

Centralised or De-centralised Gender Policies?

Measuring Regional Gender Disparities in Turkey

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Abstract

This study provides the most comprehensive mapping of gender inequality in Turkey, and thus helping to establish a baseline to untangle locality-specific factors stimulating gender inequality. By measuring the distance from gender parity, the findings reveal that all cities have gender inequality. However, the issue is more severe for the cities in eastern Turkey than for those in the west. We compared the socioeconomic inequality of the cities and their level of closeness to parity, to determine which indicators must be prioritised as “impact zones” for each city to act upon. But the cities do not have relatively consistent parity figures, suggesting they are not similar to one another. Therefore, the intervention policies adopted in one may not necessarily be effective in others. All in all, the Turkish case explored in this study offers insights for other developing countries to review their policies to overcome their “gender inequality trap”.

Keywords: Gender Equality, Gender Policies, Regional Development, City Parity Score, Turkey

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1. Introduction

The attainment of a more equitable society and narrowing gender gaps are two current issues that are drawing considerable attention both from policymakers and researchers. There has been an increasing recognition that the pursuit of these two objectives is not solely desirable from a social equity perspective, but that it would have beneficial effects for a country's economy since gender equality has been closely linked to economic growth and countries' development (Walker and Kulkarni 2021; Ally et.al 2021; Bertay et.al. 2020; Braunstein et.al 2020; Farooq et.al 2020; Berik et. al 2009; Hakura et.al. 2016; Beneria et.al 2016; UNCTAD 2016; Tunç 2018; Amin et. al 2015; Reddock 2000) According to McKinsey Global Institute (2018), USD 12 trillion could be added to the global GDP in 2025 if all countries match their best-in-region country in progress toward gender parity.

The issues of women in Turkey, both in terms of legislative arrangements and social awareness, go back to 1923 when the Turkish Republic established as a predominantly Muslim country. Unlike the women residing in other Muslim countries, the Turkish women gained the right to exercise political rights-to vote and to be elected for public office at regional and national elections in 1930 and 1934, respectively (Yelsalı-Parmaksız 2019).

The amendments to the Constitution, the Criminal Code, and the Civil Code in relation to gender equality and public rights have brought forward notable progress in terms of aligning the Turkish legislation with the requirements of the internationally accepted standards (Gunes 2021). One of those remarkable advancements was that Turkey signed the Istanbul Convention, in 2011, which mainly prioritised the principle of gender equality and due diligence duty of state law enforcement practitioners.

Becoming a party to the Istanbul Convention, Turkey obliged itself to address all forms of violence and to take actions to prevent violence against women and domestic violence, protect the victims and prosecute the perpetrators. Having said that, on 20 March 2021 Turkey suddenly unilaterally withdrew from the Istanbul Convention, by notifying the Council of Europe. The loss of this valuable accomplishment in favour of Turkish women culminated in the fierce reaction against the authorities by majority of women as they accused the State of withdrawing from the Istanbul Convention without conferring with the women's NGOs and the women who reside in Turkey.

Enhancements in legislation and infrastructure to achieve gender equality and public rights are negated in Turkey by the fact that women have been pushed further to the centre of newly emerged gender hegemony. High level existence of patriarchal family structure, seeing the role of the Turkish women only as mothers and caregivers has been deepened further, and accompanied by religiosity and political conservatism.

There might be even a collision between cultural, societal norms and legal rulings in criminal law, and exhibiting linkages between legal processes and social norms that preserve patriarchal structures in the Turkish society (Güneş 2021; Muftuler-Bac and Muftuler 2020; EP 2018; Engin and Pals 2018). This has been particularly the case since 2002 when the Justice and Development Party (AKP) came into power; (Ozbay and Soybakis 2020; Özcan 2019; Cindoglu and Unal 2017; Buğra and Savaşkan 2014).

Though the AKP supports women's rights and their visibility in the society, Dedeoglu (2013:12) advocates that "sexual differences translated into socially defined gender roles through the religiously conservative outlook championed by AKP and adopted a decorative approach to gender issues in which women's de facto status stay intact despite the well-placed legal and citizenship rights in the society". As a result, the Turkish women have ended up in a more restrictive social and economic environment, struggling even more with a wide range of shortcomings vis a vis man in almost every aspect of life in the society.

Despite the existing strong determination and the efforts made so far to improve women's life standards, the gender inequality in Turkey persists very much for many women from various socioeconomic backgrounds and regions as well. All in all, it is argued that Turkey might be stuck in a "gender inequality trap" because of the dominance of patriarchal norms and institutions in the country (Cinar and Kose 2018). Buğra (2018) maintains that the top-down policies implemented hitherto may not be effective and efficient in eradicating gender inequality since they basically have not taken into consideration of locality-specific factors as a part of the process.

Last but not the least, urbanisation can be defined as double-edged sword for women since it may provide new challenges for women who migrated from the rural areas but also worsen their extant conditions (Smits and Gündüz-Hoşgör 2006). Over the last two decades, Turkey has urbanised dramatically, resulting in the urbanisation ratio of 93 percent as of 2019.

Therefore, identifying patterns of gender inequality in Turkish cities is an important part of developing a full picture because of the very high share of young women who live in those cities. In addition, cities act as the vibrant economic engines that are expected to boost innovation and growth and to build more inclusive and equal societies for all, including women.

Taking the current aforementioned settings into consideration, this study mainly aims to detect the locality-specific factors that must be prioritised as “impact zones” to eradicate gender inequality in Turkey. To achieve that CPS measuring gender equality and the distance from the parity in the socioeconomic factors are calculated for the 81 cities. This study first set the performance of Turkey in terms of socioeconomic and gender equality, then analyse it based on internationally accepted statistics in a comparative manner. To draw the full picture of Turkey in gender equality and women issues, the relevant literature also reviewed. Then, the study introduces the methodology and data used in the empirical work. The final section concludes the findings and suggests political approaches to be taken.

2. Picturing the Gender Equality and Socioeconomic Performance of Turkey

Tools to evaluate country performance in gender equality mainly based on the composite socioeconomic indicators, has been developed since the 1990s. However, they have been criticized to some extent that they do not prevail a full picture of country’s performance due to lack of historical perspective. Therefore, the internationally accepted gender equality indices are dealt with in this study in a historical view for Turkey.

Turkey’s socioeconomic and gender equality performance happened not to be sufficient, at least today. In the last decade, Turkey has become further distant from the gender parity based on Inequality-adjusted Human Development Index (IHDI), Gender Development Index (GDI), and GII, falling behind many other developing and even less developed countries. It ranks 54th and 65th among the 189 countries in Human Development Index (HDI) and IHDI in 2019, respectively. The UNDP also provides a time series of HDI values allowing 2019 HDI values to be compared with those for the previous years. In this context, the overall HDI growth for Turkey in the last three decades accounted for 1.18 per cent whereas the values for the World HDI only changed 0.62 percent on average.

Even so, since HDI is lacking in presenting a real full picture of human development, it is pertinent to make comparison between HDI and IHDI for Turkey. Based on this comparison, it reveals that IHDI dropped to the level of 0.683 from that of 0.820, translating to 16.7 percent

overall loss dropping 11 places in rank. Further, the GNP per capita for Turkish men more than double in 2017 in comparison with that of woman indicating that women's poverty has been escalating in Turkey. UNDP (2020) also reported that there has been a significant shift in the GII values of Turkey over the years 2000-2019. The GII value for Turkey changed by -0.20 , dropping from the level of 0.40 in 2010 to 0.306 in 2019 (see; Table I).

