely to be employed (51.9 percent of out of school boys), while girls were more often engaged in household chores (57.7 of out of school girls).⁸² Interestingly, an even higher percentage

⁸⁰ Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, 2015, p. 71

⁸¹ Demiray, E. 2015. Problems in Women's Education in Turkey Implementations and Suggested Solutions. *International Journal on New Trends in Education and Their Implications*. 6(1):1-12. p. 8.

⁸² TurkStat. 2015b. *Statistics on Child*, 2014. Ankara. p. 98

of urban girls are out of school due to household chores (64 percent), which means that more rural than urban girls are formally employed. There are also links between early marriage and girls dropping out of school. For example, “families who do not send their daughters to school tend to arrange marriages for them while they are still very young”, and at the same time, girls who marry and begin childbearing at a young age rarely continue their education.⁸³

There are a number of state programmes designed to address these precise barriers, such as: a conditional cash transfer scheme for poor families to send their children to school (with an extra 20 percent incentive for families that send girls); the reservation of spaces in dormitories at the level of tertiary education for girls; the provision of school transportation; public awareness campaigns such as “Come on Girls, Let’s Go to School” and “Dad, Send Me to School”; and initiatives to reduce the dropout rate among girls, alongside making vocational educational more accessible to female students. As a result of these initiatives, girls’ school enrolment, particularly at primary level, has increased significantly in quantitative terms over the last few years. However, enrolment is not equivalent to attendance, and many girls who are enrolled are not necessarily sent to school due to the reasons outlined above.

Preschool education is not compulsory in Turkey. Early childhood education, however, is an important part of child development, and the availability of preschools is also a key determinant of women’s ability to take on formal work outside the home. The most recent data on child care arrangements is from 2013 and indicates that for rural and urban households, between a third to almost a quarter of working women assume all child care responsibilities. This finding suggests that the majority of women are employed at home or part-time so that they are able to balance child care with work responsibilities.⁸⁴ Urban children are considerably more likely to be enrolled in day-care or nurseries, while only four percent of rural woman have access to institutional child care and three percent to babysitters. Due to family living arrangements in rural areas, village children are more often cared for by their paternal grandmother (the mother-in-law of the working mother) than their maternal grandmother, and the opposite situation is observed in urban families (see Table 7, below).

Table 7. Person who looks after the youngest child of employed mothers (% households)

	Rural households	Urban households
The woman herself	34.3	24.6
Husband	1.4	2.2
Her mother	9.1	19.0
Husband’s mother / mother-in-law	26.0	13.1
Other child / children (female)	10.4	5.1
Other child / children (male)	1.6	1.3
Other relatives or babysitter	8.1	4.6
Babysitter	3.0	7.3
Day-care, nursery or kindergarten	4.3	18.3

Source: Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, 2014, p. 183.

Official reports state that nearly 28 percent of children aged three to five years are involved in some form of preschool programme.⁸⁵ According to Ministry of National Education data, the net schooling ratio in 2015-2016 was 33.26 for three to five year olds, 42.96 for four and five year olds, and 55.48 for five year olds.⁸⁶ Turkey has one of the lowest rates of access to early childhood care and preschool education among the OECD countries.⁸⁷ While preschool enrolment rates are increasing, the government acknowledges that greater efforts are needed to improve coverage. Programmes devoted to increasing women’s participation in the labour force include specific initiatives on improving the number, quality and affordability of crèche and preschool education facilities. To date, these efforts seem to be oriented towards industrial zones and not rural communities.⁸⁸

Female Labour Force Participation

Gender patterns in agricultural labour are addressed in Part VI of this national gender profile, but the topic of female labour force participation in general is covered here because it is an important issue for Turkey, and one that is linked to both urbanization and declines in agriculture. Female labour force participation in Turkey is remarkably low compared with countries that have similar levels of economic growth. In 2013 (the last year

83 UNFPA, 2014, p. 5.

84 İlkkaracan, İ., Kim, K. & Kaya, T. 2015. The Impact of Public Investment in Social Care Services on Employment, Gender Equality and Poverty: The Turkish Case. Istanbul, İstanbul Technical University, Women’s Studies Center in Science, Engineering and Technology & The Levy Economics Institute. p. 32.

85 Government of Turkey, 2014a, para. 121.

86 Ministry of National Education. 2016. National Education Statistics, Formal Education 2015-2016. Ankara.

87 İlkkaracan, Kim & Kaya, 2015, p. 31.

88 Government of Turkey, 2014a, paras. 169-170.

for which data disaggregated by location are available), the labour force participation rate for rural women (aged 15 and over) was 36.7 percent and for urban women it was 28 percent; the aggregate female labour force participation rate in 2015 was 31.5 percent.⁸⁹ It is especially concerning that Turkey's female labour force participation has been declining steadily over the last three decades in both rural and urban areas. While the rate of labour force participation was around 34 percent at the beginning of the 1990s, it dropped to around 20 percent in the early 2000s. This pattern is both contrary to global trends, and counter to the male labour force participation rate, which has been steadily increasing.

The primary reason that women are not engaged in the labour force is that they are housewives, while for men the reason is retirement. For housewives, the burden of domestic responsibilities is difficult to balance with formal employment⁹⁰, and it is expected that husbands will support the family financially. Employment rates of both women and men vary by marital status, but for women there is also greater variation by location (see Table 8, below). Married women in rural areas are employed at around twice the rate of married urban women, and almost three times the proportion of widowed women in rural areas are employed compared with urban women. These differences reflect the high level of female agricultural employment and also suggest that in older age, women in urban areas may receive more support from family members, while elderly rural women may depend to a greater extent on their own labour.

Table 8. Employment Rates by Sex, Marital Status and Location (2013)

Marital Status	Females (%)		Males (%)	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Single	29.2	30.7	52.4	51.4
Married	40.9	22.0	73.9	72.0
Divorced	35.5	42.4	62.8	61.9
Widowed	13.0	5.5	19.7	17.2

Source: TurkStat, 2015a, p. 86.

Two of the key factors that have contributed to a decrease in the share of women having or seeking jobs in Turkey are urbanization (primarily, rural to urban migration) and the decline in agricultural employment. Since the late 1980s, Turkey has experienced intensive urbanization, and the women who migrated to cities had previously mainly been employed as unpaid family labourers in agriculture and were not able to find jobs matching their skills in urban areas and so withdrew from the labour force.⁹¹ A positive consequence of rural to urban female migration has been the improvements in the quality of employment for those women who do work, namely an increasing number of female wage earners and women registered with social security.⁹²

Female labour force participation rates have also been decreasing in rural areas, in parallel with declines in agricultural employment overall. Compare, for example, the rural female labour force participation rate in 1988, of 50.7 percent, with that in 2013, of 36.7 percent. In Turkey, notions about the cultural appropriateness of different kinds of women's work are still prevalent, and family farming is one area of employment which is, "not only acceptable but also promoted and encouraged among women living in rural areas."⁹³ However, as men move away from agricultural work to better-remunerated sectors, and households shift away from subsistence agriculture, women in these families are leaving the labour force. In fact, the phenomenon of women moving from unpaid agricultural work to roles as full-time housewives or students is, "perceived positively by rural households and is regarded as a rational life choice"; and as part of the process of, "young / rural women becoming more middle class."⁹⁴

One of the serious repercussions of women's low labour force participation is the lack of social security or health insurance coverage. This problem is especially acute for rural women who are unpaid workers on family farms. According to a survey conducted in 2014, 81.8 percent of rural women (compared with 40.5 percent of urban women) had no social security.⁹⁵ In the same group of surveyed women, 17.5 percent of rural residents and 9.1 percent of urban residents had no health insurance.⁹⁶ These findings suggest that a large number of women are not only involved in unprotected labour, in terms of not contributing to a pension and not having access to social benefits (such as paid leave, sick leave and maternity leave), but they are also at risk of poverty in old age. NGOs contend that the government has not adequately or comprehensively addressed the issue of female labour, and, in fact, has introduced contrary and, "conservative policies ... with the aim of promoting traditional

89 TurkStat. Labour force by household population, 2004-2015. (available at http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?alt_id=1068). [accessed May 2016].

90 Government of Turkey, 2014a, para. 150.

91 World Bank. 2009. Female Labor Force Participation in Turkey: Trends, Determinants and Policy Framework. Report No. 48508TR. Washington, DC, World Bank Group. p. 12.

92 Ibid. p. 14.

93 Ibid.

94 Ibid. p. 15.

95 Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, 2015, p. 417.

96 Ibid. p. 419.

gender roles, ... and forcing women to participate in short-term, flexible [employment] arrangements by holding them naturally responsible for care services."⁹⁷

The government of Turkey has, however, enacted strategies and undertaken a number of programmes to address the low female labour force participation rate and to improve decent employment for women. For example, the National Employment Strategy 2014-2023 has a target to increase the female labour force participation rate to 41 percent by 2023, while also reducing women's informal employment rate from 54.2 to 30 percent. Likewise, the Tenth Development Plan for 2014-2018 and the National Action Plan on Gender Equality for 2008-2013, highlight the need for further actions to increase female labour force participation and employment through measures such as incentives for women, training and education, improving child care and elder care services, and supporting female entrepreneurs. The Tenth Development Plan draws particular attention to reducing female unemployment, preventing informal and vulnerable employment, and increasing women's skills relevant to the labour market. The National Action Plan on Gender Equality highlights projects, managed mainly by MFAL, to encourage agricultural entrepreneurship and income-generation for rural women. In addition to training and educational programmes for women generally, the government has provided grants for NGO-based programmes that promote employment for particular groups of disadvantaged women, including women with disabilities, Roma women, residents of informal settlements (slum areas), women victims of violence, displaced people, former drug addicts and detainees.⁹⁸

Another significant and recent development is the adoption of the country's first National Action Plan on Women's Employment by the Turkish Employment Agency (İŞKUR) in May 2016.⁹⁹ The plan, which will be implemented from 2016 to 2018, foresees the development of programmes to increase women's employment and equality of opportunity in rural areas, implemented in part by MFAL. The plan lists other actions, such as vocational training (including for migrant and temporary agricultural workers) and support for women's entrepreneurship at the level of small and medium-sized enterprise, that may also benefit rural women. The plan includes initiatives that address women's social security rights and aim to, "maintain the formality of women's employment."¹⁰⁰

Gender-based violence

Gender-based violence (GBV), especially domestic violence, is recognized as an important problem area for Turkey, and as a violation of human rights and an impediment to gender equality. There is considerable political commitment on the elimination of gender-based violence, evidenced in the country's two national action plans to combat violence against women (from 2007-2010 and 2012-2015). Moreover, the national plan on gender equality recommends that violence against women be, "addressed through an integrated approach and in a joint effort by all relevant stakeholders."¹⁰¹ Progress in combating gender-based violence has been facilitated by official research, both quantitative and qualitative, which has provided information about both the scale and nature of the problem in Turkey. Several nationwide surveys on the topic of domestic violence (in 2007, 2008 and 2014) have been conducted with the support of the General Directorate on the Status of Women and with methodological guidance provided by the NSO. A module on women's attitudes toward domestic violence was also included in the 2013 Demographic and Health Survey. Each survey used samples of over 10 000 households, representing a number of provinces and both urban and rural locations. TurkStat also disseminates sex-disaggregated data against several indicators related to GBV, specifically concerning the prevalence of physical and sexual violence (further disaggregated by age, educational level, welfare level and province). Still, limitations on official and detailed statistics about the varied forms of GBV, including homicides and early and forced marriage, are a concern.¹⁰² As of early 2016, TurkStat data is derived from research conducted in 2008 and only covers domestic violence. Some official criminal records (for example, from the police, gendarme and courts) are accessible to the public, but they provide incomplete information about the victims and perpetrators of domestic violence. From 2012 to 2013, the KSGM ran a pilot survey project as preparation for creating a database on violence against women that will standardize data collection. However, the database systems used by KSGM have not yet been fully integrated.¹⁰³ Improved data collection on GBV is critical to the development of state policy on the issue.

Key areas of progress include the adoption of Law number 6284 on the Protection of Family and Prevention of Violence against Women (2012), the introduction of protective and preventative orders, and the establishment

⁹⁷ Executive Committee for NGO Forum on CEDAW-Turkey, 2015, p. 7.

⁹⁸ Government of Turkey, 2014a, paras. 160–161.

⁹⁹ The action plan was developed jointly by İŞKUR and the International Labour Organization, with funding from the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA).

¹⁰⁰ Turkish Employment Agency. 2016. Action Plan on Women's Employment. Ankara, p. 22.

¹⁰¹ Prime Ministry, General Directorate on the Status of Women, 2008, p. 70.

¹⁰² Tozlu, Ç. & Göksele, A. 2016. WAVE Violence against Women Country Report for Turkey. Ankara, Turkish Social Sciences Association. p. 17.

¹⁰³ Government of Turkey, 2014a, para. 52.

of Violence Prevention and Monitoring Centres (ŞÖNİM). The ŞÖNİM provide women who have experienced violence and their children with shelter and support services (in the areas of psycho-social, legal, health, employment and education). Despite positive developments in Turkey, GBV remains widespread and has a profound impact on the lives of many women.

Official statistics on domestic violence are not disaggregated by residence, but population surveys indicate that there is little variation between the experiences of rural and urban women concerning physical, sexual and emotional violence (in 2014, 39 percent of rural women and 37 percent of urban women reported that they had experienced physical violence and / or sexual violence by their husbands during their lifetimes and 44.7 percent of urban women and 40.8 percent of rural women had been subjected to emotional abuse by their partners or husbands over their lifetimes).¹⁰⁴ The proportion of women who have experienced either moderate or severe levels of violence shows little variation by region, and “slapping or throwing something at her” are the most prevalent acts of physical violence experienced by both rural and urban women.¹⁰⁵ Experiences of domestic violence are more closely correlated with a woman’s level of education and wealth and early marriage (indicators of dependency), than with residence. Some types of controlling behaviour by husbands (for example, insisting on knowing where his wife is at all times and requiring the wife to ask his permission to go to a health institution) were reported more frequently by rural women, while more urban women reported experiencing both economic abuse and threats with weapons than rural women.¹⁰⁶

The most significant differences between women in rural and urban locations concern attitudes toward domestic violence and help-seeking behaviour. Surveys that ask women whether they agree with certain common justifications for a husband using physical violence against his wife have found that urban women are less likely than rural women to accept any justifications for violence (61.7 percent and 44 percent of urban and rural women, respectively, responded that they “do not accept violence under any circumstances”).¹⁰⁷ As shown in Table 9, there are notable differences in the perceptions of urban and rural women concerning when husbands are justified in using violence, and rural women tend to hold more traditional and conservative views about women’s duties in marriage and the role of men as figures of authority. Such findings suggest that there is a need for further public awareness campaigns that convey a zero tolerance policy towards domestic violence.

Table 9. Women’s Attitudes towards the Use of Physical Violence, by Location

Justifications of violence*	Rural women who agree (%)	Urban women who agree (%)
Burns the food	2.8	0.8
Argues with her husband	12.6	4.7
Goes out without telling her husband	9.5	3.2
Neglects the children	15.5	7.3
Neglects the housework	12.9	4.0
Disobeys her husband	20.9	7.7
Refuses to have sexual intercourse with her husband	11.7	3.9
Asks her husband if he is having an affair with another woman	8.7	2.5
If a man suspects his wife is unfaithful	23.7	13.0
If a man learns that his wife is unfaithful	45.5	28.2

Sources: Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, 2014, p. 185; 2015, p. 112.

*Note: data for the first four justifications are from the 2013 DHS and data for the remaining six justifications are from the 2015 domestic violence survey.