Table 1. Gender Inequality and Human Development Indicators for Turkey

Indicators	F vs. M	
HDI	0.82	0.813 0.817
IHDI	0.683	0.784 0.848
GDI	0.924	
GII	0.306	
Labour Force Participation Rate (% ages 15 and above)	53	34.4 72.6
Share of Female Employment in non-agricultural sector (% of total employment)	28.9	na
Time Spent on Unpaid Domestic Chores and Care Work (2008-2018)		na
% Of 24-hour day	19.2	
F/M Ratio	5.2	
Unemployment Rate (F/M Ratio)	1.36	na
Youth Employment Rate (F/M Ratio)	1.31	
Expected Years of Schooling (years)	16.6	16.0 17.1
Population with at least Some Secondary School (F/M Ratio)	0.69	
Population with at least Some Secondary Education (% ages 25 and older) (2015-2019)	61.2	50.2 72.2
Maternal Mortality Ratio (deaths per 100,000 live births) (2017)	17	na
Adolescent Birth Rate (births for 1,000 women ages 15-19) (2015-2020)	26.6	na
Share of Seats in Parliament (% held by women) (2017-2019)	17.4	na
Child Marriage by age 18 (% of women ages 20-24 who are married or in union) (2005-2019)	15	na
Violence Against Women Ever Experienced by Intimate Partner (% of female population aged 15 and older)	38	na
Women with Account at Financial Institution or with Mobile-Money Service Provider (% of female population ages 15 and older)	54.3	na

Notes: "na" denotes to not applicable.

Sources: The UNDP 2020; TurkStat Statistics various years; KOÇ-KAM, 2020; RTMFLSS 2019; RTMFSS 2014; EC 2018.

Patriarchal culture and deeply entrenched cultural beliefs about women often framed by religiosity have further promoted the preservation of the gendered status quo in Turkey (Dedeoglu 2013; Sancar 2006). As a matter of fact, how societies value women is a matter of culture rather than the religion that societies hold (Bowen 2018; Kızılcıca 2016; Mernissi 2011). Having said that, the religiously conservative outlook championed by the AKP rule since 2002 has translated sexual differences into socially redefined gender roles in a way in which women

and men are segregated and unequally positioned in the socioeconomic facets of life (Cınar and Kose 2018).

The alternative conceptualisation of modernity imposed by the AKP ruling party could not hold back the transformation of women's status in favour of patriarchy and conservatism, even resulting in a more restrictive socioeconomic setting for women in Turkey. There is a possibility that the effect of religion on patriarchal attitudes might diminish over a certain period, but the effect of political conservatism may remain stable (Engin and Pals 2018). Apart from intrinsically gendered systems and institutions as well as shifting elements of patriarchal culture, religiosity and conservatism in ways that elevate women, women's' participation in the economy seems to be the pioneering force for Turkey.

Cınar and Kose (2018:366) draw attention to the extreme importance of individual and societal dynamics behind women's empowerment in Turkey. Alongside arguing the rising conservatism framed by the modernisation reconceptualised by the AKP, the dominance of patriarchal norms and religiosity deeply embedded in the society, the study reaches to a conclusion that Turkey is stuck in a "gender inequality trap". Agreed with this inference, it is obvious that "gender inequality trap" as a concept might have many facets in the Turkish society. Therefore, we suggest redefining "gender inequality trap" as "multi-facet gender inequality trap" concept, accentuating it by including the sense of *de facto* factors dominating it.

During the period of 2000-15, Turkey urbanized dramatically, maintained strong macroeconomic and fiscal policy frameworks, opened to foreign trade and finance, harmonized many laws and regulations with the European Union standards, and greatly expanded access to public services. In those days, Turkey also maintained a long-term focus on implementing ambitious reforms in the areas such as the youth and women's empowerment.

As a result of the government-targeted programmes, poverty incidence more than halved and extreme poverty fell even faster with a zero-population living on less than USD 1.90 per day (UNDP 2020). Turkey's development progress regarded as a success story among other developing countries as a role model country amalgaming its cultural values with modernity. As a matter of fact, Turkey was one of the ten leading economies in the world that survived from the Global Finance Crisis in 2007-08. However, the macroeconomic picture of Turkish economy presently appears to be more vulnerable and uncertain, given rising unemployment,

depreciation of Turkish Lira, high level of inflation, elevated corporate and financial sector vulnerabilities, and patchy implementation of corrective policy actions and reforms.

Given the production components of the economy, it is mainly driven by its industry and, increasingly, service sectors, although its traditional agriculture sector currently accounts for about almost 20 per cent of employment.

Even though the recent GDP growth rate is 6.7 percent, the poverty rate however rose to 15.4 per cent. Mostly, due to the depreciation of Turkish Lira against USD, GDP per capita has dropped to USD 9,225 in 2020 from USD 13,000 in 2015. As a result, there has been an enormous increase in the poverty rate – 15.4 percent. In 2020, the statistics show that child dependency ratio, which indicates the total number of children per person in working age, was at about 33.7 percent whereas elderly dependency ratio, which indicates the number of people aged 65 and over per person in working age, increased from 14.1 percent.

This means that every one hundred people in working age were responsible for 33.7 children and 14.1 elders in Turkey for 2020 (see Table I). The lower level of dependency ratios in comparison with that of the World average restrain Turkey to reach the full potential of the productive population, leading to even a higher level of poverty in the coming years.

Most of the extant researches have shown that the low labour market participation of women has been interrelated to gender equality since one of the salient features of the labour market is the distinctly lower participation rate of women vis-à-vis men (Çağatay and Özler 1995; İlkaracan 2012; Dayıoğlu and Kırdar 2010).

Unlike the contemporary theories claim, there is no positive relationship between gender equality with the process of modernization and economic development for Turkey. However, it is predicted that with an increasing modernization in Turkey, female employment first decreases and then increases, which basically support the U-curve hypothesis (Gündüz-Hoşgör and Smits 2016). The effect of modernization is unfortunately overshadowed by the strong influence of patriarchal ideology, which is the most likely dominant facet of “gender inequality trap” in Turkey.

Gündüz-Hoşgör (2019) and İlkaracan et.al. (2020) highlight that women residing in towns happen to be more dependent on their husbands than those in rural areas because very few of them are gainfully employed in the urban areas. In recent years even women living in rural areas

where the role of women is identified with unpaid domestic work have started venturing into off-farm working because of decaying household income.

Putting aside the double-sided sword effects of women's participation to labour market we argue partly in this study, we observe that women's labour force participation rate in Turkey presently accounted for 53 percent, indicating that one in every two persons aged 15 years old and over is actively involved in the work force.

As of 2019, the relevant rate for female has been 34.4 percent whereas that of male is 72.6 percent. Yet, the female labour force participation was 34.3 per cent in 1988, 29.2 percent in 1998, and 24.5 per cent in 2008 a result of government subsidized policies for female and young workers. University-educated women might have achieved about half of the increase that occurred in urban female employment at that time, but their participation rate stagnated so the expansion solely reflected the growing size of their cohorts (Gönenç et. al 2014; Cin et. al. 2021).

In view of the data on hand, the female labour force participation by far has been lacking behind that of male, highlighting the fact that Turkey has slipped back to its old level three decades ago. Unfortunately, the labour force participation rate of prime-age women married with kids are the lowest, referring to the possibility of higher level of employment exist in informal economy for this group of women.

Nevertheless, the young women especially have been experiencing a very high level of unemployment. As of 2019, one out of three young women are unemployed whereas only one out of five young men are not in labour force (EDP 2019). Besides, the female participation in private sector both as employer and as employee has been declining since 2008. In this respect, Turkey is reported as outpaced by its peer countries (WB 2021).

Due to the geographical shift in the shares of rural population, the labour force participation in the rural areas in Turkey has been declining in recent years. It is anticipated that the women in rural areas with a higher propensity to participate in the labour market are more likely to migrate which could explain the declining labour force participation in rural settings.

To promote structural transformation in the economy by fostering inclusive growth, Turkey must boost the number of available jobs for women in the manufacturing sectors because this might be a way out for women with less than high-school education special in rural areas where

many women are counted as unpaid family workers. It is worth recognizing that a very high number of unpaid domestic job women do also artificially causes an increase in the female labour force participation but often masking low productivity quasi-unemployment in the informal sector (Gönenç et.al 2014).

Yet, female employment in non-agricultural sectors is only 28.4 percent which means that only one third of total employment in the non-agricultural sectors comprised of women (UNDP 2020). Considering the export-led economic growth period, the share of women in manufacturing increased from 12 percent in 1980 to 24 percent in 2009 (İlkkaracan 2012). According to Turkstat, the current ratio in fact has been flat since 1988.

Thereby, it is likely that some social and cultural factors somehow affect employers' decision and restrains the female labour force participation in an interesting way. On one hand, patriarchal attitudes fed by religiosity and conservatism towards the employment of women is one of the challenges. On the other hand, the working conditions that are set up by the demanders do not lean towards accommodating women in the manufacturing labour market (İlkkaracan 2012; Ince-Yenilmez 2014).

Turkey has adapted several equalitarian policies and reforms to trigger women's contribution to economy thus far. Based on the findings of the relevant studies considered so far, gender-segregated labour market in Turkey has remained intact. The impediments which have been keeping the Turkish women out of the labour market would be defined as the limited number of jobs available for women, long working hours, heavy working conditions, low wages, and skills. In brief, gender-based segregation both in the labour market and households predominantly nurtures from the socioeconomic and cultural environment in which women live, the individual attributes, locality-specific factors as well as the economic development of the country. This eventually results in an undesirable status in which women lag behind men in a chronic manner. All in all, this might partially explain the persistent nature of "gender inequality trap" as a concept in Turkey.

The extant literature also suggests that one of the key factors affecting gender equality relate to gender equality in education. It is well recognized that one of the impediments related to female labour force participation is linked to skill-based education. The low and stagnant labour participation rates for the low skilled women seem to persist in Turkey. If low-skilled and educated women did not fully joined the work force, the income loss that will occur would be

around 61 percent. This is neither in favour of women, nor for the welfare of the entire society (RTMFSS 2014). Contrary to the expectation that there are low gender gaps in the labor market in OECD countries compared to the rest of the world, these gaps are still sizable in many countries. The estimated aggregate losses in terms of income per capita associated with this degree of gender inequality for Turkey are reported as 17 percent on average. Of this loss, about a third would be attributed to the low numbers of women working as employers and/or self-employed. (İlkkaracan and Memiş 2021; Cuberes and Teigner 2015; Gönenç et.al 2014). The discriminatory norms stemming from patriarchy, religiosity, and conservatism deeply rooted in the societies interact closely with poverty and a lack of employment opportunities for girls and young women perpetuate marriage as a seemingly viable alternative for girls. This eventually results in inadequate investments by families in girls' education. There has been a flourishing literature investigating how education has changed the girls and women's life in Turkey (Cin et.al 2021; Çakıroğlu Çevik and Gündüz-Hoşgör 2020; Gündüz-Hoşgör ve Smits 2008). One of those studies on gender equality and education shows that the upward trend in gender equality in the labour market stems from the rapid expansion in higher education sector in the recent years. By tracking the changes in labour force participation, gender segregation in employment, and the gender pay gap, it is agreed upon that women with higher education enter into labour force at a significantly higher rate than those without higher education in Turkey. Although it is claimed that the gender gap in higher education has been closed, or even reversed in favour of women, this is not entirely the case throughout Turkey. Due to resilience of conservative values and traditional gender norms regarding women's education in Eastern Turkey, the expected positive association does not stand for this region. It is encouraging to observe in the research that the number of the women with higher education withdrawing from the labour market is much less than those without higher education (Cin et.al 2021; Çakıroğlu Çevik 2020). This is also observed in the relevant statistics that the unemployment rate for young women is lower than that of the national average (Turkstat 2020b).

On the evidence of the statistics by Turkstat, girls in Turkey are less likely to attend secondary school compared to their male peers with an average of 50.2 percent (72.2 percent for male) (see Table I). Even, there is determinist causation between the girls' schooling to primary and secondary education and regional disparities in Turkey (Smits and Gündüz-Hoşgör 2006; Mutlu 2012). Yet, there has been a significant progress taking place with dramatic improvements that remain necessary to improve girls' access to secondary education still intact. In view of the progress achieved hitherto, it is obvious that the target of one hundred percent school attendance

in 2023 set by the Turkish authorities appears to be a wishful thinking (EDP 2019; TukStat 2020c). On the bright side of this issue, we observe that women residing in towns are likely to be better off with regards to educational opportunities and household income in comparison with those in rural areas, and they can pass these gains to their children, relatively. It is also claimed that girls from the rural areas in Turkey most likely are not able to attend the most prestigious universities, and rather go to the moderate ones (Çakıroğlu Çevik and Gündüz-Hoşgör 2018). To this end, the striking fact that once girls get the opportunity to be educated in Turkey, many of them eventually become capable of participating to the labour force, and then work diligently. Suffice to say that the impediments preventing women from participating in the labour force in a later age actually rooted in their childhood because Turkish women have to overcome obstacles due to the multi-facet gender inequality in their childhood.

Some researchers manifest that the increase in unpaid work time for women has been about four times more than that of men, but the relevant spread for urban areas is wider than the rural ones (Kaya Bahçe and Memiş 2013). Women in Turkey have been loaded more and more by the accumulated burden due to unpaid domestic duties in the household. Gündüz and İlkaracan (2019) report that 86 percent of unpaid domestic work hours are performed by women, resulting in an estimation of the market value of unpaid work in domestic goods/services in between 21 percent and 29 percent. More importantly, there is a wide gap of gender inequality in the distribution of market versus non-market work hours. Based on recent data by the UNDP (2020), we found out that Turkish women spend one fifth of a-24 hours on unpaid domestic work while working at home which is five times more than men on average. According to the UNDP, the highest ratio among the 189 countries belongs to Egypt in which women have spent almost ten times more than men for working unpaid at home.

The family planning programme relatively marginalised because of shifting population policy towards a moderately prenatal approach in Turkey (Suziki-Him and Gündüz-Hoşgör 2019) Having said that, the metrics for Turkey show that there is no need to be utterly pessimistic since a significant progress has been achieved in the realm. The most recent publicly available figure for maternal mortality ratio appears to be 17 women per 100,000 live births. In comparison with many countries, Turkey has been stretching out itself from them in a positive way. The average maternal death ratio for the World is revealed to be 204 women, which is twelve times more than that of Turkey (UNDP 2020). In this respect, Turkey has been able to provide a high standard and widespread health care to women throughout Turkey, relatively.

Despite increasing global attention and commitments by countries to end the harmful practice of child marriage, each year some 15 million girls marry before the age of 18. Most of the relevant studies echo that child marriage is rooted in inequitable gender norms that prioritize women's roles as wives, mothers, and household caretakers. The matter in question is that how large is the global economic costs associated with the impacts of child marriage and early childbirths? It is estimated that welfare benefits globally could lead to \$566 billion by the year 2030 in so far as reducing the annual rate of population growth, ending child marriage and associated childbirths (Wadon et. al 2017).

Though marriage at early age is not widespread, it is still very common and culturally acceptable in the Eastern part of Turkey. Based on the data, the percentage of women married by age 18 is reported as 15 per cent. According to the UNDP (2020), the worst ratio belongs to Bangladesh with 59 per cent. One of the factors that appears to be promising for Turkey is that the percentage of women involving in financial services through digital platforms stands at the level of 54.3 percent. The World average for this metric is just above that of Turkey, with a ratio of 65 per cent (see; Table I). In the present era of digital transformation, women's digital inclusion is particularly prominent to reach capital to set up a business and becoming an entrepreneur. To this end, Turkish women have capabilities to adopt themselves rapidly to the changes in the technological world.

3. Methodology and Data

With the aim of crafting a detailed view of gender equality, and of detecting the contribution of each city when further progress towards gender equality achieved, McKinsey Global Institute (MGI) developed a methodology of the City Parity Score (CPS) for top Metropolitan Statistical Areas and some cities in the USA. The methodology suggested by MGI (2016) is followed in this study by adopting the City Parity Score (CPS) aiming to calculate the gender inequality measuring the distance from gender parity:

$$CPS = 1 - \sqrt{\frac{(1-\alpha_1)^2 + (1-\alpha_2)^2 + \dots + (1-\alpha_n)^2}{n}}$$

Where α_n represents each indicator in the CPS.