Coping mechanisms and help-seeking behaviour also differ significantly by residence. While most women who have experienced domestic violence do not tell anyone about the experience, 54.7 percent of women in rural areas do not report the violence to anyone, compared with 41.2 percent of urban women.¹⁰⁸ Among women who seek help for domestic violence, urban women are also more likely to receive help from their own families (21.1 percent) than rural women (13.8 percent), but in both cases, few women report that they receive any help.¹⁰⁹ Victims of domestic violence seldom seek help from formal institutions, such as the police, courts, women’s shelters and health care institutions, but urban women are more likely to apply for support (11.5 percent of urban women applied to at least one institution, compared with 7.5 percent of rural women). Of particular concern, 92.5

104 Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, 2015, p. 86, p. 96.

105 Ibid. p. 89.

106 Ibid. p. 90, p. 99, p. 101.

107 Ibid. p. 112.

108 Ibid. p. 158.

109 Ibid. p. 160.

percent of rural women reported that they did not apply to any organization dedicated to addressing domestic violence).¹¹⁰ Differences in help-seeking behaviour may be a reflection of more conservative attitudes in rural areas that cause victims of violence to feel greater shame, stigma or fear about reporting violence or to accept it as a “normal” part of family life. The variations are also very likely to be related to the limited number of support services for people experiencing violence outside of urban centres, and this in turn means that victims have less access to information and professional assistance.

There are currently 129 women’s shelters with a total capacity of 3 365 persons (92 are managed by the KSGM, 34 are affiliated with local government, and three are operated on an NGO basis).¹¹¹ There are five Turkish provinces without any shelters. However, 25 First Step stations operate under women’s shelters and offer immediate attention and provisional housing for up to two weeks. Evaluations of the effectiveness of the ŞÖNİM network have found that the number of centres is insufficient, and the 14 centres that are operational lack qualified staff that are capable of addressing the complex needs of survivors of GBV.¹¹² Istanbul, with a population of over 14 million has only one ŞÖNİM. Most of the other centres are located in cities and towns so they are not accessible to women without transportation, and many women can only reach them by telephone.¹¹³ Through EU pre-accession assistance, a women’s shelter programme (2014-2016) has received funding worth 9.6 million Euro for activities in 26 provinces to enhance cooperation between the central and local governments and local NGOs in order to provide support services for women victims of violence.¹¹⁴

Rural girls and women are also vulnerable to certain forms of violence, specifically underage marriage (defined as marriage in which at least one of the spouses is under the age of 18)¹¹⁵ and forced marriage. Existing data about underage marriage do not provide a clear picture of the problem. For example, records from the Central Civil Registration System indicate that the proportion of girls legally married at ages 16 and 17 for the country as a whole declined from 5.8 percent in 2014 to 5.2 percent in 2015.¹¹⁶ In some provinces, the rate was as high as 15 percent (in some provinces of northeast and southeast Anatolia) while in others, it was as low as around one percent (in Black Sea areas).¹¹⁷ In contrast, a nationwide survey on violence against women, conducted in 2014, found that a quarter of the women surveyed had married before age 18, and this figure increased to 32 percent for women in rural areas.¹¹⁸

Childbearing at a young age is used as a proxy for child marriage, and teenagers (aged 15-19) in rural areas are more likely than teenagers in urban areas to have started childbearing (six percent compared with four percent).¹¹⁹ According to research conducted by the Committee on Equality of Opportunity for Women and Men of the Grand National Assembly, there are various reasons for child marriage, including, “economic deprivation, traditional and religious beliefs, lack of education, the desire to escape domestic violence at home, and social pressure.”¹²⁰ Some families perceive girls as a socio-economic burden, and although the practice of dowry or brideprice is illegal in Turkey, 24.5 percent of families in rural areas were paid a brideprice, compared with 13.8 percent of urban families,¹²¹ indicating that the tradition has not been eliminated completely. The majority of early marriages are arranged, and official data indicate that a higher percentage of rural women are married through arrangements made by their families (36.9 percent) than urban women (27.8 percent).¹²²

110 Ibid. p. 170.

111 Government of Turkey, 2014a, para. 32.

112 Tozlu & Göksel, 2016, p. 17.

113 Ibid. p. 18.

114 Government of Turkey, 2014a, para. 54.

115 In 2002, amendments to the Turkish Civil Code raised the minimum marriage age for girls from 15 to 17, making it the same for both sexes.

Marriage at age 16 is allowed by “court decision based on exceptional circumstances.” International norms, however, require a minimum marital age of 18 (UNFPA, 2014, p. 3).

116 TurkStat. 2016c. Statistics on Child, 2015. Press Release No. 21521. 22 April 2016.

117 Ibid.

118 Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, 2015, p. 77.

119 Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, 2014, p. 73.

120 UNFPA, 2014, p. 4.

121 Data from 2006. TurkStat, 2015, p. 35.

122 Ibid. p. 33.

III. PROFILE OF RURAL HOUSEHOLDS, INFRASTRUCTURE AND GENDER IMPACTS

Information about Turkish households has been most recently collected under the 2013 Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) and the 2015 Income and Living Conditions Survey. Household data are disaggregated by urban and rural residence but there are no distinctions made for households headed by men or by women in either location. Thus, it is not possible to generate a comprehensive picture of any significant differences in the living conditions of rural women and men. The data do, however, provide general information about rural and urban housing conditions, access to safe drinking water, sanitation services, sources of energy and household goods.

A. Housing conditions

According to the DHS, the majority of rural houses have cement (38.4 percent) or wood plank flooring (19.5 percent) whereas urban houses are more likely to have parquet wood flooring (33 percent) or laminate (27 percent).¹²³ Seven percent of rural residences still have earth or sand floors, although this represents a decrease from 12 percent recorded in the 2003 DHS.¹²⁴ Rural houses are also smaller (in terms of number of bedrooms) than urban houses and there are also more people on average sharing a room for sleeping (2.2 people on average for rural households and 1.8 for urban households).¹²⁵ The DHS notes that, "[t]he physical characteristics of the household reflect the household's economic status and have an important environmental impact on maternal and child health."¹²⁶ At the same time, it is widely thought that traditionally-built rural houses (which use local building materials and architecture) can often be energy efficient, which is an important consideration for rural families.

B. Energy sources

The use of traditional fuels is characteristic of rural areas. Few rural households have central heating, relying heavily on wood and coal for heat, followed by dung briquettes. Almost 93 percent of rural households use one of these forms of energy for heating.¹²⁷ Although questions about the types of fuel used for cooking were not included in the DHS, in fact, biomass fuels (including coal, wood, charcoal and agricultural crop residue such as straw) burned in traditional stoves are the main source of both heating and cooking fuel in rural Turkey. Around two-thirds of rural households have gas or electric ovens, as noted in Table 10 below. Biomass fuels are often the most readily available to rural communities (especially forest villages) and they are generally cheaper than other forms of fuel. Domestic exposure to biomass fuel combustion is closely associated with respiratory illness, especially in women and children. In Turkey, cooking is a task performed almost exclusively by females, so it would be advantageous to assess both indoor air pollution levels and the extent to which improved cookstoves or renewable and clean sources of energy (such as solar energy) are being used in rural households.

Additionally, in many rural communities the process of drying animal dung for household fuel and collecting firewood and crop remains are tasks typically performed by women. Information about how Turkish households divide the labour of collecting and managing fuel sources was not found when carrying out this assessment. However, given that women take on a large share of unpaid agricultural work alongside household management, it is very likely that they also have the main responsibility for fuel collection. Given their lower economic status on average, FHH may also rely more heavily on biomass fuels for heating and cooking rather than purchased fuel sources.

¹²³ Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, 2014, p. 37.

¹²⁴ Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies. 2004. Turkey Demographic and Health Survey 2003. Ankara. p. 31.

¹²⁵ Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, 2014, p. 37.

¹²⁶ Ibid. p. 36.

¹²⁷ Ibid. p. 37.

Table 10. Energy Sources for Heating in Rural and Urban Locations (2013)

Energy source	Rural households (%)	Urban households (%)
Any form of central heating (natural gas, diesel oil, wood, coal, other)	2.1	12.7
Any form of flat heating (natural gas, diesel oil, other)	2.8	41.7
Stove – natural gas	0.3	2.9
Stove – diesel oil / gas oil	0.2	0.0
Stove – wood / coal	80.9	33.8
Stove – dried cow dung	11.8	0.5
Stove – other type	0.2	0.2
Electric heater	0.9	3.2

Source: Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, 2014, p. 37.

Poor quality housing and energy poverty affect the whole population, but women, children and the elderly, who spend the most time at home, are impacted to a greater extent.

C. Safe drinking water and sanitation

The large majority of the population has access to improved (safe) drinking water sources, the equivalent of almost all rural and urban households. While nearly half of all households accesses water piped into the home, just over 40 percent of rural households rely on outside taps, standpipes, wells or springs for their water. In contrast, 43 percent of urban households purchase bottled water.¹²⁸ It follows, therefore, that rural households spend more time obtaining drinking water than urban households (8.1 percent of rural households without water on the premises reported that they spend less than 30 minutes on each round trip to collect water and 4.2 percent reported that each round trip takes more than 30 minutes).¹²⁹ As is the case with management of fuel resources, no information was obtained on the gendered division of labour in relation to collecting water when it is not piped into the home. However, in Turkey it is women who take on the majority of household tasks that require water (such as cooking, cleaning, laundry and bathing children) and therefore expend the most time collecting, heating or disinfecting water. Domestic water management is generally thought to be a “female” concern (in contrast to water for crop irrigation which is perceived as a resource managed by men).

Table 11. Access to Improved Water Supply in Rural and Urban Locations (2013)

Type of water supply	Rural households (%)	Urban households (%)
Improved source of drinking water	96.8	99.6
Piped into dwelling	47.6	50.5
Piped into yard	1.8	0.1
Public tap / standpipe	5.0	0.8
Protected well, tube well or borehole	13.3	0.9
Protected spring	22.0	3.8
Bottled water	7.1	43.5
Non-improved source of drinking water	2.8	0.3
Time taken to obtain drinking water not on premises (round trip)		
Less than 30 minutes	8.1	3.1
30 minutes or more	4.2	2.1

Source: Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, 2014, p. 34.

¹²⁸ Ibid. p. 34.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

III. PROFILE OF RURAL HOUSEHOLDS, INFRASTRUCTURE AND GENDER IMPACTS

Almost all rural households have improved sanitation facilities that are used by a single household only (86.6 percent), defined as either a flush toilet connected to a sewage system or a pit latrine.¹³⁰ Rural households are equally as likely to have pit latrines as they are flush toilets, and just under a third have toilet facilities that are located outside of the house. Around two percent of all rural households share toilet facilities between two or more households.¹³¹

Table 12. Household Sanitation Facilities in Rural and Urban Locations (2013)

Type of sanitation facility	Rural households (%)	Urban households (%)
Location of toilet		
Inside	64.5	96.6
Outside	29.0	2.9
Both inside and outside	5.7	0.5
Type of toilet facility		
Flush toilet	47.9	97.0
Closed pit	40.8	2.6
Open pit	9.9	0.4

Source: Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, 2014, p. 35.

C. Household goods

The existence of durable consumer goods is an indicator of socio-economic level. Data on ownership of specific household goods, particularly labour-saving domestic appliances, can also be studied to assess the intensity of household chores for women. Most Turkish households own basic appliances, such as refrigerators, televisions, telephones and washing machines. However, rural households are less likely than urban households to own the types of electrical appliances that are of particular benefit to women, for instance microwave ovens, dishwashers and vacuum cleaners. The time that women must spend performing household tasks limits the time that they have for productive activities, such as formal employment, and personal activities, such as education or professional training. Only a small number of rural households has a means of transportation which can limit the mobility of all household members.

Table 13. Selected Consumer Goods Owned by Urban and Rural Households (%)

Goods	Rural Households (% of total)	Urban Households (% of total)
Refrigerator	99.1	96.8
Freezer	23.5	18.7
Gas / electric oven	60.5	83.2
Microwave oven	7.9	23.1
Dishwasher	25.9	65.6
Washing machine	90.1	97.5
Iron	73.5	93.4
Vacuum cleaner	72.9	93.2
Computer (desktop or laptop)	24.2	67.1
Internet connection	13.7	43.5
Air conditioner	9.5	21.0

Source: Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, 2014, p. 38.

¹³⁰ Ibid. p. 35.

¹³¹ Ibid.

D. Rural transport

Geographical isolation contributes to poverty and is also implicated in specific development goals, such as the reduction of maternal mortality and the promotion of gender equity. Increasing the access of rural populations to transport can also have distinctly gendered impacts, for instance, it can potentially increase men's migration and can also lead to an increase in the workloads of women on the farm and in the household.¹³² According to the Rural Access Index, 69 percent of rural residents in Turkey live within two kilometres of the nearest all-season road, a figure that translates to 7.4 million people without access to rural transport.¹³³ A small number of rural households have a means of transportation, and the rural population is not much more likely to rely on cars or trucks than the urban population (39 percent of rural households and 32.2 percent of urban households).¹³⁴ A larger number of rural households relies on motorcycles or scooters, but it is still less than 14 percent overall (compared with almost five percent of urban households).

Evaluations of rural women's mobility would be particularly useful as a means of assessing their ability to access health care and educational institutions, as well as markets for the sale of agricultural products. Surveys that include questions about intra-household decision-making suggest that women's roles tend to centre around the domestic sphere, whereas men take on more of the public roles, such as shopping and making decisions about visiting relatives and neighbours (see Part V, Section L of this report). On the other hand, one study has pointed out that due to differences in their ways of life, women living in small villages generally, "have more freedom of movement and greater access to public space, as long as they stay within the borders of their own villages", than women in towns.¹³⁵ Village women work in fields and in barns during specific seasons, and in some regions they come together to do domestic work, such as washing clothes, baking bread and preparing food outside the house. The degree to which females can travel freely is also dependent on age. For example, one of the reasons often cited for the lower educational enrolment rates of girls from rural areas is the lack of transportation options and parents' unwillingness to let their daughters travel far to school.

132 Roberts, P., Shyam, K.C. & Rastogi, C. 2006. Rural Access Indicator: A Key Development Indicator. Washington DC, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development & The World Bank. p. 2.

133 World Bank. Access to Rural Transport database. (available at <http://www.worldbank.org/transport/transportresults/headline/rural-access>). [accessed January 2016].

134 Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, 2014, p. 39.

135 Gündüz-Hoşgör, A. & Smits, J. 2006. The status of rural women in Turkey: What is the role of regional differences. Nijmegen Center for Economics (NiCE) Working Paper 06-101. p. 10.

IV. GENDER AND POVERTY

Turkey is an upper middle income country which has experienced rising prosperity and a three-fold increase in per capita income in less than a decade.¹³⁶ Nevertheless, despite Turkey's economic achievements, disparities remain between regions, especially between rural and urban locations, and between women and men. Turkey also makes use of varied methodologies to calculate poverty rates, and is in the process of further refining its poverty statistics.

From 2002 to 2009, TurkStat conducted household budget surveys on an annual basis in order to calculate absolute poverty rates. The indicators measured poverty rates in three dimensions: the food poverty rate, the complete poverty rate (food and non-food poverty), and the relative poverty rate (using consumption expenditure).¹³⁷ In 2009, the food poverty rates for urban and rural areas were 0.06 percent and 1.42 percent, respectively. In the same year, the absolute poverty rate in urban areas was 8.9 percent compared with 38.7 percent in rural areas.¹³⁸ Since 2006, TurkStat has also produced poverty statistics based on income, using the Income and Living Conditions Survey, and in conformity with EU standards. Under this methodology, four relative poverty thresholds are calculated based on household disposable median income, and poverty rates can be determined according to gender, age, educational and employment status, and household characteristics.

In 2012, TurkStat suspended its use of household budget surveys in preparation for the adoption of a new approach for measuring multidimensional poverty that more accurately reflects conditions in Turkey. TurkStat has undertaken a number of initiatives aimed at developing, "a poverty measure that reflects multiple local indicators and data for Turkey... These indicators will help the decision makers or politicians to implement policies aimed at reducing poverty."¹³⁹ Although this type of methodology is too complex to describe in full detail in this report, it will generate data on monetary poverty and will also capture information about deprivation in other dimensions namely, education, labour, health and housing. Because indicators will be developed for the four dimensions listed above, it is likely that the new methodology will produce data on multidimensional poverty that also reflects gender and other differences.