In the construction of the CPS for the 81 cities in Turkey, we used a methodology that is identical to the one used in MGI (2016). The indicators used in scoring CPS by the 81 cities fall into four categories: Those are equality in work, essential services and enablers of economic

opportunity, legal and political voice, and physical security and autonomy. The numerical results are presented in Table II whereas the list of the indicators and the data sources recourse to in this study are presented in Appendix Table I.

To calculate the overall CPS for each city, we first assess the level of gender parity on each of our eleven indicators for all 81 cities in Turkey. For indicators such as single mothers, maternal mortality, teenage pregnancy, and violence against women which are not expressed in terms of female to male ratio, we recourse to the scaling methodology in order to code the data on a scale of 0.00 to 1.00 for that particular indicator. The eleven indicators for each city add into a CPS through a sum of squares formula, in order to determine the distance each city is away from gender parity. A CPS of 1.00 denotes full parity, and CPS of 0.0 refers to a lack of parity. In the calculation of index, each indicator is equally weighted as indicators are flipped by a $1-X$ formula to be directionally similar. Indicators above 1 are capped at 1, indicating that a city that has achieved parity on an indicator and a city that has demonstrated a greater amount of female to male participation on each indicator.

Then, by averaging the numerical values of eleven indicators for each city, we calculated the twelve regional-level (SRI)¹ metrics for each indicator to reveal whether there are regional variations when comparing regional aggregates. The results are illustrated in Table III.

On each of eleven indicators, we classified the performance of each city as exhibiting low, medium, high, and extremely high inequality or distance from an ideal state that also serves as thresholds within each indicator. Up to the first quartile, distance from the ideal state (or level of gender equality) within each indicator is denoted as “low”. Between the first quartile and the second quartile, distance from the ideal state within each indicator is denoted as “medium” whereas between the first quartile and the third quartile denotes “high”. The third quartile and above distance from the ideal state within each indicator denotes “extremely high”. Four-colour coding is used to visualize partial grouping of cities by indicator throughout Table II. It is important to note that this study did not use any global benchmarks for the indicators since this study concerns the gender equality at city level, leading to make meaningful comparisons among the 81 cities in Turkey. As such, the use of the numerical results of the USA cities for each indicator would not have been relevant to take as a benchmark.

¹ Socially Responsible Investing

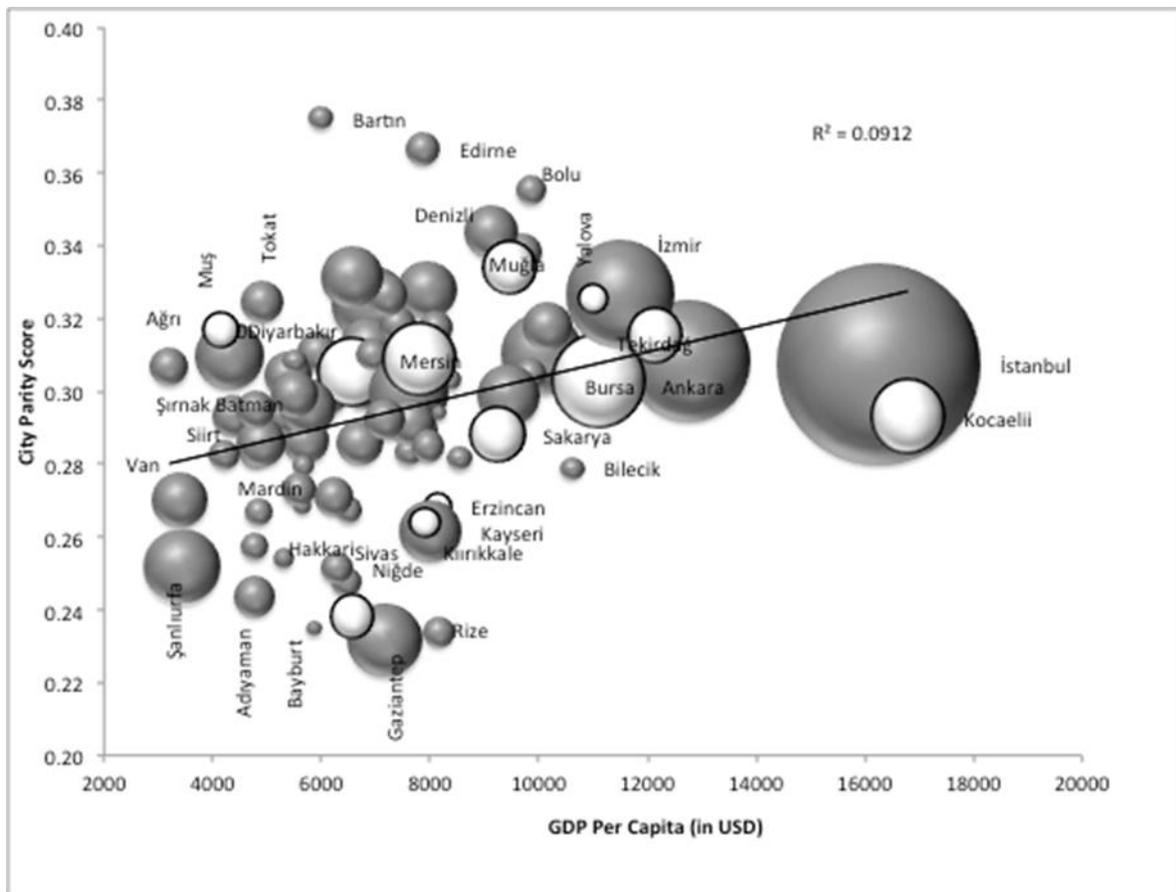
In MGI (2016), the CPS is calculated for the selected cities of the USA by using eight, and two customised, indicators considering data availability. In our study, we used a slightly modified approach because not all indicators used in MGI (2016) are pertinent to Turkey. Therefore, some adjustments were made to tailor our CPS to Turkey. As such, two of the indicators - namely education and employment - used in the original study were customised in our calculation of CPS. Needless to mention that Turkey has not achieved gender parity on education thus far. Thus, this indicator was modified in accordance with the realities of Turkey. Therefore, the indicator of higher education was excluded in our calculations, but illiteracy was used as a proxy for education. We also had to exclude two indicators used in the original methodology of MGI (2016). These two indicators are professional and technical jobs and city mayors where comprehensive gender-disaggregated data are not available across the 81 cities for Turkey. Therefore, two absent indicators were substituted by two other indicators of “non-agricultural employment” and “political representation as an MP”. Furthermore, one more modification made in the original approach was in relation to the indicator of “leadership and managerial position”. Though this study uses the same indicator conceptually, we considered the indicators of “numbers of women in either in the board of management or in the Council of Chamber of Commerce and Industry” as proxies for “leadership and managerial position” due to lack of data availability. In a way, this kind of modification made provides a more nuanced view of leadership and managerial position at city level. Finally, the indicators of “single-parenthood” and “violence against women” measuring prevalence; reaching to the gender parity is not the issue but rather reducing that prevalence is. Therefore, the nominal values are used rather than female to male ratios as metrics for these indicators.

With the aim of defining the “impact zones” for each city, the main disparities in gender inequality based on the CPS and locality-specific factors are investigated in this study. Yet, it is obvious that the study has limitations. First, the empirical study relies on the publicly available data counted as correctly displayed without errors. Second, due to lack of data at city level, we used regional level data for some indicators such as violence against women, digital inclusion, and unpaid care work. Finally, although the data compiled in 2019 and 2020 was used throughout the study; some of the metrics were calculated by the author based on the most update publicly available data for this indicator (see Appendix Table I).

3.1. Findings: Regional Disparities on CPS and Factors at City Level

The CPS measuring each city's distance from attaining gender parity is calculated for the 81 cities (SR3 Level) in Turkey, and the results are illustrated in Table II. It reveals that all cities have gender inequality in the CPS, exposing how close these cities are to gender parity or distant to the ideal state.

As is illustrated in Figure I and in Table II, the overall CPS for Turkey is 0.29 on average, varying in the range between 0.23 and 0.38. More than half of the 81 cities have the CPS values within the range of 0.232-0.290. One city in West Anatolia region (Bartın) is closest to gender parity with a CPS of 0.375 while Gaziantep, in Southeast Anatolia region, is the furthest city with a CPS of 0.232.



Notes:

- (1) The circle represents size of city's female population in 2019.
- (2) For legibility, some city labels are not shown.
- (3) The thresholds for the CPS are defined as: The 1st quartile is 0.27; the 2nd quartile is 0.29; the 3rd quartile is 0.31; the 3rd above is 0.375.

Figure 1: Gender Parity Score vs. GDP Per Capita by City (2019)

All the cities below the second quartile threshold are from Eastern Turkey with a very few exceptions from Central Anatolia region. Especially, the cities in Southeast Anatolia region are the furthest from gender parity measured by CPS. This basically attenuates the possibility that women residing in cities of Eastern Turkey hold back from taking advantage of equal opportunities due to locality- specific impediments.

While cities' CPS tends to be largely in line with that of their geographic region, economic, cultural, and political factors drive significant differences within the region (see Figure I). For instance, women in one of the Central East Anatolia cities (Gaziantep) have a higher per capita GDP of USD 7,171 on a 2019 PPP basis than those in the neighbouring cities (Diyarbakır, Siirt, Batman and Şırnak), whose average per capita GDP is USD 4,500, but they face higher inequality than women in these neighbouring cities. In addition, the women in these neighbouring cities hold lower gender gaps in the aspects of “political representation”, “maternal mortality”, “single parenthood”, and “illiteracy” relative to those in Gaziantep. Since there is no positive association between the level of economic development and gender equality for the Eastern cities of Turkey, this would be partly explained by the cultural factors related to the ethnic background in the neighbouring cities.

Our study has also mapped the eleven indicators used in CPS for the 81 cities and the results are illustrated in Table II. Overall, it is found that almost half of the 81 cities have *high* or *extremely high* levels of gender inequality on at least half of the eleven indicators. Of the 81 cities, 7 (Antalya, Balıkesir, Çanakkale, Kütahya, Mersin, Muğla, Samsun) do not have *extremely high* level of gender inequality on any of the indicators, albeit holding a high level of inequality on at least one other indicator. Yet almost one in every four cities holds *extremely high* level of gender inequality on at least one indicator.

Gender inequality or distance from the ideal state on the indicators of “illiteracy”, “leadership and managerial positions”, and “violence against women” is *extremely high* or *high* across the nation and is widespread. Specially, the indicator of “violence against women” glaringly appears to be *extremely high* in the Eastern cities in which honour killings are penetrated deeply into the local culture.

Given that gender inequalities in the labour market have a detrimental effect on women's income, resulting in systematically undermining women's economic independence and increasing their risk of poverty and social exclusion, it deserves the most attention in our

analysis. As is well observed in retrospect that women traditionally have had very low labour force participation rates in Turkey, it is currently a very important issue for some cities since almost three thirds of the cities have low level of female to male labour force participation rate, signalling *extremely high* distance from gender parity, and almost all of those cities are located in Southeast Anatolia and Central East Anatolia regions. The distance from gender parity in labour force participation though is significantly *low* for the cities located in the Western part of Turkey. Another perspective we need to consider as in the previous sections is that when the women with less than high school education migrate to cities, they generally find no job and withdraw from the labour force or are employed in informal sectors.

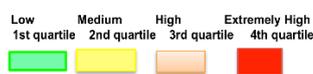
This might partly explain the alarming gender gap on the indicator of illiteracy rate in Istanbul, which is the most populated immigrant city in Turkey. Therefore, we suggest that these factors be prioritised as “impact zones” to take action to eradicate gender inequality in these cities. Yet, based on the results from Table I, the effective policy actions in these zones could help as many as almost 44 percent of women affected by adult literacy gap, almost 30 percent of those with unequal access to managerial positions, and almost 18 percent of women disadvantaged by unequal labour force participation rates and faced up with domestic violence.

One more issue that needs to be dealt with closely is whether there is a causal relationship between economic factors and societal factors. It is mostly reiterated that without being able to establish gender equality in society, gender equality in work is not achievable in any country (MGI 2015). However, 7 of the 81 cities (Uşak, Amasya, Ankara, Denizli, İstanbul, Kırklareli, Sakarya) are in the Western regions, holding *extremely high inequality* on at least one indicator at society level but *low gender equality* in work. In this respect it is suggested that there might be a reverse casual relationship between gender inequality in the society and in workplaces for Turkey.

Table 2. Disparities in Gender Equality and Locality-Specific Factors by City (2019)