¹³⁶ World Bank. 2016. Turkey Overview. (available at <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/turkey/overview>).

¹³⁷ Gürsoy, Z. & TurkStat. 2015. Multidimensional Poverty in Turkey. Working paper 20 prepared for UNECE Seminar on Poverty Measurement. 5-6 May 2015. Geneva.

¹³⁸ Ibid. p. 3.

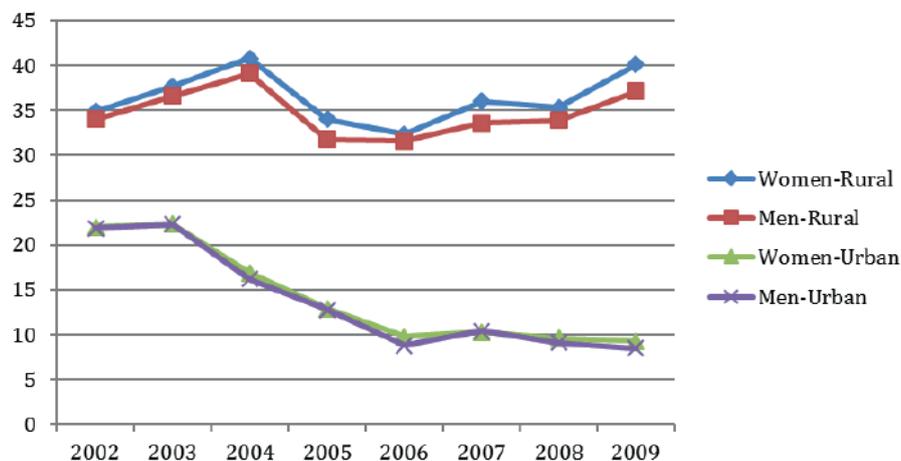
¹³⁹ Ibid. p. 8.

A. Poverty rates

Turkey has made significant efforts to reduce poverty, and by 2006 the country had reached its target under MDG Goal 1 to eliminate extreme poverty (defined as people who earn less than \$1.00 USD per day).¹⁴⁰ While the percentage of people experiencing poverty has also decreased in the country as a whole, poverty rates remain higher for people living in rural areas and for women. Levels of poverty are also closely correlated with an individual's educational attainment and the number of dependent children in the household.

Women face a higher risk of poverty than men in both urban and rural areas, but the gap is less significant for urban residents. From 2002 to 2009 (the most recent data available that are disaggregated by sex and location), poverty rates for both sexes living in urban areas declined, while the poverty levels of rural residents increased during the same period, with rural women experiencing the highest levels of poverty (see Figure 3, below). In 2009, the poverty rate for urban women was 9.3 percent, compared with 40.2 percent for rural women. While rural men also experience greater levels of poverty than men in urban areas, the gap is slightly narrower than it is for women (8.5 percent for urban men and 37.1 percent for rural men).

Figure 3. Poverty Rates by Sex and Residence for 2002-2009



Source: Chart created from the following TurkStat datasets: Poverty rates according to gender and educational status of the household members, Rural; and Poverty rates according to gender and educational status of the household members, Urban (2009 Poverty Study).

Data on women-headed households suggest that poverty and material deprivation are more common among FHH, regardless of the profile of the female head of the household (whether they are relatively young, educated and in wage employment in non-agricultural sectors or older and low-educated women). Thirty-one percent of FHH are poor, compared with 26.2 percent of MHH, defined as households that cannot afford at least four of nine material items.¹⁴¹

Information on patterns of key asset ownership offers another means of understanding relative poverty rates. The legal framework for property and inheritance regimes in Turkey is gender neutral, meaning that there are no restrictions on women's rights to own and dispose of property on an equal basis with men. Although women have legal rights to common property obtained through marriage and to inherit property, the *de jure* framework in Turkey, "does not necessarily reflect the social practices of property acquisition and ownership."¹⁴² Culturally and traditionally, property is registered in the names of male relatives and inheritance follows a patrilineal pattern.

Unfortunately, official statistics are not sufficient to assess the gender gap in property ownership and there are limited sex-disaggregated data on the ownership of real estate, moveable property or household assets. However, existing data demonstrate significant differences. For example, according to the Family Structure Survey (2006), 80.2 percent of women claimed to own no property, compared with 39.6 percent of men. While

140 Prime Ministry, Undersecretariat of State Planning Organization. 2010. Millennium Goals Report Turkey 2010. Ankara. p. 14.

141 The nine items are: (1) to pay rent, a mortgage or utility bills; (2) to heat the house adequately; (3) to cover unexpected expenses; (4) to eat a meal with meat or fish every other day; (5) to afford a one-week holiday; (6) owning a washing machine; (7) owning a color television; (8) owning a telephone / mobile phone; (9) owning a car (Uysal & Durmaz, 2016, p. 6).

142 O'Neil, M. L. & Toktas, S. 2014. Women's Property Rights in Turkey. *Turkish Studies*. 15(1): 29-44. p. 35.

nearly 20 percent of the surveyed women reported that they owned property, the survey also found that only 5.2 percent of vacant land (fields, estates or vineyards), 0.7 percent of workplaces and 11.5 percent of homes (houses or apartments) were formally owned by women.¹⁴³ A nationwide survey on domestic violence in Turkey (2008) found that 17 percent of women own part or all of at least one house, and more specifically, 9.2 percent owned a house in their name as the sole titleholder, 7.2 percent were joint title owners, and 82.9 percent of women did not own a house.¹⁴⁴ Of note, a 2014 survey on the same topic found that rural women were less likely than urban women to know that in the event of divorce, spouses have equal rights to property acquired during the marriage, although the overall level of knowledge among women was quite high (81 percent of rural women and 91.7 percent of urban women).¹⁴⁵

Other proxy data suggest some differences in property ownership. Official data on house sales in 2015 show that there were approximately twice as many men selling houses independently than women.¹⁴⁶ According to a survey conducted in 2015 involving around 2 000 women from 36 provinces, only 37.2 percent of respondents had a bank account.¹⁴⁷

B. Time poverty

Time use surveys, carried out in Turkey in 2006 and again in 2014-2015, indicate that men spend significantly more time per day in paid employment, while domestic work accounts for most of women's daytime activities. Therefore, in addition to asset and income poverty, women face constraints on the time that they can devote to formal employment because of the time that they spend on unpaid domestic labour. Time use surveys also confirm that gender roles remain quite rigid in Turkey.

Table 14. Average Time Used by Type of Activity, per day (2014-2015)

	Female Time Use (hours per person per day)	Male Time Use (hours per person per day)
Employment	1:09	3:58
Education	0:45	0:47
Household and family care	4:17	0:51
Meals and personal care	2:43	2:46
Voluntary work, meetings	0:51	0:34
Free time activities (for example, entertainment, sports, hobbies, watching TV)	4:30	4:56
Transportation	0:47	1:20
Sleep	8:52	8:44
Total	24 hours	24 hours

Source: TurkStat. Average activity time per person by type of activity and sex, 2014-2015 from Time Use Survey, 2014-2015.

On average, women spend around 17 percent of their day on household chores and family care, compared with less than four percent of men's day time. Women's employment does not fully relieve them of domestic responsibilities because the average working woman still devotes three and a half hours per day to household and family care (compared with 46 minutes per day for employed men).

By comparing the types of unpaid domestic activities that women and men undertake, it becomes clear that male and female roles are distinct (see Figure 4, below).

143 Ibid. pp. 35-36.

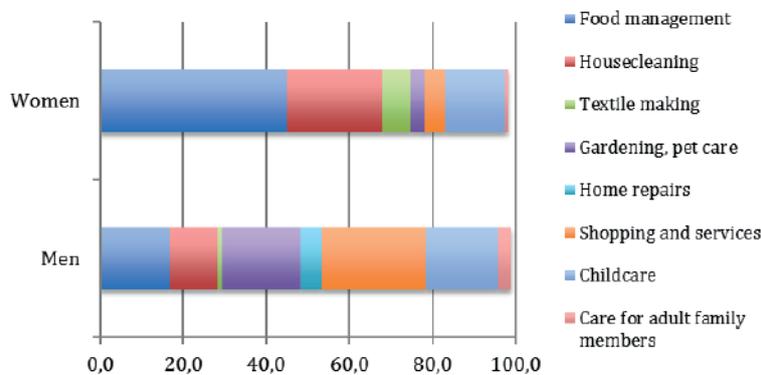
144 Ibid. p. 36.

145 Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, 2015, p. 184.

146 TurkStat. House sales in detail of genders by provinces, 2014-2015. (available from http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?alt_id=1056). Data supplied by the General Directorate of Land Registry and Cadastre (GDLRC). [accessed May 2016].

147 Miraç, Z. 2015. Economy, violence top Turkey's women issues. *Hürriyet Daily News*. 08 March 2015. (available at <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/economy-violence-top-turkeys-women-issues-.aspx?PageID=238&NID=79372&NewsCatID=341>).

Figure 4. Time Distribution on Household Management, by Sex (% of total day time)



Source: TurkStat. Time distribution in household and family care by sex and employment status, 2014-2015 from Time Use Survey, 2014-2015.

Notably, comparing the findings of the most recent time use survey with those from 2006, it is apparent that both women and men now spend less time in paid employment and in domestic work.¹⁴⁸ There were some changes to the time use categories between the 2006 and 2015 studies, but the recent time use study shows that women now spend more time in education than in the past.

Research on the amount of time that rural women devote specifically to agricultural activities each day shows that, on average, these women divide their time almost equally between housework (5.21 hours per day) and agricultural work (4.98 hours per day), leaving minimal time for other activities such as handicrafts or rest.¹⁴⁹ The agricultural work activities that women undertake include, "livestock production, post harvesting activities, food processing for family consumption and crop marketing."¹⁵⁰

A survey of 40 leading female farmers found that the women generally spend more time on agricultural production than on the processing of agricultural products. Close to a third of the surveyed women spend five to six hours per day on agricultural production, while for the large majority of them, the processing of agricultural products requires between one and three hours of labour per day.¹⁵¹ No comparative data were available on male farmers, although it is highly likely that women combine agricultural work with domestic responsibilities and men devote more time to income-earning activities.

Table 15. Amount of Time Female Farmers Devote to Agricultural Production and Processing, per day

Time dedicated to agricultural production		Time dedicated to processing agricultural products	
Time (hours)	% of respondents	Time (hours)	% of respondents
1-2	17.5	1	30.0
3-4	12.5	2	27.5
5-6	27.5	3	30.0
7-8	12.5	4	7.5
9-10	17.5	5	5.0
10+	12.5		

Source: Akin et al., 2013, p. 22.

Women's time poverty has implications for their ability to be formally employed in full-time work, to start and run their own businesses, to pursue education or training opportunities, to enjoy rest and free time and for their overall health.

148 TurkStat, 2015a, p. 98.

149 Özçatalbaş, O. & Akçaöz, H. 2010. Rural women and agricultural extension in Turkey. *Journal of Food, Agriculture & Environment*. 8(1): 262-267. p. 267.

150 Ibid. p. 261.

151 Akin, S., Kara, A., Kara, F. Ö. & Kurt, Ç. 2013. Profiles of Leading Female Farmers in Turkey. *Regional and Business Studies*. 5(1-2): 19-26. p. 22.

V. GENDER ISSUES IN AGRICULTURE AND RURAL LIVELIHOODS

The core set of gender indicators in agriculture recommended by FAO REU serves as a framework for basic gender analysis of the sector. In the case of Turkey, gender statistics on agriculture and rural livelihoods are limited, and data are not collected against all 18 gender indicators.

A. Land ownership

Access to and control over land is critical to both an individual farmer's productivity and her or his economic well-being, as land is an economic resource that can be sold, leased or used as collateral for loans.

The results of a nationwide survey conducted in 2008 found that it is unusual for women to own land in Turkey. Only nine percent of surveyed women owned, either jointly or as sole title holder, some form of vacant land; 4.1 percent owned land in their names, 5.1 percent owned land jointly with others, and 90.8 percent owned no land at all.¹⁵²

Several studies assert that the transmission of land favours sons over daughters, which, together with patriarchal customs and traditions, explains why women's rights to land are restricted.¹⁵³ The majority of rural women do not have land use rights, or their privileges for land use are not permanent. Women's husbands, brothers and fathers are usually the registered land owners. Women's lack of land ownership is generally justified by the fact that they do not claim any inheritance rights and it is thought preferable not to disturb the balance already established in favour of men's property ownership. The negative consequences for women can be summarized in the following points:¹⁵⁴

- A woman cannot own land in any of the three household structures during her life cycle (land rights belong to her father, her father-in-law or her husband);
- Even when land in her father's household is relatively abundant, a woman do not have the power to make decisions about use of the land;
- A woman's bargaining power before and during marriage is significantly low in terms of land rights.

Unequal ownership and control of land is a significant factor that negatively affects women's economic well-being, social position and empowerment.¹⁵⁵

B. Overview of farm structures and their characteristics

When the General Agricultural Census was conducted in 2001 there were around three million¹⁵⁶ agricultural holdings in Turkey, the majority of which were small-scale and whose land was fragmented and scattered. Of the more than six million households included in the census, around two-thirds (more than four million) were engaged in agricultural activity.¹⁵⁷ In 2011, under the Farmer Registration System (ÇKS), there were 2.3 million farmers and the registered agricultural land amounted to 15.6 million hectares, corresponding to an average size of 6.8 hectares per holding.¹⁵⁸ According to data provided by MFAL, as of 2015 there were 2 123 910 holdings included in the new TÜKAS registry, comprising 15.5 million hectares of land in total.

152 O'Neil & Toktaş, 2014, p. 36.

153 O'Neil & Toktaş, 2014, p. 38.; also see Uzun, B.A. & H.E. Çolak. 2010. The Issues of Women's Property Acquisition in Turkey. FIG Congress 2010, Facing the Challenges – Building the Capacity. Sydney, Australia, 11–16 April 2010. pp. 3–4.

154 Ecevit, M. 1994. Tarımda Kadının Toplumsal Konumu: Bazı Kavramsal İlişkiler [Social Position of Women in Agriculture: Some Conceptual Relations]. *Amme İdaresi Dergisi*, 27(2): 89–106. [in Turkish]. p. 98.

155 O'Neil & Toktaş, 2014, p. 40.

156 TurkStat. Results of General Agricultural Census Agricultural Holdings (Household) Survey, 2001. (available at http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/VeriBilgi.do?alt_id=1003). [accessed May 2016].

157 TurkStat. Results of General Agricultural Census Village Information Survey, 2001. (available at http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/VeriBilgi.do?alt_id=1003). [accessed May 2016].

158 Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock, no date, p. 5.

One of the primary reasons for the incomplete and limited data about the number and types of farm structures in Turkey is the fact that a nationwide and integrated registry system is still in the process of being established. Under a pre-accession review, the EU noted that in 2006, there was no system equivalent to the farm accountancy data network – a data network for agricultural and horticultural businesses.¹⁵⁹ It was envisioned that MFAL would establish and update statistical farm registers with support from TurkStat. The NSO conducted an Agricultural Holdings Structure Survey in 2006 and it was envisaged that farm structure survey information would also be included in the General Agricultural Census. At present, the farm accountancy data network is using automated data-collection procedures and is being expanded to cover all 81 provinces. The data that is being generated from the network is, “...currently being integrated with the ongoing census, agricultural land parcel database and other related databases.”¹⁶⁰

Available data about female holders should be viewed with some caution as the process of farmer registration is not yet complete. To date, there are 342 034 female farmers in the registry, which represents around 16 percent of the total number of registered farmers.¹⁶¹ It is not known whether women holders have yet been registered to the same extent as men. It is clear, however, that female farmers are represented across the country, that they grow a diverse variety of crops, and that like male farmers, the majority are over age 50. Further analysis of data about both female and male farmers is needed once the registration process is complete. Statistics about women's participation in specific types of agricultural production, both crops and animal husbandry, as well as wage data for women and men working in agriculture, are discussed in the following sections of this report.