City	CPS	% of Turkey's female population	Gender equality in work					Gender equality in society					Legal and political voice	Physical security and anatomy
			Gender equality in work					Essential services and enablers of economic opportunity						
			Labor force participation F/M Ratio	Leadership and managerial positions F/M ratio	Non-agricultural employment F/M ratio of employment	M/F ratio of time spent unpaid care work	Unpaid care work	Single mothers % of families with kids	Maternal mortality Deaths per 100,000 live births	Illiterate Population F/M ratio	Teenage pregnancy Births per 1000 women aged 15-19	Digital inclusion F/M ratio of internet usage		
Adana	0.32	2.71	0.48	0.03	0.42	0.15	15.71	12.6	6.12	21.53	0.84	0.36	38.20	
Adıyaman	0.24	0.75	0.35	0.00	0.31	0.11	9.56	11.7	5.49	15.38	0.71	0.00	35.80	
A Karahisar	0.29	0.89	0.49	0.01	0.39	0.21	13.21	15	8.43	23.22	0.85	0.20	38.40	
Ağrı	0.31	0.62	0.47	0.00	0.24	0.16	10.02	24	5.75	53.25	0.70	0.33	41.00	
Aksaray	0.30	0.50	0.47	0.00	0.39	0.13	13.88	14.3	8.07	26.77	0.84	0.33	44.50	
Amasya	0.30	0.40	0.53	0.03	0.42	0.18	13.65	9.7	5.22	10.31	0.84	0.00	35.10	
Ankara	0.31	6.87	0.48	0.04	0.45	0.17	15.29	14.4	7.89	11.13	0.87	0.24	44.70	
Antalya	0.31	3.01	0.56	0.02	0.47	0.15	14.39	12.6	5.86	10.68	0.84	0.15	38.20	
Ardahan	0.27	0.11	0.47	0.00	0.24	0.16	11.85	24	5.97	25.19	0.70	0.00	41.00	
Artvin	0.30	0.20	0.62	0.15	0.37	0.16	18.29	9.7	6.47	6.78	0.82	0.00	28.90	
Aydın	0.31	1.35	0.60	0.06	0.51	0.21	15.91	15	5.64	18.84	0.85	0.00	38.40	
Balıkesir	0.33	1.48	0.50	0.03	0.43	0.20	15.02	9.9	4.49	15.92	0.87	0.22	31.10	
Bartın	0.38	0.24	0.56	0.04	0.39	0.18	16.54	9.7	4.17	9.85	0.84	1.00	35.10	
Batman	0.29	0.73	0.32	0.00	0.25	0.11	11.51	11.7	5.53	19.61	0.71	0.67	35.80	
Bayburt	0.23	0.10	0.38	0.00	0.29	0.16	11.49	24	8.87	4.00	0.70	0.00	41.00	
Bilecik	0.28	0.26	0.48	0.00	0.44	0.14	13.37	17.9	5.15	10.32	0.89	0.00	32.30	
Bingöl	0.28	0.33	0.50	0.00	0.36	0.15	15.28	15.5	4.66	14.67	0.70	0.00	35.00	
Bitlis	0.25	0.41	0.37	0.00	0.19	0.15	9.16	15.5	5.69	38.91	0.70	0.00	35.00	
Bolu	0.36	0.38	0.46	0.13	0.41	0.14	16.03	17.9	6.10	5.29	0.89	1.00	32.30	
Burdur	0.28	0.32	0.56	0.00	0.47	0.15	12.91	12.6	6.45	11.37	0.84	0.00	38.20	
Bursa	0.30	3.68	0.48	0.03	0.44	0.14	12.58	17.9	6.38	12.46	0.89	0.25	32.30	
Çanakkale	0.34	0.65	0.50	0.02	0.43	0.20	14.56	9.9	3.82	10.72	0.87	0.33	31.10	
Çankırı	0.30	0.23	0.60	0.00	0.45	0.18	15.56	9.7	6.12	14.48	0.84	0.00	35.10	
Çorum	0.30	0.65	0.53	0.00	0.42	0.18	14.24	9.7	4.58	14.38	0.84	0.00	35.10	
Denizli	0.34	1.25	0.60	0.03	0.51	0.21	14.39	15	6.34	11.95	0.85	0.40	38.40	
Diyarbakır	0.31	2.10	0.35	0.04	0.24	0.11	12.21	11.7	5.37	26.13	0.71	1.00	35.80	
Düzce	0.32	0.47	0.46	0.00	0.41	0.14	15.13	17.9	6.62	9.87	0.89	0.50	32.30	
Edirne	0.37	0.49	0.52	0.08	0.45	0.20	17.22	9.9	3.86	19.51	0.87	0.50	31.10	
Elazığ	0.31	0.72	0.50	0.00	0.36	0.15	15.15	15.5	4.55	11.69	0.70	0.25	35.00	
Erzincan	0.27	0.28	0.38	0.00	0.29	0.16	15.85	24	6.07	8.78	0.70	0.00	41.00	
Erzurum	0.29	0.92	0.38	0.00	0.29	0.16	10.84	24	6.19	21.25	0.70	0.20	41.00	
Eskişehir	0.32	1.07	0.48	0.04	0.44	0.14	17.35	17.9	6.98	8.90	0.89	0.40	32.30	
Gaziantep	0.23	2.47	0.35	0.03	0.31	0.11	10.03	11.7	8.67	33.64	0.71	0.09	35.80	
Giresun	0.29	0.54	0.62	0.03	0.37	0.16	18.40	9.7	5.77	8.60	0.82	0.00	28.90	
Gümüşhane	0.28	0.20	0.62	0.00	0.37	0.16	13.08	9.7	6.72	6.07	0.82	0.00	28.90	
Hakkari	0.26	0.31	0.37	0.00	0.19	0.15	13.07	15.5	3.50	12.95	0.70	0.00	35.00	
Hatay	0.31	1.96	0.41	0.00	0.36	0.15	14.12	12.6	4.05	27.78	0.84	0.22	38.20	
Iğdır	0.27	0.23	0.47	0.00	0.24	0.16	12.44	24	5.53	36.84	0.70	0.00	41.00	
Isparta	0.32	0.64	0.56	0.00	0.47	0.15	13.69	12.6	6.63	7.74	0.84	0.33	38.20	
İstanbul	0.31	18.65	0.49	0.02	0.45	0.20	14.53	12.2	6.87	9.38	0.90	0.28	38.20	
İzmir	0.33	5.29	0.53	0.03	0.47	0.22	17.68	15	5.39	13.20	0.85	0.17	38.40	
K Maraş	0.30	1.37	0.41	0.05	0.36	0.15	10.59	12.6	5.14	24.76	0.84	0.14	38.20	
Karabük	0.29	0.30	0.56	0.00	0.39	0.18	17.03	9.7	6.52	7.02	0.84	0.00	35.10	
Karaman	0.28	0.31	0.42	0.00	0.35	0.16	13.66	14.4	5.60	14.69	0.87	0.00	44.70	
Kars	0.27	0.33	0.47	0.00	0.24	0.16	10.13	24	6.16	38.43	0.70	0.00	41.00	
Kastamonu	0.31	0.46	0.60	0.04	0.45	0.18	17.18	9.7	5.26	8.93	0.84	0.00	35.10	
Kayseri	0.26	1.69	0.38	0.01	0.28	0.13	11.71	14.3	8.36	17.43	0.84	0.11	44.50	
Kilis	0.25	0.17	0.35	0.00	0.31	0.11	12.68	11.7	4.16	36.71	0.71	0.00	35.80	
Kırkkale	0.26	0.34	0.47	0.07	0.39	0.13	13.94	14.3	8.93	12.62	0.84	0.00	44.50	
Kırklareli	0.30	0.43	0.52	0.04	0.45	0.20	14.97	9.9	4.71	14.38	0.87	0.00	31.10	
Kırşehir	0.27	0.30	0.47	0.04	0.39	0.13	16.06	14.3	8.63	14.01	0.84	0.00	44.50	
Kocaeli	0.29	2.33	0.46	0.03	0.41	0.14	12.31	17.9	6.59	12.69	0.89	0.20	32.30	
Konya	0.30	2.71	0.42	0.01	0.35	0.16	12.19	14.4	6.98	17.80	0.87	0.25	44.70	
Kütahya	0.33	0.71	0.49	0.06	0.39	0.21	13.72	15	4.95	9.65	0.85	0.25	38.40	
Malatya	0.30	0.97	0.50	0.00	0.36	0.15	15.54	15.5	5.91	7.89	0.70	0.25	35.00	
Manisa	0.30	1.73	0.49	0.00	0.39	0.21	13.05	15	5.89	17.70	0.85	0.11	38.40	
Mardin	0.29	1.01	0.32	0.00	0.29	0.11	11.31	11.7	5.39	26.24	0.71	0.50	35.80	
Mersin	0.31	2.22	0.48	0.03	0.42	0.15	15.23	12.6	5.63	15.69	0.84	0.18	38.20	
Muğla	0.33	1.16	0.60	0.09	0.51	0.21	14.72	15	5.58	11.08	0.85	0.17	38.40	
Muş	0.32	0.48	0.37	0.00	0.19	0.15	9.99	15.5	5.44	48.88	0.70	1.00	35.00	
Neveşehir	0.25	0.37	0.47	0.04	0.39	0.13	12.36	14.3	9.74	21.08	0.84	0.00	44.50	
Niğde	0.25	0.44	0.47	0.00	0.39	0.13	12.09	14.3	9.24	27.52	0.84	0.00	44.50	
Ordu	0.30	0.91	0.62	0.05	0.37	0.16	15.99	9.7	4.92	13.99	0.82	0.00	28.90	
Osmaniye	0.27	0.64	0.41	0.00	0.36	0.15	12.64	12.6	5.84	22.70	0.84	0.00	38.20	
Rize	0.23	0.41	0.62	0.00	0.37	0.16	17.36	9.7	10.40	5.32	0.82	0.00	28.90	
Sakarya	0.29	1.24	0.46	0.01	0.41	0.14	13.41	17.9	6.67	12.63	0.89	0.17	32.30	
Samsun	0.33	1.64	0.53	0.01	0.42	0.18	15.43	9.7	5.26	12.32	0.84	0.29	35.10	
Şanlıurfa	0.25	2.48	0.35	0.00	0.24	0.11	10.84	11.7	6.69	40.92	0.71	0.17	35.80	
Siirt	0.28	0.39	0.32	0.00	0.25	0.11	10.59	11.7	5.84	27.42	0.71	0.50	35.80	
Sinop	0.31	0.26	0.60	0.00	0.45	0.18	17.21	9.7	4.39	13.48	0.84	0.00	35.10	
Şirnak	0.24	0.61	0.32	0.00	0.25	0.11	11.94	11.7	5.77	24.76	0.71	0.00	35.80	
Sivas	0.29	0.77	0.38	0.00	0.28	0.13	13.22	14.3	6.46	11.70	0.84	0.25	44.50	
Tekirdağ	0.32	1.24	0.52	0.00	0.45	0.20	11.92	9.9	5.11	18.06	0.87	0.17	31.10	
Tokat	0.32	0.74	0.53	0.00	0.42	0.18	12.24	9.7	4.87	14.18	0.84	0.25	35.10	
Trabzon	0.29	0.99	0.62	0.01	0.37	0.16	16.81	9.7	8.08	4.11	0.82	0.20	28.90	
Tunceli	0.29	0.09	0.50	0.08	0.36	0.15	19.83	15.5	5.25	5.19	0.70	0.00	35.00	
Uşak	0.28	0.45	0.49	0.05	0.39	0.21	13.13	15	6.70	15.25	0.85	0.00	38.40	
Van	0.27	1.35	0.37	0.00	0.19	0.15	10.56	15.5	5.63	35.13	0.70	0.17	35.00	
Yalova	0.33	0.33	0.46	0.03	0.41	0.14	16.73	17.9	6.34	8.80	0.89	0.50	32.30	
Yozgat	0.27	0.51	0.38	0.00	0.28	0.13	12.28	14.3	5.58	18.86	0.84	0.00	44.50	
Zonguldak	0.29	0.72	0.56	0.15	0.39	0.18	15.62	9.7	7.92	8.26	0.84	0.00	35.10	

Level of gender inequality or distance from ideal state



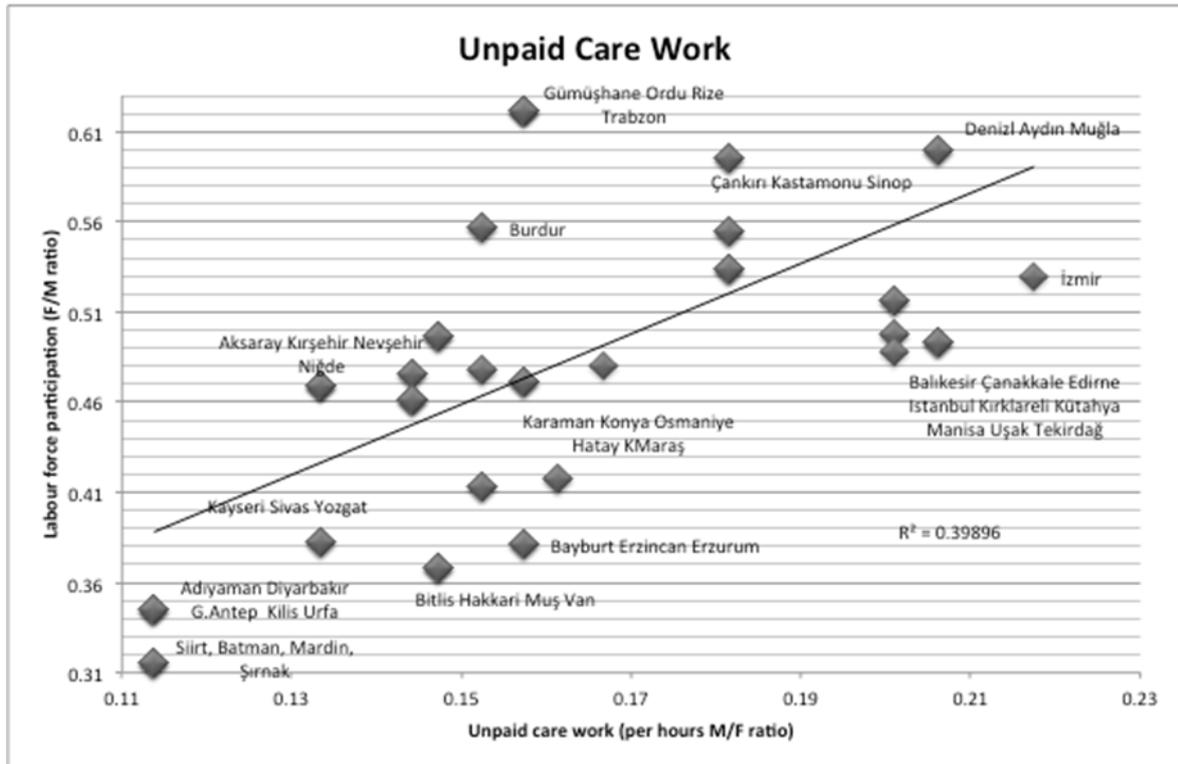


Figure 2. Unpaid Care Work vs. Labour Force Participation by City

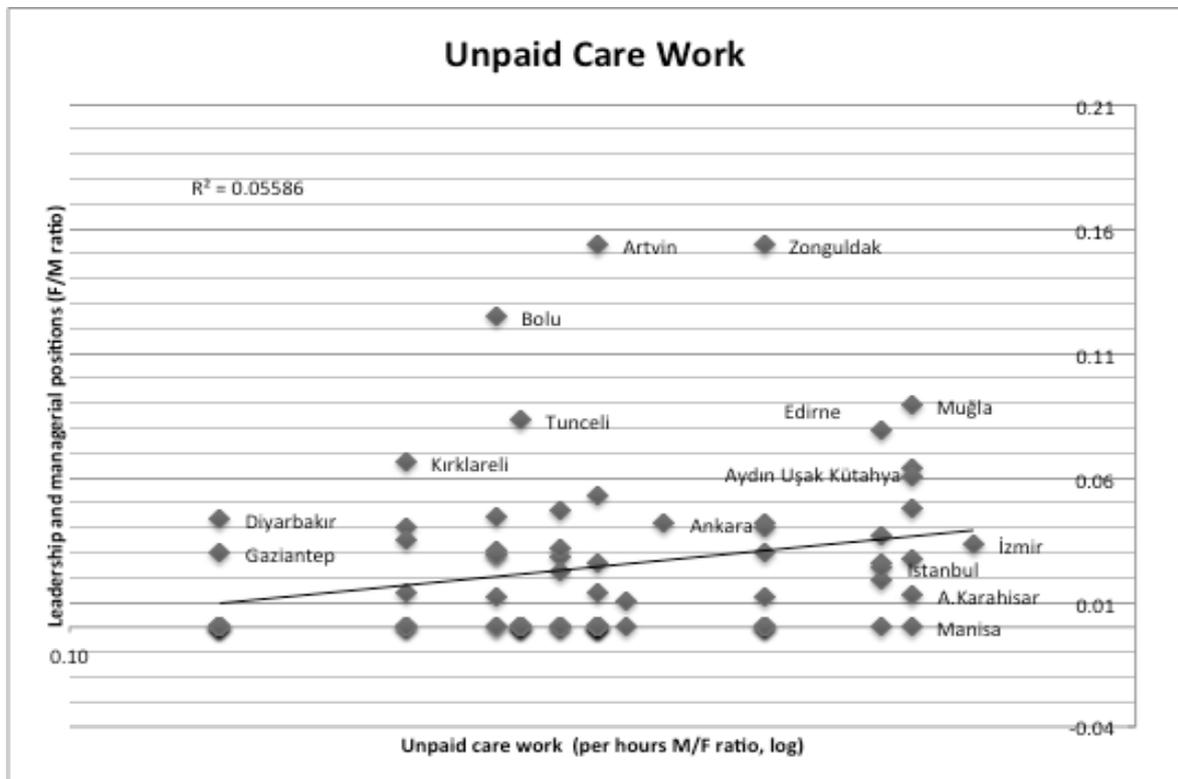


Figure 3. Unpaid Care Work vs. Leadership/Managerial Positions by City

It may be suggested that there are links in Turkey between certain forms of economic and societal gender inequality to some extent. The relationships between the indicators of “unpaid domestic work” and “female labour force participation” as well as leadership and managerial positions are illustrated in Figure II and Figure III. As is seen in the relevant Figure, as Turkish men and women share unpaid domestic work more equally, Turkish women participate more in labour force and advance to leadership and managerial positions, leading to increase women’s earning power. Despite gains for women in leadership to a certain extent, a “broken rung” is still holding women back (MGI 2020), however, the nature of this relationship is subject to another study.