Small and medium-sized holdings are characteristic of the Turkish agricultural structure, and the scale and fragmented nature of these enterprises renders the use of technology in this sector difficult, reduces labour productivity and mechanization, and limits farms' access to credit and loan opportunities.¹⁶² Small-scale farmers also face the risk of poverty, especially because they are often unable to manage the negative impact of external factors such as climatic changes, natural events and market uncertainties.

Turkish agriculture is predominantly based on family production, which is characterized by small-scale producers or subsistence production that relies heavily on women's unpaid family labour and seasonal work. Today, there are four main groups that are active in the agricultural sector: (1) poor village dwellers, mostly elderly, in need of state support for subsistence; (2) petty commodity producers able to produce relatively high priced products; (3) landowners in capitalist agricultural enterprises; and (4) landless labourers who work in agriculture, for example, seasonal agricultural workers.¹⁶³

In 2006, the NSO conducted an Agricultural Holdings Structure Survey, and out of all holdings, 62.3 percent were engaged in both crop production and animal husbandry, 37.2 percent were solely engaged in crop production, and 0.5 percent were engaged in animal husbandry only.¹⁶⁴

C. Entrepreneurship and agricultural markets

Female entrepreneurship has been increasing annually in Turkey and at a greater intensity than male entrepreneurship, but women still only account for around 15 percent of all entrepreneurs (compared with the European average of 31 percent) and eight percent of all employers.¹⁶⁵ Women-owned businesses tend to be small. Among 882 000 female entrepreneurs in 2012, around ten percent employed other staff, but the majority were individual entrepreneurs.¹⁶⁶ Research conducted with more than 300 female entrepreneur customers of Garanti Bank found that 70 percent of enterprises established by women were micro businesses (defined as having fewer than ten employees); and 22.4 percent of the surveyed businesses employed from three to five personnel.¹⁶⁷ The small size of female-established businesses is attributed to women's more limited access to capital and other financial support.

Moreover, women establish enterprises in a less diverse range of sectors than men. Only 14 percent of all entrepreneurs engaged in the sector of agriculture, forestry and fishing are women (the EU average for female

159 European Commission, 2006, p. 5.

160 European Commission, 2015, p. 44.

161 According to data on the number of female farmers, by district and province. Data provided by the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock.

162 National Rural Development Strategy 2014-2020. Section 2. 3. Agricultural Structure.

163 Özüürlü, 2011, cited in Candan, E. & Özalp Günal, S. 2013. Tarımda Kadın Emeği [Female Labour in Agriculture]. Tarım Ekonomisi Dergisi, 19(1): 93-101. [in Turkish]. p. 94.

164 TurkStat. Agricultural Holding Structure Statistics. Holdings, land operated by holdings and livestock by holding size and holding type. (available at http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/VeriBilgi.do?alt_id=1003). [accessed May 2016].

165 European Commission. 2014a. Statistical Data on Women Entrepreneurs in Europe. Country Fiche for Turkey. Brussels. p. 3.

166 Ibid.

167 Garanti Bank. no date. Research on Women Entrepreneurs. Istanbul. p. 16

agribusiness owners is 30 percent).¹⁶⁸ Women are much better represented in enterprises engaged in service provision, specifically in administrative and support services, health and social work, and education.

Women are much more likely than men to engage in entrepreneurship on a part-time basis (45 percent of all female entrepreneurs), while for most men, entrepreneurship is full-time work (13 percent of male entrepreneurs work part-time).¹⁶⁹ Entrepreneurs generally choose part time work when they have another job, are students, have household responsibilities, or as they grow older. Male entrepreneurs in Turkey are more likely than females to have a job in addition to their business (five percent of men and one percent of women).

On average, female entrepreneurs, both those that work full-time and part-time, work fewer hours per week than male entrepreneurs,¹⁷⁰ due to the need to balance work with family responsibilities. Women and men also have differing motivations for starting a business. Most male entrepreneurs enter business from another job (80 percent according to a sector assessment conducted between 2002 and 2005), while just over half of female entrepreneurs have this experience.¹⁷¹ Some research suggests that women mainly start businesses due to economic necessity, such as the absence or loss of the male breadwinner, the desire for flexibility in work that can be balanced with family life, or due to experiences of discrimination in the labour market.¹⁷² Other studies find that women also have positive motivations such as personal ambition and an interest in pursuing long-time goals.

The main factors that negatively affect female entrepreneurship in Turkey include: lower levels of female education; a lack of business skills and experience; traditional concepts of entrepreneurship; political, economic and personal conflicts of interests; a lack of role models; insufficient and inefficient regulation and auditing (for example, inspections and monitoring); and women's more limited participation in society in general. Moreover, these factors are thought to intensify along the urban-rural axis.¹⁷³

In the area of agricultural entrepreneurship, MFAL initiated a programme in 2014 to support women to become individual entrepreneurs through the provision of training, grants (up to 30 000 Turkish lira) and zero-interest loans (up to 70 000 Turkish lira).¹⁷⁴ Fifty women took part in 2014. For 2016, ten provinces have been selected to promote the entrepreneurship of young women who live in rural areas and who are involved in agriculture. Rural entrepreneurship activities for women tend to focus on the individual development of women in activities such as carpet making and home-based businesses.¹⁷⁵

D. Rural finance

A lack of access to financial resources (both formal credit institutions and informal financial services) is one of the main difficulties faced by female entrepreneurs in Turkey. In one poll, only 12 percent of Turkish women stated that they had access to the funds needed to start or expand a business, compared with 21 percent of Turkish men and the OECD average for women of 27 percent.¹⁷⁶ Rural women's access to finance is constrained by several factors, such as their lack of mobility, which impedes access to markets and infrastructural services; their lack of information on modes and costs of finance; risks and uncertainties related to agricultural-based enterprises (such as fluctuating prices for agricultural products that render producers' income unstable); women's adversity to risk-taking behaviour; and the scattered nature of agricultural enterprises, which complicates the control of credits.¹⁷⁷

The fact that women rarely own real estate, houses or vehicles means that they have difficulty meeting the collateral requirements imposed by banks, even though these requirements are gender neutral. This situation is even, "more challenging in rural areas where [female] assets are confined to jewellery or furniture, not meeting the requirement for formal loans of banks."¹⁷⁸ Predominant stereotypes about women's role in financial decision-making also complicate the process of obtaining credit. For example, business women often view their work as

¹⁶⁸ European Commission, 2014a, pp. 5–6.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid. p. 8.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid. p. 10.

¹⁷¹ Özar, S. 2007. Women Entrepreneurs in Turkey: Obstacles, Potentials and Future Prospects [unpublished working paper]. (available at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/265204331_Women_Entrepreneurs_in_Turkey_Obstacles_Potentials_and_Future_Prospects). p. 18.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Soysal, A. 2013. Kırsal Alanda Kadın Girişimciliği: Türkiye İçin Durum Değerlendirmesi. [Women Entrepreneurship in Rural Areas: Situation Analysis for Turkey]. Eskişehir Osmangazi Üniversitesi İİBF Dergisi, 8(1): 163–189. [in Turkish]

¹⁷⁴ See the website of the Izmir Commodity Exchange. 2014. Supporting Female Entrepreneurship in Agriculture. 27 May 2014. (available at <http://www.itb.org.tr/en/News/13-supporting-for-female-entrepreneurship-in-agriculture>).

¹⁷⁵ Soysal, 2013, p. 170.

¹⁷⁶ Data are based on a Gallup poll. OECD. 2016. Women Entrepreneurship. Key Findings: Turkey. Paris. p. 2.

¹⁷⁷ Çadır, E. (KSGM). Tarımda Kadınların Finansmana Erişimi. (available at http://www.msmeturkey.com/fileadmin/msme/upload/pdf/T.C._Aile_ve_Sosyal_Politikalar_Bakanligi_Esra_Cadir-Tarimda_Kadin_Finansmani.pdf).

¹⁷⁸ El-Hamidi, F. & Başlevent, C. 2010. The Gendered Aspects of MSEs in MENA: Evidence from Egypt and Turkey. Working Paper No. 535. Cairo, Economic Research Forum. p. 20.

supplementary to men's employment and a, "second or third priority after her house, husband and [children], a message that is interpreted most often by financial officers as 'women are not as serious about the loan'"¹⁷⁹ Anecdotal evidence also indicates that it is not uncommon for loan officers in banks to ask women who apply for credit to, "provide proof of their husbands' approval before their applications are considered", even though there is no legal requirement for this.¹⁸⁰ As noted in section L below, only around a third of surveyed women and a quarter of men agreed with the statement that receiving credit for agricultural activities is an appropriate role for women.

Female entrepreneurs not only borrow less frequently than men, they also borrow smaller amounts. It has been estimated that the proportion of women who can make use of credit does not even reach one percent.¹⁸¹ A 2011 study of the gender credit gap found that of more than 200 000 formal small and medium-sized enterprises in Turkey, 38 percent are owned and / or managed by women; of these enterprises, over 54 percent were either, "un-served or underserved in terms of finance, with an average unmet financing need of \$56 207 per firm."¹⁸² Generally, women receive start-up capital from family members, use personal savings, or choose to enter sectors that only require a low level of start-up capital.

Several Turkish banks have credit programmes specifically for women entrepreneurs (for example, Garanti, the first to implement such support in 2006, as well as Ziraat Bank, ABank, Fibabanka, and Şekerbank). Şekerbank also partners with MFAL on a programme to support rural women's entrepreneurship in agriculture, with training activities and grants-in-aid for rural investment projects.

In contrast to financing from banks, microloans are often more accessible to women, and microfinance programmes for women have existed in Turkey since the early 2000s. One of the oldest microfinance institutions is Maya Enterprise, founded by the Foundation for the Support of Women's Work (Kadın Emegini Degerlendirme Vakfı). As of 2015, 12 200 loans have been disbursed under this programme, totalling 12 million Turkish lira.¹⁸³ Female entrepreneurs are also provided with business development support and training.

E. Crop agriculture

A large proportion of Turkey's agricultural land is devoted to crop farming, and the area of sown land has been increasing in recent years (in 2014, out of a total of almost 20 million hectares of cereal and other crop products, 79 percent or almost 16 million hectares were sown).¹⁸⁴ There is a large diversity of agricultural crops, ranging from cereals (for example, wheat, barley, maize, rye and oats), to vegetables (for example, potatoes, pulses, root vegetables, vegetables cultivated for their fruits, such as tomatoes and cucumbers, and leafy vegetables), fruits (including grapes, citrus fruits, apples, stone fruits and melons), olives and nuts, spices, tea, tobacco, oil seeds (for example, sunflower), plants used for textiles (for example, cotton and hemp), fodder plants (silage maize, alfalfa and sugar beets, among others) and even flowers and ornamental plants (floriculture).

Statistics about patterns of male and female crop farming are very limited, but MFAL maintains sex-disaggregated data about the number of holdings registered under the Agricultural Production Registration System (TÜKAS) by crop. Note that at present, the data do not represent all holdings in Turkey. The data indicate that in crop production, the general pattern of women's lower involvement as registered farm owners holds true, and women represent less than 20 percent of farmers of any crop. Nevertheless, women have greater involvement in some types of crop production (for example, nuts, fruit and tea) than in others (potatoes and vegetables).

Two important trends in crop production are the growth in the greenhouse industry and the increase in organic farming. Greenhouse production not only provides consumers with fresh produce all year round, it also offers small-scale farmers an important means of increasing income and because, "it requires intensive labour and input use in the production process, ... [greenhouse farming] encourages labour efficiency."¹⁸⁵ Unfortunately, no sex-disaggregated data could be found about the greenhouse industry, but it is known that while women make up the majority of greenhouse workers, especially in vegetable production, their role in decision-making is minimal.

179 Ibid.

180 Özar, 2015, p. 10.

181 Gıda, Tarım ve Hayvancılık Bakanlığı. 2013. Kırsal Kesimde Kadın Kooperatifleri. (available at http://www.amasyadsyb.org/docs/Semp02_02_Kirsal_Kesimde_Kadin_Kooperatifleri.pdf).

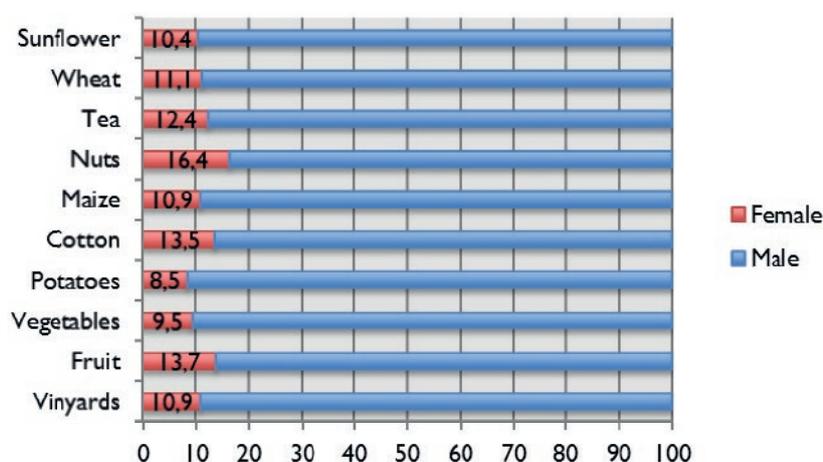
182 International Finance Corporation. 2014. Case Study. Garanti Bank SA: Combining SME Banking Excellence with a Proposition for Women Entrepreneurs in Turkey. Washington, DC. p. 8.

183 See the website of the Foundation for the Support of Women's Work, available at <http://www.kedv.org.tr/programs/economic-empowerment/?lang=en>.

184 TurkStat. 2015c. Turkey in Statistics, 2014. Ankara. p. 42.

185 Yılmaz, I., Sayın, C. & Özkan, B. 2005. Turkish Greenhouse Industry: Past, Present, and Future. *New Zealand Journal of Crop and Horticultural Science*. 33(3): 233-240. p. 233.

Figure 5. Distribution of Holdings, by Crop and Sex, 2014-2015 (%)



Source: Holdings registered under the Agricultural Production Registration System (TÜKAS).
Data provided by the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock.

Organic crop production has been growing in Turkey, in terms of the number of farmers engaged in organic practices and the size of the area that is sown. In 2014, 71 472 holdings were involved in the organic production of 208 crops, compared with 12 428 holdings and 150 crops in 2002.¹⁸⁶ The rise of organic and sustainable farming practices is attributed to the preferences of European importers and, more recently, increased demand from the middle-class, educated Turkish population for local and organic produce. MFAL supports demonstration projects on organic farming of the following crops: apple, hazelnut, cherry, grape, walnut, wheat, chickpea, raspberry, melon and vegetables.¹⁸⁷ No official sex-disaggregated data was found about organic farms, but MFAL has some oversight of the process for evaluating applications for organic certification through the Organic Farming Committee. Therefore, it is possible that application records could be disaggregated by the sex of the applicant or farmer. There is anecdotal information that a number of women run successful organic farms in Turkey, and the ministry's certification records could be a useful source of data to confirm this finding. Qualitative research is also needed to better understand women's engagement in organic, as well as greenhouse farming, both of which are potentially lucrative forms of crop agriculture. A study of rural women's adoption of organic agriculture conducted in 60 villages found that younger women with higher incomes and education levels were more likely to take up organic farming than their peers.¹⁸⁸ Other important factors that shape female farmers' engagement in organic practices are their access to larger land plots, the fact that they are already engaged in agricultural activities for commercial purposes and that they are participating in training programmes.