Until now, the disparities in the prominent factors of gender inequality or distance from the ideal state have been analyzed at SR3 Level – the 81 cities in Turkey. To disclose to what extent the regional indicators are similar to those of the country, the averaged indicators for twelve regions at SR1 Level are also presented in Table III. Considering the results in given table, Southeast Anatolia region is the worst on the indicators of “labour force participation rate”, “non-agricultural employment”, “unpaid care work”, and “teenage pregnancy”. The neighbouring regions (Northeast Anatolia and Central East Anatolia) also perform poorly on the same indicators. As is expected, in these regions where agricultural sector is the major employment sector both for women and men, the female labour force participation is significantly low outside it. The findings signal that especially the indicator of “non-agricultural employment” has been one of the impact zones for these regions, that must be dealt with in priority. By examining the figures in the table considered, Northeast Anatolia performs the worst with an *extremely high* level of inequality in seven out of eleven indicators, except for “unpaid domestic work”, “single parenthood”, and “political representation”. Overall, if the variation in the descriptive statistics of city-level metrics is not compatible to that of regional-level, then this points out the existence of a high level of disparity in the cities’ indicators within the region itself. The reason behind this is Eastern cities are not homogenous due to demographic, cultural and social dynamics, including women’s responsibilities in the household and in decision-making mechanism in the family. As such, the existing regional disparities on the indicators and gender inequality measured based on CPS confirm that the underlying demographic, social, and economic factors are at work in Turkey. Our analysis basically reiterates that significant regional disparities exist for the twelve regions (SR1 level), which is in line with the findings of our earlier analysis at city level.

To this end, women who reside in the Western cities, especially in the most populated ones, might have to tackle gender inequality at work whereas those in the Eastern cities rather have to overcome the inequalities at society level. In the cities of Western Turkey, the economy may not create enough jobs for women who reside in these cities. Regardless of various multi-originated impediments on it, continuing effort to strengthen incentives for female labour force participation through socioeconomic reforms facilitating the hiring of women in the local formal sectors is to be made to achieve inclusive growth in Turkey. Hence, it is vital to keep close vigilance on the women residing in Southeast Anatolia and Northeast Anatolia regions which see particularly extremely high level of gender inequality (based on the CPS) and may face additional challenges due to lower economic development (see Table III). This basically refers to the importance of developing locality-specific strategies to combat gender inequality in these regions that are predominantly populated by Kurds (Mutlu 1995).

4. Concluding Remarks

Gender equality is not neatly associated with one particular region. Locality-specific factors, however, plays an essential role in developing adequate policies that are targeted at eliminating gender inequality. Having said that, the main disparities in gender inequality and locality-specific factors for the 81 cities in Turkey are explored in this study, aiming to define the “impact zones” for each city to take actions. In a way, this study has also aimed to utilize quantitative technique in order to bridge its findings with the extant qualitative research in women studies regarding Turkey. The findings have important policy implications with respect to urgent needs for interventions towards initiating the decentralised gender policies against inequality in Turkey as well as other countries experiencing what we named as “multi-facets gender inequality trap”. As such, the findings of this study might help to design effective regional policies which could not developed so far due to the lack of data available at local level.

All forms of gender inequality need to be tackled but, the magnitude of the gap and limitations of resources, are important for policy makers, NGOs, and private sector institutions to focus their efforts. To help them do so, this study identifies “the impact zones” for each city in Turkey, which reflects both seriousness of the type of gender inequality or distance from the ideal state and its locality-specific concentration. It is hoped that this study opens new paths of research in relation to gender equality, not only for the case at hand, but also for other developing and less developed countries targeting to improve the welfare of their citizen women.

NOTES

The countries are classified under the name of “European and Asian Countries” (for details see; UNDP 2020).

Turkstat’s geographical classification at Statistical Region Level 1, 2 and 3 for Turkey: **Statistical Region Level 1 (SR1)** for Turkey are defined as 12 regions: Istanbul (I). West Marmara (WM): *Tekirdağ, Edirne, Kırklareli, Balıkesir, Çanakkale*. Aegean (A): *İzmir, Aydın, Denizli, Muğla, Manisa, Afyonkarahisar, Kütahya, Uşak*. East Marmara (EM): *Bursa, Eskişehir, Bilecik, Kocaeli, Sakarya, Düzce, Bolu, Yalova*. West Anatolia (WA): *Ankara, Konya, Karaman*. Mediterranean (M): *Antalya, Isparta, Burdur, Adana, Mersin, Hatay, Osmaniye, Kahramanmaraş*. Central Anatolia (CA): *Aksaray, Kırıkkale, Niğde, Nevşehir, Kırşehir, Kayseri, Sivas, Yozgat*. West Black Sea (WBS): *Zonguldak, Karabük, Bartın, Kastamonu, Çankırı, Sinop, Samsun, Çorum, Tokat, Amasya*. East Black Sea (EBS): *Trabzon, Artvin, Ordu, Rize, Gümüşhane*. Northeast Anatolia (NE): *Ağrı, Bayburt, Erzurum, Erzincan, Kars, Iğdır, Ardahan*. Central East Anatolia (CA): *Bingöl, Malatya, Elazığ, Tunceli, Van, Muş, Bitlis, Hakkari*. Southeast Anatolia (SA): *Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa, Adıyaman, Kilis, Diyarbakır, Mardin, Batman, Şırnak, Siirt*. **Statistical Region Level 2 (SR2)** for Turkey is defined as 26 regions. **Statistical Region Level 3 (SR3)** for Turkey is defined as 81 cities.

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Appendix Table 1. Customized Indicators Used for the CPS

Category of Indicator	Indicators	Definition	Formula Used	Source
Gender equality at work	Labor force participation	Civilians in the labor force aged 16+	Percent female labor force participation rate/percent male labor force participation rate on SR level 2 ²	TurkStats, Regional Labor Statistics, 2019
	Single Mothers	Single parents with own children under 18 years old	Number of single parent families run by women/number of all families with kids(with children 18 or under) on SR level 3 ³	TurkStats Family Structure Survey, 2019
	Leadership and managerial positions	Number of population employed in leadership and managerial positions	Number of women in board of management and council of chamber of industry and trade/number of men in board of management and council of chamber of industry and trade by SR level 3 ³	Websites of chamber of industry and trade update lists in 2020
	Unpaid care work	Total hours spent per day on unpaid care	Based on average time of activity per person by type of activity for each sex and percentage of persons responsible for household chores, calculation of F/M ratio of number of hours spent per day on unpaid care on SR level 1 ¹	Based on authors' own calculations, TurkStats, Regional Labor Statistics, 2014-2015
	New Indicators Customized for Turkey	Non-agricultural employment	Number of population in non-agricultural employment	Number of women employed in non-agricultural sectors/number of men employed in non-agricultural sectors on SR level 2 ²
Gender equality in society	Violence against women	Females who have experienced rape and/or sexual/physical violence sometime over their lifetime, by any perpetrator	Prevalence of physical of sexual violence sometime over their lifetime, by any perpetrator on SR level 1 ¹	MFLSS, Domestic Violence Against Women in Turkey, 2014
	Maternal mortality	Maternal mortality	Maternal deaths per 100,000 live births on SR level 1 ¹	Republic of Turkey Ministry of Health, Health Statistics Yearbook, 2018
	Teenage pregnancy	Births per 1,000 women for female aged 15-19	Number of births per 1,000 women aged 15-19 on SR level 3 ³	TurkStats, Birth Statistics, 2019
	Digital inclusion	Internet usage rates	F/M percentage of internet users on SR level 1 ¹	TurkStats, Survey on Information and Communication Technology Usage in Households, 2019
	Political representation	Number of deputies at grand national assembly of turkey	F/M ratio of deputies elected in 2018 elections and still working at council on SR level 3 ³	The Grand National Assembly of Turkey, Record of the Deputies 2020
New Indicators Customized for Turkey	Illiteracy	Illiteracy rates of population aged 6+ F/M	F/M ratio, illiterate female population divided by illiterate male population on SR level 3 ³	Turkstats, National Education Statistics, 2019
Eliminated GPS & US Indicators	Lack of City-level Gender-Disaggregated Data			
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Professional & technical jobs • Legal protection • Financial inclusion • Unmet need for family planning • City mayors 			