F. Livestock

In Turkey, the value of animal production (including both livestock and animal products) is slightly larger than the value of crop production (54 percent and 46 percent of total agricultural production, respectively).¹⁸⁹ Sheep and cattle are the most common types of livestock, but holdings also keep goats, donkeys, horses, buffalo, mules, pigs, camels and poultry. The only sex-disaggregated data about livestock ownership is compiled from two registry systems maintained by MFAL: the Turkish Veterinary Information System (TÜRKVET), which is limited to cattle, and the Sheep and Goat Registration System (KKKS). Current data, illustrated in Table 16, indicate that there are fewer female holders engaged in animal husbandry (of cattle, sheep and goats) compared with male holders and also that women have fewer animals in number and on average. While female holders have an average of 7.9 head of cattle per holding, male holders have on average almost four more head of cattle per holding (11.7). Both female and male holders keep more sheep than goats, but female holders have significantly smaller flocks. While women's holdings have on average 95.6 sheep and / or goats, the average for men's holdings is 152.6, or almost 50 percent more.

¹⁸⁶ TurkStat. Organic crop production, 2002-2014. (available at http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?alt_id=1001). [accessed May 2016].

¹⁸⁷ Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock website, available at <http://www.tarim.gov.tr/Konular/Organic-Farming/Organic-Farming-Projects>.

¹⁸⁸ Kaya, T. & Atsan, T. 2013. Factors Affecting Rural Women's Adoption of Organic Agriculture (TRA1 of Sample). [in Turkish: Kırsal Kadının Organik Tarımı Benimsemesini Etkileyen Faktörler Üzerine Bir Araştırma (TRA1 Bölgesi Örneği)]. Atatürk University Journal of the Agricultural Faculty, 44(1): 43-49.

¹⁸⁹ Data for 2011. TurkStat. 2012. The Summary of Agricultural Statistics 2011. Ankara. p. 1.

Table 16. Livestock Ownership by Sex of the Holder, 2014-2015

	Female holders	Male Holders
Total number of holdings with cattlea	141 234	1 332 498
Total number of cattle	1 114 901	15 563 779
Average per holding	7.9	11.7
Total number of holdings with sheep and / or goatsb	45 740	479 616
Total number of sheep and / or goats	4 371 348	73 190 506
Average per holding	95.6	152.6

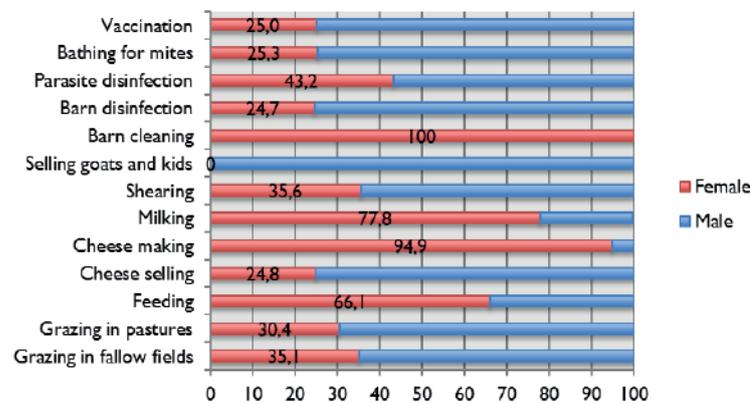
Sources: Data provided by the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock as follows:

(a) Data from TÜRKVET (b) Data from KKKS

In addition to disparities in livestock ownership between women and men, differing gender roles are also apparent in animal husbandry. Like other forms of agricultural work, and indeed the division of labour within households, women and men perform distinct tasks, very often related to traditional notions of what is "appropriate". For example, one study applied a gender analysis to labour patterns within households that raise goats by surveying 92 goat farmers in 26 villages of Isparta province (a Mediterranean area in which goat hair farming is an important agricultural activity, especially in mountain and forest villages).¹⁹⁰ Goat farming in this region follows a particular calendar and involves specific activities throughout the year, including grazing in pastures for most of the year, milking and cheese-making during a specific season, and shearing generally carried out at least once a year. Goat husbandry activities are conducted almost entirely by family members, and there is a fairly rigid gendered division of labour. According to the findings, women spent on average 6.47 hours per day and men spent 8.23 hours per day on goat farming activities.¹⁹¹ Grazing, barn disinfection, vaccinating, bathing the goats, shearing and selling goats and cheese are "male" activities, while milking, making cheese and barn cleaning are almost exclusively "female" work.¹⁹² Figure 6 illustrates the distribution of labour performed by male and female family members. Notably, men tend to be responsible for activities that demand more physical labour and being away from home, such as shearing, disinfection and grazing. Women's activities correspond with their role in housekeeping and are also those that would be more easily combined with domestic work. It should also be noted that while women contribute important labour in activities such as feeding and milking goats, they have a minimal role in income-producing activities, such as selling animals or cheese. Further analysis of women's role in decision-making about the income derived from goat husbandry would benefit rural development planning and policy-making.

Meat, egg and milk production have all increased in the last few years. In addition, Turkish agriculture also covers the production of animal hides and animal fibres (such as wool and angora), apiculture (beekeeping and honey production) and sericulture (silkworm production). While apiculture appears to be increasing (based

Figure 6. Gendered Division of Labour in Goat Husbandry, by Activity



Source: Yilmaz, *et al.*, 2014.

190 Yilmaz, H., Demircan, V., Gül, M. & Örmeci Kart, M.C. 2014. Gender Analysis of Family Labour Use in Traditional Hair Goat Husbandry. *The Journal of Animal & Plant Sciences*, 24(6): 1898-1903.

191 *Ibid.* p. 1899.

192 *Ibid.* p. 1901.

on the number of hives and volume of honey production), sericulture is declining. Until 2012, records were kept of the number of villages engaged in apiculture, but from 2013 onwards, the number of agricultural holdings in apiculture have been counted (83 467 holdings in 2015).¹⁹³ MFAL maintains a beekeeping registration system and provides financial support to producers with more than 30 hives. According to the beekeeping registry, the number of producers receiving support has increased dramatically from 200 in 2003 to 48 669 in 2015, and TurkStat data indicates that the total number of hives (both old and new) has risen from 4.2 million to 7.7 million in the same period.¹⁹⁴ In contrast, the number of villages engaged in sericulture decreased from 1 635 in 1991 to 360 in 2015, with a similar downward trend among households (from 29 689 to 1 957) in the same period. The volume of silk worm cocoons also decreased from over 1 300 tons to 66 tons by 2015.¹⁹⁵ MFAL also maintains sex-disaggregated data about beekeeping enterprises. There are over 58 000 enterprises in the registry, of which approximately three percent are female-owned.¹⁹⁶ The ministry reports that women are generally more involved in beekeeping than in keeping livestock and furthermore, from 2016 MFAL plans to use positive discrimination to support female honey producers.

G. Access to agricultural inputs

Agricultural inputs are resources that improve agricultural production and efficiency. Examples include farm equipment and machinery, seeds, fertilizer, pesticides, irrigation and veterinary services. There are no sex disaggregated data on the availability of key agricultural inputs to rural women and men, therefore general conclusions can only be drawn from other available information.

The Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock collects data about farm equipment on a regular basis, but the data are only disaggregated by location and not by sex of the holder. TurkStat compiles annual statistics on the number of distinct types of agricultural equipment in the country (there are nearly 100 categories of equipment and machinery combined), but there are no official data on ownership.¹⁹⁷ Existing qualitative research provides only a fragmented picture of women's access to and ownership of farm machinery. One study, conducted in the Tokat province, asked women and men for their opinions on several statements concerning gender roles and the allocation of agricultural resources. When asked whether "women should be able to use agricultural tools", slightly over half of the female respondents (53.2 percent) and less than half of male respondents (46.2 percent) agreed with this statement.¹⁹⁸ Around a third of women and men held the opinion that women should not use agricultural tools (the remaining respondents were undecided). The gendered division of agricultural labour may explain the results of the survey. Mechanized operations (such as soil preparation, seeding, pruning, chemical spraying and fertilizing, irrigation and harvesting), are usually considered to be "male work", while women and children undertake "intensive non-mechanized labour",¹⁹⁹ such as weeding, hoeing and picking (especially cotton picking). Women's use of farm machinery differs by crop and also depends on the work performed. For example, while a very small percentage of Turkish women undertake machine harvesting of cotton, around a quarter of the female workforce involved in cotton agriculture perform ginning activities (mechanized separation of cotton fibres and seeds).²⁰⁰ Finally, use of farm equipment is not equivalent to ownership. However, considering the fact that women represent a small proportion of crop farmers and own fewer livestock than male farmers, it can be assumed that they also own less farm equipment and machinery than the average farmer.

One of the areas in which FAO partners with Turkey is the promotion of integrated crop and pest management techniques in order to prevent the overuse and misuse of pesticides and chemical fertilizers. No data was found on any gender differences in either the use of synthetic pesticides or the adoption of integrated pest management techniques. As discussed above, in terms of agricultural labour, women have very minimal involvement in the application of fertilizers and pesticides in Turkey, but it is not known whether female farm holders conform to this general pattern. Similarly, among farming households that have adopted new methods of pest management, it is not clear to what extent such knowledge is transferred and shared with women in the household. Projects that target women specifically seem to be effective. For example, training for female farmers on pesticide use demonstrates that when women are directly involved, they adopt and promote measures to decrease reliance on chemical pesticides.²⁰¹

193 TurkStat. Apiculture, 1991-2015. (available at http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?alt_id=1002). [accessed May 2016].

194 Data provided by the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock.

195 TurkStat. Sericulture, 1991-2015. (available at http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?alt_id=1002). [accessed May 2016].

196 Data provided by the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock.

197 See TurkStat. Agricultural Equipment and Machinery Statistics. (available at http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/VeriBilgi.do?alt_id=1006). [accessed May 2016]; and TurkStat, 2012, pp. 83-84.

198 Kızılaslan, N. & Yamanoglu, A. 2010. Social Gender Analysis in a Turkish Province. The Province of Tokat: a case study. *New Medit (A Mediterranean Journal of Economics, Agriculture and Environment)*. 9(3): 76-80. p. 78.

199 Özekici B., Tekinel O. & Kiyamaz S. 2004. Women in agriculture and irrigation: Turkish case. In A. Hamdy, J.A. Sagardoy, R. Quagliariello, & G. Trisorio-Liuzzi, eds. *Integration of Gender Dimension in water management in the Mediterranean region: INGEDI Project*, pp. 123-131. Options Méditerranéennes, Série A. Séminaires Méditerranéennes, no. 62. Bari, CIHEAM. 146 p.

200 International Trade Centre. 2011. *Women in Cotton: Results of a Global Survey*. Geneva. p. 9.

201 See for example, MDG Achievement Fund. no date. *Empowering women farmers in Antalya*. (available from <http://www.mdgfund.org/node/2913>).

Access to water for irrigation is a concern for many Turkish farmers, due to the geographical specificities of the country and limited rainfall in some areas. Just over a quarter of the total agricultural land is irrigated.²⁰² There is also a gender dimension to the issue. Irrigation is largely managed at the local level by water user associations (WUA), cooperatives and other village-based organizations. It is reported that there are “many women engineers, managers and technicians” in state-run institutions that oversee irrigation, and that these women may have opportunities to find jobs in technical and managerial positions of WUAs (that are required by law to have at least one agricultural engineer as a member of staff).²⁰³ However, levels of female and male employment in water management or membership of WUAs could not be determined for this report. One study found that while female farmers are extensively involved in agricultural production, they participate very little in decisions concerning irrigation. This finding is explained by the fact that in Turkey, irrigation is regarded as heavy work and women are thought to lack the physical strength required for this type of work, therefore, “... they are not considered to be able-bodied.”²⁰⁴ Furthermore, some irrigation work is carried out at night, and women are expected to undertake family and household responsibilities at this time. Data on the wages of seasonal agricultural workers, by activity, reveal that in 2015 there were no females involved in irrigation work (including ditch digging, flooding and sprinkling) for a number of crops.²⁰⁵

Further study, as well as holding-based surveys, are needed for the more precise identification of gender differences in women’s and men’s ownership of important agricultural inputs, as well as determining how predominant gender roles may impact on their abilities to make use of such resources.

H. Agricultural extension services and training

Agricultural extension and advisory services, and access to new technologies, is vital for all farmers and has an impact on levels of agricultural production. Female farmers may face constraints in the use of advanced farming equipment due to their more limited financial resources, their lower levels of education and a lack of access to training.

Research conducted in three provinces of Northeast Anatolia, that examined factors that facilitate women’s adoption of innovations (including new technologies) in livestock production, found that there is a positive relationship between women’s age, education level, level of agricultural assets and mobility and their willingness to adopt innovations such as artificial insemination, milking machines, milking hygiene practices and organic agriculture.²⁰⁶ Specifically, the study found that younger women who have higher educational levels, own more animals and larger land plots, are located in or visit city centres, and who have greater access to media (specifically, television) are more willing to adopt new technologies. The study therefore recommended that education and training should focus on rural women and that it would also be useful to improve women’s knowledge and awareness of agricultural technologies through the media (both television and radio), especially during the winter months. It is worth noting that internet usage is low in rural areas (in 2013, 13.7 percent of rural households had an internet connection, compared with almost half of urban households²⁰⁷), and among rural women in particular. Almost 40 percent of rural men (aged 16-74) report that they use the internet, compared with 18.4 percent of rural women in the same age group.²⁰⁸ Women’s more limited access to information via the internet may also translate to lower levels of knowledge about agricultural innovations and inputs (which could include seed varieties, fertilizer or pesticide use and processing technologies, for example).

As discussed above, one of the constraints on Turkish women farmers is the limited intra-household transfer of agricultural knowledge, meaning that, “agricultural knowledge acquired by men, unless they themselves will benefit, often does not ‘trickle across’ effectively to women in the family.”²⁰⁹ A study on the attitudes of rural women and men to gender roles in agriculture confirms this theory. When asked if they agreed with the statement “women should attend courses concerning agricultural activities”, 69 percent of female respondents responded positively, compared with only 45.6 percent of male respondents.²¹⁰ Nevertheless, almost 20 percent of female respondents and 40 percent of male respondents disagreed that women should benefit from education in agriculture.

202 TurkStat. Agricultural Holding Structure Statistics. Holdings, Irrigated and non-irrigated land by land use. (available at http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/VeriBilgi.do?alt_id=1003). [accessed May 2016].

203 Özekici, Tekinel & Kıymaz, 2004, p. 129.

204 Ibid. p. 130.

205 TurkStat. Average daily wages of seasonal agricultural workers by selected products and activities, 2015. (available at http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?alt_id=1004). [accessed May 2016].

206 Atsan, T. 2015. Factors Affecting Rural Women in Adopting Agricultural Innovations on Animal Breeding: The Case of TRA1 Region. *Alinterai Journal of Agricultural Sciences*. 28(B): 1–8.

207 See Part III, section C above.

208 TurkStat, 2015a, p. 46.

209 Ibid.

210 Kızılaslan, & Yamanoğlu, 2010, p. 78.

In Turkey, the Ministry of Agriculture is responsible for agricultural extension services, and from 1984 it has used an approach whereby the Provincial Agricultural Directorate conducts extension activities at the local level. These particular services are said to be, "mainly oriented to male growers."²¹¹ There is also a long history of extension services being provided for women specifically, beginning in 1954, but the focus of such training is said to be mainly, "to develop [the] skills of women in relation to home economics and hand crafting."²¹²

The representation of women in the country's agricultural education and training system is another measure of the gender gaps in agricultural knowledge. Although a relatively large segment of the population engages in agricultural work, the study of agriculture attracts a small proportion of students in higher education. Due to professional segregation and traditional and cultural practices, women are especially underrepresented among students and graduates in agriculture and forestry. Among all students in higher education studying these subjects during the 2012-2013 academic year, 60.9 percent were males and 39.1 percent were females.²¹³ Female students are much more likely to study languages, literature and social sciences, where they make up more than half of the student population. Of note, the number of young women studying agriculture and forestry subjects has almost doubled between the 2000-2001 and 2012-2013 academic years, increasing from 8 154 to 16 600 students. A similar trend can be seen among male students, of which there were 18 268 studying agriculture and forestry in 2000-2001 and 25 909 in the 2012-2013 academic year.²¹⁵ It is not clear whether the increasing number of students in these particular subjects is merely a reflection of the overall increase in young people entering higher educational institutions across all fields of study in the past decade, or whether there is a particular interest in studying agriculture and forestry-related topics. Given that this combined field has the lowest enrolment rates compared with other subjects, and the trend toward employment in non-agricultural sectors, it seems unlikely that this is the case.

Box 3. Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock Program on Training for Rural Women

MFAL works to improve the status and economic empowerment of rural women through several initiatives, with particular emphasis on training and extension services (such as the dissemination of new technologies to women farmers), as well as supporting the establishment of women's cooperatives and promoting women's entrepreneurship in agricultural occupations. Since 2003, the ministry has supported over 170 000 activities and trained more than two million women from all 81 provinces of the country. Training related to agricultural production has addressed topics such as viticulture, apiculture, sericulture, animal husbandry and fruit production (67 137 female farmers were trained in 2015). Targeted agricultural training programmes have been initiated with the aim of increasing female entrepreneurship and employability in: fishing (Izmir), vermicompost (Kayseri), sericulture (Hatay), tomato production (Elazığ), greenhouse farming (Ankara), and alternative crop production (Gaziantep). MFAL has partnered with the Turkish Employment Agency (İŞKUR) and the Small and Medium Business Development and Support Administration (KOSGEB) on women's entrepreneurship activities, which include capacity-building oriented towards agribusiness, ecotourism and handicraft production. From 2016, particular attention will be paid to promoting entrepreneurship among young women (aged 18-40). MFAL also offers general training to rural women on household resources management and budgeting, child development, nutrition, education and handicrafts (in 2015, 18 964 women took part in these activities).²¹⁴

I. Forestry

Turkey is rich in flora and has over 21.6 million hectares of forest that account for 36 percent of all agricultural and forest land combined.²¹⁶ Almost all of Turkey's forest is owned by the state, but forests are nevertheless an important source of income and livelihoods for rural villages. In 2012, it was estimated that Turkey had more than 21 000 forest villages (defined as those containing forests within their administrative borders) with a combined population of seven million people (about ten percent of Turkey's entire population).²¹⁷ Two-thirds of forest villages are located adjacent to the forest, and the remaining villages are situated within the forests. Compared to urban areas and other rural communities, forest villages have low standards of living, high unemployment rates and lack access to basic infrastructure and services, such as education and health care. Forest residents typically depend on low-productivity tillage agriculture, animal husbandry and forestry work.²¹⁸

Because forest villages are located in remote and mountainous areas, they have little land that can be used for agriculture. Agricultural land is mainly illegally converted from forests, and it is unirrigated and prone to erosion,

²¹¹ Özçatalbaş & Akçaöz, 2010, p. 263.

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ TurkStat, 2015a, p. 65.

²¹⁴ Özge Karataş Soydan, Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock, Department of Training, Extension and Publications. 2016. Presentation at FAO validation workshop. 6 April 2016, Ankara, Turkey.

²¹⁵ Ibid. p. 73.

²¹⁶ TurkStat. 2015d. What the Figures Say. Ankara. p. 23.

²¹⁷ Ministry of Forestry and Water Affairs. 2014. Forestry Statistics 2012. Ankara. p. 138.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

and therefore, low in productivity.²¹⁹ Lack of access to grazing areas, as well as the high cost of animal feed, means that livestock breeding activities are also dependent on access to forest resources. For most forest villagers, the forest itself provides their main source of income, primarily through work in cooperatives. In 2010, there were 2 123 forest cooperatives with 290 000 members, and these were mainly engaged in wood production and marketing.²²⁰ Cooperatives serve as a means to assist local residents to manage forest resources in the most effective way, to reduce poverty, to balance income distribution and to combat illegal activities. Cooperative members typically undertake timber harvesting, debarking, removal and transport.²²¹

There appears to be no official sex-disaggregated data about female and male employment in forestry activities. A 2012 compilation of forestry statistics produced by the Ministry of Forestry and Water Affairs does not include data about individual employment. A country report produced by the Turkish General Directorate of Forestry and the Ministry of Forest and Water Affairs for the FAO Global Forest Resources Assessment 2015 states that 61 813 people were employed in forestry in 2010 (67 percent in silviculture activities, 24 percent as permanent workers, and nine percent as temporary workers).²²² In the section of the FAO questionnaire about data on the proportion of female employees, the country report on forestry states "n/a" (not applicable). It is not clear whether this response means: (i) that there were no women employees out of more than 61 000 forestry employees in total; or (ii) that there were no female employees in these particular posts.

Gender analysis suggests that in Turkey there is a, "widespread belief that forestry work is unsuitable for women because of difficult working conditions."²²³ Therefore, while women have played key roles in nursery, plantation, harvesting and silviculture practices, they are underrepresented in forestry engineering. The dominance of social norms such as these also means that there are very few female members of forestry cooperatives, and no female cooperative leaders, despite the fact that there are no legal prohibitions in Turkey preventing women from taking these roles.²²⁴ In fact, there are few forestry jobs that require high levels of physical strength and stamina, (such as fire-fighting, for example), for which women might be less likely than men to meet the requirements.

Women's limited role in formal forestry work does not mean that they are not engaged in other forms of forest-based labour. Women spend a significant amount of time gathering non-timber forest products such as plants, fruits, mushrooms, herbs, pinecones and wild nuts. They usually use forest resources as, "a source of income and also as a mean[s] of sustaining the family by providing food, medicine and fuel for the family and fodder for livestock."²²⁵ Studies carried out in specific forest areas of Turkey indicate that women gather a range of non-timber products for food, medicine and handicrafts (specifically, to use as dye in weaving), while men's role in such activities is more limited.²²⁶ Men most typically gather mushrooms and plants to use in veterinary medicine or participate in other types of plant gathering when the resources are located at a distance from the village. Because the sale of non-timber forest products generates a relatively small income, it is thought that improvements to the collection and sale of such products could contribute to improved rural livelihoods. An assessment of several forest villages found that there is also interest in and the potential to expand other income-generating activities, many of which would be open to women, such as beekeeping, selling dairy products (milk, butter and cheese) and developing eco-tourism.²²⁷ Lastly, given their distinct gender roles, women tend to have greater knowledge of local wild plants (for example, which are edible, how to wash and prepare them, and where and when to gather them), and this traditional knowledge is very important for environmental management.

J. Fisheries and aquaculture

Turkey is surrounded by three large bodies of water – the Mediterranean Sea, Aegean Sea and Black Sea – and has numerous rivers and natural and dammed lakes. In 2013, Turkey's total aquaculture production was worth over 1.6 billion Turkish lira, and the total value of the products of sea fishery was more than one billion Turkish lira.²²⁸ Under its Vision 2023 economic development plan, Turkey has set the target of becoming the largest fishery in the EU.²²⁹

219 Shimizu, T. & Trudel, M. 2006. Methodology and case studies on linkages between poverty and forestry: Afghanistan, Iran, Kyrgyzstan and Turkey. FAO Livelihood Support Programme Working Paper 35. p. 61.

220 Atmiş, E., Günşen, H.B. & Özden, S. 2010. How can Turkey's forest cooperatives contribute to reducing rural poverty? FAO / Unasylva 234/235.

Vol. 61: 51–53. p. 51.

221 Ibid. p. 51, p. 52.

222 FAO. 2014b. Global Forest Resources Assessment 2015. Country Report Turkey. Rome. p. 101.

223 FAO. 2006. Time for Action. Changing the Gender Situation in Forestry. Report of the Team of Specialists in Gender and Forestry. Rome. p. 85.

224 Atmiş, Günşen & Özden, 2010, p. 52.

225 Toksoy, D. Alkan, S. & Hacısalıhoğlu, S. 2010. Usage of non-timber forest products by women in forest villages of Trabzon, Turkey. Journal of Environmental Biology. 31(6): 1013–1016.

226 See Toksoy, Alkan & Hacısalıhoğlu, 2010 and Shimizu & Trudel, 2006. (Studies conducted in the Trabzon and Antalya regions.)

227 Shimizu & Trudel, 2006.

228 TurkStat. 2014. Fishery Statistics 2013. Ankara. p. 6.

229 See <http://www.invest.gov.tr/en-US/sectors/Pages/Agriculture.aspx>.

Gender analysis of the fishing and aquaculture industries in Turkey is limited, and very little of the relevant official data is sex-disaggregated. A nationwide survey of persons engaged in fishing, both large- and small-scale, conducted in early 2014 indicates that men dominate the fishing industry and account for 98.6 percent of fishery workers (in 2013, out of a total of 33 455 fishery workers, 32 985 were male and 470 were female).²³⁰ Here, the term “fishery workers” refers to professionals engaged in fishing, meaning the capture of fish and sea products. While women represent a small minority of workers engaged in fish capture, the employment patterns for both sexes are similar: out of all the people working in the fishing industry, most are full-time employees between the ages of 20-55.

Table 17. Distribution of fishery workers by age, working time and sex (2013)

Age groups	Number of women		Number of men	
	Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time
Under age 20	5	12	634	51
Age 20-55	340	53	27 182	1 527
Over age 55	51	9	3 158	433
Total	396	74	30 974	2 011

Source: TurkStat, 2014, p. 41.

Given the high proportion of men in the industry, it is not surprising that their employment patterns in fish capture are much more diverse than women’s. Out of all the women working in fishing in 2013, two-thirds were working on the Aegean Sea. Similarly, 73 percent of women were working in gillnet fishing,²³¹ while male workers were more evenly distributed on trawlers, purse seine vessels, carrier vessels and others.²³² Official data about the number of fish capture workers who are in unpaid employment (generally because they are partners or household members of fishing crews), or who work for a share of caught fish, are not disaggregated by sex. However, it is known that registered fisherwomen who work mainly on the Aegean coasts (and also on lakes), are mainly engaged in small-scale activities. Women usually fish alone or provide support to fishermen husbands who work in larger-scale fishing, for example by making and mending nets, cleaning boats or processing paperwork. These women usually work part time alongside their spouses in the early morning. Following this and during the rest of the day, they are engaged in other activities, such as housekeeping, child care, animal husbandry and agriculture.²³³ Female workers are rarely registered with local fishery cooperatives, and they are unlikely to be registered under the social security system, which means that they do not benefit from social protection.²³⁴

Experts maintain that women are an “invisible workforce” in the Turkish fishing and aquaculture industries. Despite the fact that they work in many jobs (such as paperwork, sales, processing and cleaning fish, and research and education), women are most often in unpaid jobs in family enterprises, and their contributions are seldom recognized in policy or through data collection. Unlike fish capture, aquaculture in Turkey offers women greater possibilities for employment. However, the industry is perceived as dangerous for women, and in 2006, only 12 percent of the aquaculture workforce was female.²³⁵ Female workers tend to be employed in temporary or part-time and low-skilled work. They receive lower salaries than their male counterparts. Women typically work in hatcheries and perform tasks such as research, feeding, harvesting and fingerling production for stocking ponds and cages.²³⁶ In marine aquaculture, women carry out vaccinations and tend to work part time and are paid seasonally or daily. Women are usually involved in production rather than management positions in aquaculture, whereas men have more opportunities for advancement. In 2006, 39 fish farms out of a total of 1 000 (roughly three percent) were owned by women.²³⁷

Women represent the majority of workers in post-harvest fish production, including the handling, processing and marketing of aquatic products, at the small-scale private, cooperative and industrial levels. In fact, women are the preferred workers in fish processing. Therefore, they often earn more than men because processors receive a basic wage as well as a percentage per kilo of the processed product.²³⁸ While women represented the majority of workers in the fish processing subsector (70 percent) in 2006, they were, “rarely able to break into the

230 TurkStat, 2014, p. 41.

231 Gillnetting is both a traditional and commercial fishing method in which fish become entangled in nets that are hung vertically in the water.

232 TurkStat, 2014, p. 41.

233 Benli, A., Veliöğlu, A. & Çelebi, R. 2010. The Role of Women in Fisheries and Aquaculture in Turkey. Proceedings of the EIFAC Symposium on Interactions between Social, Economic and Ecological Objectives of Inland Commercial and Recreational Fisheries and Aquaculture, Occasional Paper No. 44. Rome, FAO. pp. 175-176.

234 Tozlu Yılmaz, Ç. 2014. Invisible Workforce of Women in the Fisheries and Aquaculture Sector in Turkey. The Mediterranean Sea. Fisheries and Beyond. December 2014 - Watch Letter No. 31. Paris, International Centre for Advanced Mediterranean Agronomic Studies (CIHEAM).

235 Benli, Veliöğlu & Çelebi, 2010, p. 175.

236 Ibid. p. 176.

237 Ibid. p. 175.

238 Ibid. p. 176.

male dominated ranks of senior administration or factory management.²³⁹ Women's work also tends to be limited to this particular stage of the value chain. In contrast, men have a much greater role in the marketing and sale of fish and sea products, due in part to working hours that are not considered suitable for women. Of note, there is potential to increase female employment and entrepreneurship in the aquaculture sector. For example, under an EU-funded project, 30 unemployed women received vocational training on the design, cutting, maintenance and repair of nets used in aquaculture and fishing.²⁴⁰ An increase in the number of skilled workers in this field will address the high demand for fishing nets that Turkish manufacturing companies are unable to meet through domestic suppliers. Within the project, the female beneficiaries were encouraged to form a cooperative to take advantage of market opportunities and continue to train other women.

Women are also present in administrative, educational and research work associated with fisheries. In 2007, women represented 28 percent of academic staff in departments relevant to fisheries and around 40 percent of graduate students.²⁴¹

K. Governance and networks

Women's role in the country's governance may at first appear to have limited relevance to the everyday lives of female farmers and women in rural communities. However, the presence of women in government not only means that they will have a greater opportunity to set the agenda for agricultural reforms and rural development, but it also influences how society views women in leadership.

At the national level, women are underrepresented in decision-making positions in government and other sectors. Women constitute 37 percent of all civil servants working in the Prime Ministry, ministries, universities, general directorates and boards.²⁴² In 2014, women represented nine percent of all high-level civil servants and 9.4 percent of high-level contract officers.²⁴³ These figures have not changed significantly over time. In 2015, only 2 of the 27 ministers were women.²⁴⁴ No data are available on the number or proportion of female civil servants by ministry, specifically those relevant to agriculture or rural development (for example, MFAL or the Ministry of Forestry and Water Affairs).

In the national parliament, women have not reached the 30 percent threshold that is considered critical to having an effective voice in decision-making. However, the number of female parliamentarians slightly increased after the November 2015 elections. At present there are 81 women in Turkey's Grand National Assembly – the highest number of women in the country's parliamentary history. Women represent 14.7 percent of parliamentarians, compared with 14.4 percent after the 2011 elections.²⁴⁵ Women's representation increased in almost all parties in the recent elections, although only two parties have voluntarily adopted quotas for female candidates (the Republican People's Party (CHP) and the People's Democratic party (HDP)). There are no regulations, such as mandatory quotas, that would promote the inclusion and representation of women in politics.

Women have not made as much progress in terms of entering government at the local level. In 2014, women were best represented as city councillors but still only filled ten percent of these posts. Although the number of women holding local government positions increased after the 2014 elections, in comparison with the 2009 elections, they are still underrepresented in mayoral posts and as village leaders (see Table 18, below). In 2014, women were elected to ten percent of metropolitan municipality mayor positions (three posts),²⁴⁶ but given that there are 40 female mayors in total, opportunities for women in office seem to be greater outside of metropolitan areas. Notably, the People's Democracy Party instituted a co-chairing system in all municipalities where it was successful in the last election, so women have also gained representation as co-mayors.²⁴⁷

239 Ibid.

240 Delegation of the European Union to Turkey. 2012. Women's touch for sustainable fisheries. 28 January 2012. (available at <http://avrupa.info.tr/eu-funding-in-turkey/eu-funded-programmes/success-stories/success-stories-single-view/article/womens-touch-for-sustainable-fisheries.html>). [accessed December 2015].

241 Benli, Veliöğlu & Çelebi, 2010, p. 177.

242 State Personnel Department statistics, May 2016, available at: <http://www.dpb.gov.tr/tr-tr/istatistikler/kamu-personeli-istatistikleri>.

243 TurkStat, 2015a, p. 132.

244 TurkStat. Data from the Turkish Grand National Assembly. Number of Ministers by Sex 1980-2015. (available at http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?alt_id=1068). [accessed May 2016].

245 Data from the Inter-Parliamentary Union Women in National Parliaments (available at <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>). [accessed December 2015].

246 Government of Turkey, 2014a, para. 92.

247 European Commission. 2014b. Turkey Progress Report. p. 57.

Table 18. Women in Local Government (2014)

Office	Total number of positions	Number of women	Proportion of Women (%)
Mayor	1 396	40	2.9
City councillor	20 498	2 198	10.7
Member of Provincial Assembly	1 251	60	4.8
Head of village	18 143	58	0.3
Member of village council	80 705	1 007	1.2
Head of mahalle	653 013	622	0.1
Member of mahalle council	137 781	3 419	2.5

Source: TurkStat, 2015a, p. 137.

In the sphere of agriculture, cooperatives are important in terms of increasing women's agency. Cooperatives in Turkey have a specific legal meaning. They include agricultural cooperatives (specific types that deal with agricultural credit, sales, development, irrigation, fisheries and sugar beet growers) and non-agricultural cooperatives for housing and consumers, for example. Of the total number of cooperative members, agricultural cooperatives account for around half of members of the primary cooperative types, and agricultural cooperatives have a higher number of members per entity. In 2012, there were a total of 13 935 agricultural cooperatives.²⁴⁸ Because Turkey's agricultural sector is characterized by small-scale holders, farmers who are unable to take advantage of economies of scale have voluntarily established cooperatives in order to, "... overcome the difficulties faced due to the limited land and resources including finance, in order to have more bargaining power and better access to markets and cost efficient input supply through cooperatives."²⁴⁹ At the same time, it is a common practice for MFAL to, "[impose] an obligation to the farming community to establish a cooperative as a condition of benefitting from the government incentives and subsidies..." Some such cooperatives have survived, while others have collapsed and only exist "on paper."²⁵⁰

For female farmers, cooperatives offer several clear advantages. They have the potential to: (1) make women more active and efficient; (2) increase women's access to resources; (3) increase women's presence in marketing processes; (4) facilitate women's access to international markets; (5) promote local governments' support; (6) increase rural women's awareness of joint action; (7) promote solidarity; (8) include women in the social security system; and (9) contribute to the development of women's skills. According to data from 2013, within MFAL there are 43 agricultural development cooperatives that are established by women with a majority of women members and 21 of these have been supported by the Ministry.²⁵¹ Moreover, a protocol between MFAL, the Ministry of Family and Social Policies and the Union of the Chambers of Agriculture of Turkey developed in 2012 aimed to provide training on cooperatives for women.

Women may be more engaged in cooperatives that have been specifically established to represent their interests or which primarily have female members. A small-scale study of women farmers (40 in total) suggests that women are not well-represented among more "mainstream" cooperatives. According to the study, most of the women farmers (70 percent) were not members of cooperatives.²⁵² The reasons they have for non-membership included the following: a lack of trust in the cooperative chairman (35 percent); their husbands did not permit them to join (25 percent); a lack of female membership in the cooperative (17.5 percent); a lack of well-functioning cooperatives in the area (ten percent); and the fact that membership would be an additional time constraint (five percent). Furthermore, the majority (more than 75 percent of respondents) identified gender-based barriers to cooperative membership, mainly related to the lack of role models for female cooperative members. This finding suggests that in addition to the efforts mentioned above to support women in establishing their own cooperatives, efforts are also needed to ensure that women are represented and participate in general agricultural cooperatives.

248 Durutan Okan, N. & Okan, C. 2013. An Overview of Cooperatives in Turkey. Budapest, FAO REU. p. 15.

249 Ibid.

250 Ibid.

251 Gıda, Tarım ve Hayvancılık Bakanlığı, 2013.

252 Akın, et al., 2013, p. 24.

L. Rural women's empowerment

Women's empowerment is a concept that includes the power to make decisions, not necessarily in formal leadership positions in business or the public sector, but in the processes by which women solve problems and make choices in their personal lives, including about farming practices. Measuring rural women's empowerment is complex because multiple indicators must be used and the data can be subjective (for example, asking respondents to report on who makes specific decisions in the household). Women's agency is also reflected in gender roles and whether women and men believe that it is appropriate for women to exercise control over certain aspects of their lives or make specific decisions.

Differences in gender roles are more pronounced in rural parts of the country where household tasks tend to be divided quite clearly between women and men. Women have primary responsibility for meal preparation and laundry, while men are more likely to be involved in tasks that involve financial decisions, such as paying bills and purchasing food. Table 19 illustrates how labour is divided within rural and urban families, but these data were collected through a Family Structure Survey carried out in 2006. It is quite likely that over the last decade, family dynamics have changed. Additionally, household work that is performed by relatives from other households or paid workers is not included in the table as the contribution was small (with the exception of household maintenance and repairs, which almost 11 percent of rural families and 15 percent of urban families outsource to other workers).²⁵³

Box 4. Definition: Women's Empowerment

The UN defines "women's empowerment" as consisting of five components: (1) women's sense of self-worth; (2) their right to have and to determine choices; (3) their right to have access to opportunities and resources; (4) their right to have the power to control their own lives, both within and outside the home; and (5) their ability to influence the direction of social change to create a more just social and economic order, nationally and internationally.²⁵⁴ Economic empowerment refers more narrowly to the capacity to exercise control over one's livelihood through the ability to make choices on what productive activities to engage and invest in, to decide how and when to engage in markets and to influence the terms on which to do so.²⁵⁵

Table 19. Division of household responsibilities, by sex and location (% of households)

Activity	Rural			Urban		
	Female	Male	Jointly*	Female	Male	Jointly*
Cooking	87.8	2.3	8.8	86.7	1.8	9.8
Preparing the table for meals	77.6	2.5	18.8	72.2	2.4	24.6
Ironing	83.2	2.0	8.8	84.8	2.3	9.9
Daily shopping (food and beverages)	29.0	47.0	20.9	42.5	25.9	30.0
Payment of monthly bills	11.1	78.7	6.6	20.3	63.9	12.2
Small household repairs, maintenance	5.8	70.9	5.7	7.1	67.0	6.7

Source: TurkStat, Family Structure Survey, 2006.

* Note that joint decision-making refers to "family members together" and not necessarily just the husband and wife.

Survey data on intra-household decision-making is limited, both in terms of the types of decisions that were included in questionnaires and the timeliness of the surveys themselves. Nevertheless, the data do provide some insights into women's participation in decisions, as well as how they perceive their role in this regard. While most women disagree with the statement "decisions in the family should be made only by men", rural women are significantly more likely than urban women to hold this opinion (21.5 percent of rural women agree, compared with only 7.5 percent of urban women).²⁵⁶ In general, joint decision-making is the norm for Turkish households, but families in rural areas tend to adhere to more rigid gender roles. Therefore, rural men tend to make more decisions independently, especially concerning the areas for which they are considered responsible. Rural women are not as involved in autonomous decision-making to the same extent as urban women, even in the spheres of housekeeping and child care. Table 20 illustrates the patterns of decision-making within rural and urban families, but it is worth noting that this data was collected in 2006.

253 TurkStat. Family Structure Survey, 2006. (available at http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?alt_id=1068). [accessed May 2016].

254 United Nations Population Information Network. Guidelines on Women's Empowerment. See FAO Term Portal, available at <http://www.fao.org/faoterm/en/>.

255 OECD. 2012. Poverty reduction and pro-poor growth: The role of empowerment. p. 22.

256 Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, 2014, p. 189.

Table 20. Division of household decision-making, by sex and location (% of households)

Decision	Rural			Urban		
	Female	Male	Jointly*	Female	Male	Jointly*
Housekeeping	39.7	19.7	40.7	47.6	10.2	42.2
Shopping	16.6	29.6	53.8	25.9	14.9	59.2
Choosing the house	13.9	36.5	49.6	19.0	25.0	56.0
Relationships with neighbours	16.2	21.6	53.8	23.7	12.6	63.8
Relationships with relatives	12.5	23.9	63.6	17.1	14.6	68.4
Issues related to children	17.3	22.5	60.1	21.6	11.6	66.8

Source: TurkStat, Family Structure Survey, 2006.

* Note that joint decision-making refers to "family members together", and not necessarily just the husband and wife.

There are similar gender-based distinctions in the types of agricultural labour undertaken by women and men, and women are less likely to be involved in processes such as the purchase and sale of livestock or the marketing and sale of agricultural products. Likewise, studies in which women and men are asked about the kinds of roles and decisions that women make concerning agriculture suggest that, in general, agriculture is not viewed as a sphere where women take a leading or authoritative role. Research conducted in 34 villages of Tokat province (West Black Sea region) among 171 households found that women had, "more equalitarian, more democratic and more actively participatory roles both in the context of agricultural activities and in family life", while men tended to hold more traditional views of women's roles.²⁵⁷ Moreover, even women themselves appear to lack confidence in their abilities concerning farming. For example, only half of the women respondents agreed with the statement that a woman can successfully manage an agricultural enterprise (the figure was even lower for male respondents – just over a third).²⁵⁸ Although the majority of female respondents (80 percent) agreed that women should give advice on how agricultural income is spent, only a third felt that women should carry out financial transactions involving the farm, such as applying for loans or making purchases. In both cases, men were even less likely to agree that women should undertake these types of role. The male respondents also had a lower estimation of the contribution that women make to farming, and disagreed more often than the female respondents with the statement that agricultural work should be distributed equally.

Table 21. Opinions of Women and Men on Gender Roles in Agriculture

Statements concerning gender roles	Women's responses (%)		Men's responses (%)	
	agree	disagree	agree	disagree
Females and males should share agricultural work equally.	73.1	15.8	50.0	32.8
Females provide substantial contributions to farming activities.	87.7	6.4	67.8	19.9
Women can manage an agricultural enterprise successfully.	52.1	25.2	35.7	49.7
In agricultural activities, sons have more responsibilities than daughters.	74.3	17.0	82.5	9.9
Women should advise on how to spend agricultural income.	80.1	7.0	57.3	32.2
Women can carry out official transactions such as receiving credit for agricultural activities and making purchases.	32.8	57.9	24.6	59.7
Women should participate in income-generating non-agricultural activities during the winter season.	62.0	25.7	55.6	32.2

Source: Kizilaslan & Yamanoglu, 2010, pp. 76–80.

Note: The undecided responses included in the original survey are not reproduced here.

It is difficult to draw precise conclusions about the levels of women's empowerment based on small-scale surveys about decision-making and attitudes toward gender roles. This situation is not limited to Turkey, and work has been done to develop a standardized tool to measure women's empowerment and inclusion in the agricultural sector (the Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index) that has been piloted in other regions. This index includes indicators on the level of women's inputs into productive decisions, control over the use of income, ownership of assets, purchase, sale or transfer of assets, decisions about credit, membership in relevant groups and workload.²⁵⁹ The tool cannot be applied within the framework of this gender profile and further information is needed for a full analysis, but considering these criteria in a general sense, it does appear that women in Turkey experience forms of disempowerment in relation to agriculture. Women face distinct constraints related to accessing, and decision-making about, key resources and lack autonomy in many areas of agricultural production.

²⁵⁷ Kizilaslan & Yamaoğlu, 2010, p. 76.

²⁵⁸ Ibid. p. 78.

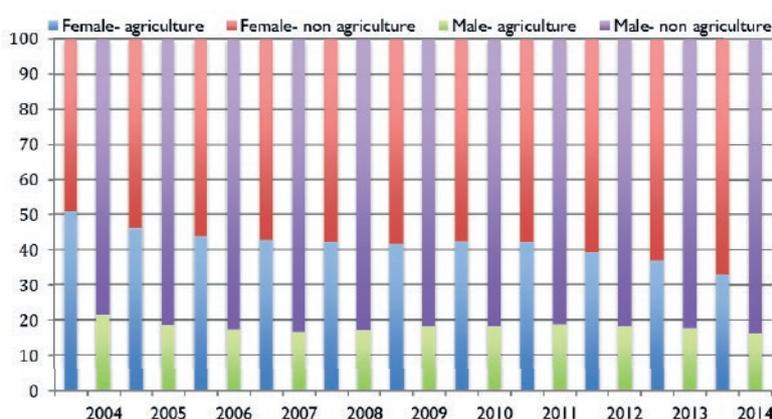
²⁵⁹ See the Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index Resource Center for further information and guidance, available at <http://www.ifpri.org/topic/weai-resource-center>.

VI. GENDER INEQUALITIES IN AGRICULTURAL LABOUR

The share of employees, of both sexes, in agriculture has been decreasing in comparison with employment in other non-agriculture sectors. According to TurkStat, the share of agriculture in total employment has declined from 67.7 percent in 1970 to about 25 percent in the 2010s. While this figure is still quite high compared with developed countries, it is important to understand which segment of the working population is shifting to other sectors. Those who migrate from rural to urban areas, and from the agricultural sector, face significant challenges in finding employment in the services sector or in industry, as well as high levels of unemployment. The main reason for this is the fact that most internal migrants have low levels of education and lack the skills that are in demand in urban labour markets. Moreover, it is generally men who migrate to cities and out of the agriculture sector, which means that women remain in rural areas and continue to be involved in agricultural production.

From 2004 to 2014, the proportion of women employed in agriculture fell from more than half (50.8 percent) to close to a third (32.9 percent). In the same period, the proportion of men employed in agriculture decreased from almost a quarter (21.6 percent) to 16.1 percent.²⁶⁰ While agriculture is an increasingly less significant sector for men's employment, it remains very important in terms of women's employment. Nevertheless, women who are able to do so are entering non-agricultural professions and this is an increasing trend.

Table 22. Distribution of Agricultural and Non-Agricultural Employment, by Sex (2004–2015)



Source: Labour Force Statistics, 2004–2014 (TurkStat, 2015a, p. 81).

The term “female employment in agriculture” actually represents a complex phenomenon, encompassing formal and informal employment, as well as seasonal work. In fact, for the majority of women engaged in this sector, their labour is typically informal and unpaid, which differs markedly from the experience of men. As illustrated in Figures 7 and 8, almost 80 percent of women who are employed in agriculture are unpaid workers on family farms; less than a quarter of men provide this type of unpaid work.²⁶¹ The majority of men working in agriculture are self-employed, a reflection of the fact that they are holders of small farms. It is also notable that only a very small proportion of either males or females working in agriculture employ other people; 1.8 percent of men and 0.1 percent of women.

Generally, rural women have insufficient educational opportunities, do not own land and have very limited access to paid labour. Women's work outside the home is seen as an extension of housework, and is therefore not considered as an economic activity. Women's work as unpaid family labourers places them at risk of significant levels of poverty and is also why Turkey exhibits a “feminization of agriculture”.

The reliance on family labour on smallholdings also means that family members are engaged in agricultural activities from a young age. Survey data from 2006 reveals that a smaller proportion of girls and women work in agriculture on family farms compared with boys and men, largely due to the fact that, as adults, women have other household chores. However, there is very little difference in the average number of days that females and males work in agriculture.²⁶²

²⁶⁰ TurkStat, 2015a, p. 81.

²⁶¹ Data on females and males over age 15, for August 2015. TurkStat. Labour Force Statistics. Employment status by years and sex. (available at http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?alt_id=1007). [accessed May 2016].

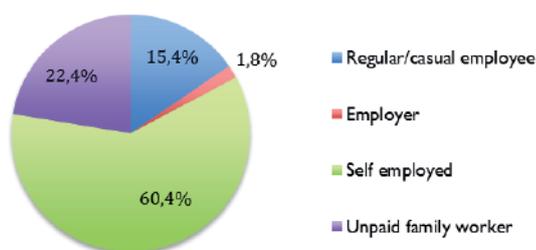
²⁶² TurkStat. Agricultural Holdings Structure Survey 2006. (available at http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/VeriBilgi.do?alt_id=1003). [accessed May 2016].

Figure 7. Employment Status of Women Working in Agriculture (2015), % of total



Source: TurkStat, Labour Force Statistics, Employment Status by Years and Sex.

Figure 8. Employment Status of Men Working in Agriculture (2015), % of total



Source: TurkStat, Labour Force Statistics, Employment Status by Years and Sex.

Table 23. Distribution of household members working on their own holding and average number of days worked, by sex and age (2006)

Employment status	Females				Males			
	9-13 years		Over age 14		9-13 years		Over age 14	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Household members whose major occupation is agricultural activity, without a subsidiary occupation	1.1	125	46.1	175	1.4	119	51.4	189
Household members whose major occupation is agricultural activity, with a subsidiary occupation	1.1	97	32.8	170	1.2	105	65.0	169
Household members whose major occupation is non-agricultural activity but with a subsidiary occupation in agriculture	4.0	50	26.5	97	5.7	45	63.8	95

Source: TurkStat, Agricultural Holdings Structure Survey 2006.

Note: 'A' represents the proportion of household members working (%), and 'B' represents the average number of days worked in agriculture.

There is a sharp gender division of labour in agricultural work, as noted elsewhere in this report. Women are usually involved in low-status, labour-intensive work in agriculture, while men undertake capital and technology-intensive jobs in line with the increasing mechanization of agriculture.²⁶³

Work on family holdings is one type of agricultural labour. Seasonal agricultural labour, performed by migrant workers and covering the harvest period of almost all agricultural products in Turkey, is an equally important phenomenon. According to a report on the issue of seasonal worker migration in Turkey,²⁶⁴ there are officially 300 000 seasonal agricultural workers, but there are estimated to be more than one million unregistered workers, including children. Thus, seasonal agricultural migration, which used to be seen as a transitional work arrangement, is now a primary form of occupation for a substantial segment of the population. Seasonal migrants work an average of four months per year, predominantly in the harvesting, collecting and drying of hazelnuts in the Black Sea Region, olives in Aegean, cotton in Çukurova, and onions, sugar beet, apricots and other crops in Central Anatolia. Seasonal migrant workers, consisting of both the rural and urban poor, do not have any social security. Their living conditions are generally determined by brokers, who find their jobs, bargain for their wages, organize their transportation and take a commission from their wages. The accommodation and working conditions of seasonal agricultural workers are far below minimum health and hygiene standards. Moreover, there are significant wage differentiations among workers doing the same job on the basis of sex, ethnicity and geographic location (discussed in more detail below).

A gendered division of labour also exists among seasonal migrants. Despite the challenging social, economic and environmental conditions, it is the women who are responsible for the care and nutrition of the family, as well as cleaning.²⁶⁵ Seasonal migrant women typically work on the land for 12 to 14 hours per day and also perform daily chores, such as cleaning the tent, child and elderly care, cooking, washing the dishes and other tasks, all of which increase their workload significantly. Female seasonal agricultural migrants are one of the most disadvantaged groups in Turkey, and they face very difficult working and living conditions.²⁶⁶ A gender analysis of enterprises engaged in early potato farming in Adana (in the Mediterranean region) offers a case study of gender differences in seasonal agricultural work.²⁶⁷ Among the enterprises studied, women comprised between 70 and 80 percent of seasonal labourers, with an average age of 25. The majority of women worked in seasonal labour because they had no other source of income, and their families permitted them to undertake seasonal work only, "for fear of negative rumours being spread about them" if they had other employment.²⁶⁸ The women worked 103 days per year: 70 percent of this time was spent exclusively in potato production; and the remaining time was spent travelling to harvest tomatoes, melons or hazelnuts. Seasonal labourers worked 12-hour shifts, beginning at 7:00 a.m., but it was also found that men were able to take more frequent rest breaks, while women were additionally occupied with child care and food preparation. Women perform work such as planting, hoeing, harvesting, bagging potatoes in sacks and sewing sacks, while men fill and transport potato sacks and also deal with irrigation and mechanical labour.

TurkStat annually collects data on the wages of both seasonal and permanent labourers on agricultural holdings. Daily and monthly wages (of seasonal and permanent workers, respectively) are calculated by combining the total payments that employees receive (including regular wages, salaries, bonuses and overtime pay) and dividing that amount by the number of days worked.²⁶⁹ While wage data for permanent and seasonal workers are not directly comparable, employees in both categories experienced wage increases in 2015. For female seasonal workers, the daily wage increased by 13.3 percent (to 46 Turkish lira) but only 9.6 percent for male seasonal workers (to 59 Turkish lira). In contrast, monthly wages for both male and female permanent workers showed a larger, but close to equal, increase (by 19.2 percent for women and 19.8 percent for men, the equivalent of a monthly wage of 1 332 and 1 563 for female and male workers, respectively).²⁷⁰

Despite the fact that wages have increased for female and male permanent and seasonal agricultural workers, there is still a gender wage gap, with women earning less than men in both categories. Figures 9 and 10 illustrate that the gender wage gap is larger for seasonal agricultural workers. In 2015, among permanent agricultural workers, women's average monthly wage was equivalent to 85 percent of men's average monthly wage, an improvement from several years earlier when the gap was closer to 75 percent. The wage gap for seasonal workers in 2015 was greater; women's average daily wage was only 78 percent of men's. The gap is narrowing at a considerably slower rate for seasonal workers, suggesting that such work is particularly disadvantageous for women.

264 MİGA (Mevsimlik İşçi Göçü İletişim Ağı). 2012. Tarımda Mevsimlik İşçi Göçü Türkiye Durum Özeti [Seasonal Worker Migration in Agriculture: Turkey Situation Summary]. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. [in Turkish].

265 Candan, E. & Özalp Günel, S. 2013. Tarımda Kadın Emeği [Female Labour in Agriculture]. *Tarım Ekonomisi Dergisi*, 19(1): 93-101. [in Turkish]. p. 95.

266 MİGA, 2012, pp. 11-12

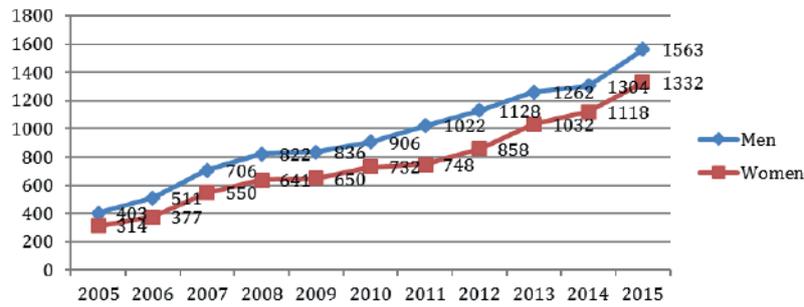
267 Davran, M. & Tok, N. 2011. Gender Analysis in Agricultural Enterprises Producing Early Potatoes in Adana Province of Turkey. *African Journal of Agricultural Research*. 6(2): 376-381.

268 Ibid. p. 379.

269 TurkStat. Metadata for Agricultural Holdings Labour Wage Structure, 2015. (available at <http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/PreHaberBultenleri.do?id=21722#>). [accessed May 2016].

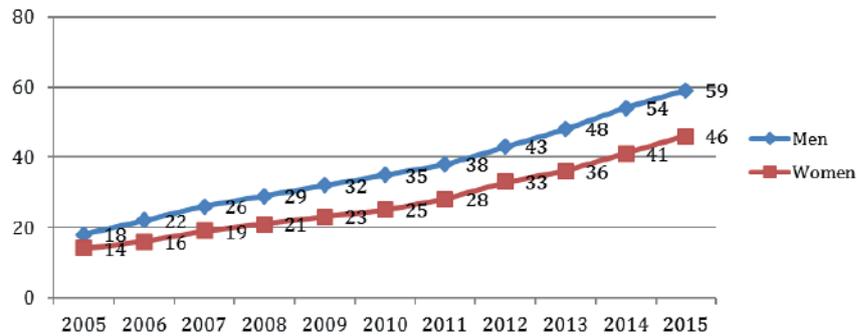
270 TurkStat. 2016a. Agricultural Holdings Labour Wage Structure, 2015. Press Release. No. 21722. 02 March 2016.

Figure 9. Average Monthly Wage for Permanent Agricultural Workers, by Sex and Year (in Turkish lira)



Sources: TurkStat, Agricultural Holdings Labour Wage Structure surveys, 2006-2015.

Figure 10. Average Daily Wage for Seasonal Agricultural Workers, by Sex and Year (in Turkish lira)



Sources: TurkStat, Agricultural Holdings Labour Wage Structure surveys, 2006-2015.

Wages for seasonal workers vary by region, and there are larger gender wage gaps in some provinces (for example, West Anatolia and West Marmara).²⁷¹ The gender gap in daily wages is also dependent on the type of agricultural work performed, which reflects the gendered division of labour. Some work is almost exclusively performed by women or men (for example, women dry tobacco and men are involved in irrigation building). As noted in Figure 11, the gender wage gap is narrow in the case of some activities, such as land clearance, but significant for others. In the case study concerning potato farming, where there was a clear division of labour along gender lines, women's daily wages were lower than men's; women received 23 Turkish lira and men received 30-35 lira per day.²⁷² The data also indicate that there are differences in the average daily wage between female and male seasonal labourers performing the same work, depending on the crop. For the most part, men earn significantly higher wages than women for weed clearing and hoeing for several crops: kidney beans, grapes, hazelnuts and several kinds of fruit trees.²⁷³

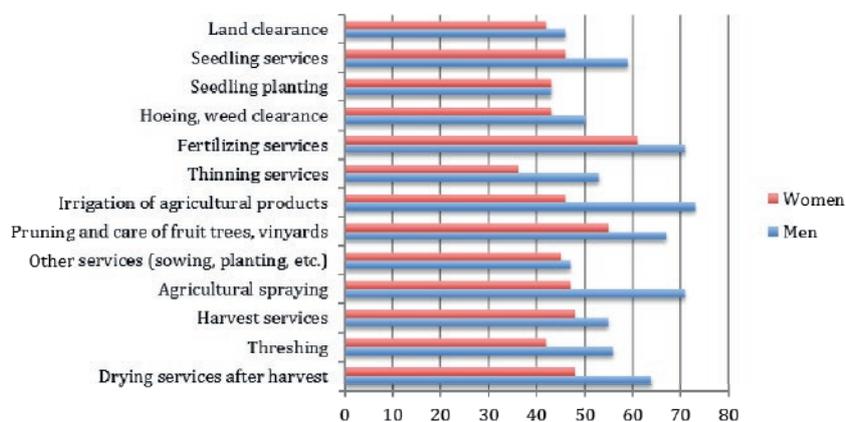
Finally, data about the employment patterns of female household heads suggest that agriculture work has a different character for this group of women than for the general female population working in agriculture (which includes women from both FHH and MHH). While the data are not directly comparable as they are derived from different sources and use varying methodologies, they do suggest that women headed households are more likely to be self-employed (probably meaning that they are running a family farm) and provide less unpaid family labour (as they are most likely not working on farms that are formally owned by male holders or male heads of household).

271 TurkStat. Average daily wages of seasonal agricultural workers and monthly wages of permanent agricultural workers by provinces, 2015. (available at http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?alt_id=1004). [accessed May 2016].

272 Davran & Tok, 2011, p. 379.

273 TurkStat. Average daily wages of seasonal agricultural workers by selected products and activities, 2015. (available at http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?alt_id=1004). [accessed May 2016].

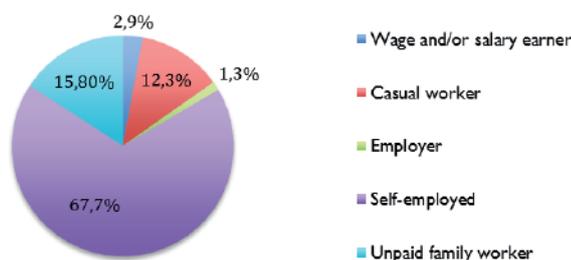
Figure 11. Average Daily Wages of Seasonal Agricultural Workers, by Selected Activities and Sex, 2015 (in Turkish lira)



Source: TurkStat, Agricultural Holdings Wage Structure Survey, 2015.

Out of all female household heads employed in agriculture, most are self-employed (more than two-thirds), followed by employment as unpaid family workers, as shown in Figure 12.

Figure 12. Employment Status of Female Household Heads Working in Agriculture (2014), % of total



Sources: Uysal & Durmaz, 2016; TurkStat, Income and Living Conditions Survey, 2014.

Labour force data from the same year (2014), that does not distinguish between female household heads and other women, suggests that a very large majority of women working in agriculture are unpaid workers: 81 percent for women as a whole, but only 16 percent for female household heads. While the proportion is still very small, women heading households are also more likely to employ other workers. As noted above, such data is not conclusive, but they do suggest that further study is needed to better understand the links between women's economic empowerment and their status as household heads.

Figure 13. Employment Status of Women Working in Agriculture (2014), % of total



Sources: TurkStat, 2015a, p. 92; Household Labour Force Survey, 2014.

VII. CONCLUSION

Gender inequalities in the Turkish agricultural sector take the form of unequal access to real estate, property, livestock, farming equipment, entrepreneurship opportunities and financial resources, all to the detriment of women. The predominant production model relies heavily on non-paid family labour and a seasonal, and often migratory, workforce. Women take on a large share of the agricultural labour but are largely unseen in national statistics, and the informal nature of their employment means that they miss out on critical social benefits, such as accruing pensions.

From the 1980s and 1990s onwards, agriculture has gradually lost its character as an income-generating economic activity, which has had a particularly negative effect on women. Coupled with the high prevalence of informality in agricultural employment and the invisibility of female labour in this sector, it is clear that women do not benefit equitably from a production process to which they contribute greatly.²⁷⁴

In addition, there are persistent inequalities between rural and urban areas in terms of women's access to education, health care and decent employment in non-agricultural sectors.

Nevertheless, programmes dedicated to supporting rural women and female farmers specifically demonstrate the tremendous potential for further growth. When provided with training, knowledge and access to credit and technology, women are often quick to adopt innovative approaches and to seek ways to reach new markets. In contrast, women's limited decision-making over agricultural production and inadequate control over the returns from their labour serve as considerable disincentives and, ultimately, impede production.

At the time of completing this national gender profile, MFAL was expanding and integrating their processes for collecting agricultural data. Therefore, available data cannot yet be considered completely representative of the situation as a whole. Nevertheless, the data provide glimpses of women's minor roles in terms of formal farm ownership and management yet their critical functions as agricultural workers. As agricultural registries and databases continue to be improved, it will be crucial to maintain sex-disaggregated data and also to cross-tabulate and analyse the data against other indicators, such as age, education level, holding size, harvests and yields.

²⁷⁴ Candan & Özalp Günel, 2013, p. 93.

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The purpose of this national gender profile was to collect and compile available data and information from diverse sources in order to shed light on gender disparities in rural settings and the status of rural women across a number of dimensions, with a focus on inequalities in agricultural employment. This publication aims to provide policy-makers, gender activists and researchers with a clearer picture of the types and degree of the main gender inequalities in agriculture and concerning rural livelihoods in rural Turkey. This national gender profile was discussed at the national workshop (Ankara, 6 March 2016) in which experts commented on a draft version of the present report.

The group of reviewers consisted of both data producers and data user stakeholders, such as statisticians from the national statistical service, representatives of the key ministries, agriculture experts, gender experts, the civil society sector, and representatives of international development organizations and financial institutions that support projects dedicated to rural women. This publication incorporates their specific suggestions and insights.



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