











HUMAN DEVELOPMENT REPORT



1998

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Foreword by the UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME



ach year, the publication of the National Human Development Report (NHDR) brings renewed enthusiasm to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in Turkey. The findings of these reports provide the needed substantive momentum for our technical cooperation programs with the Government by opening up fresh outlooks for our program thrust.

This year, however, we find added novelty in the publication of the 1998 NHDR. The combined observation of the 50th Anniversary of the Declaration of Human Rights and of the 75th Anniversary of the Foundation of the Republic of Turkey had led to our search for a theme which would be significant to the particular historical juncture at which the UN and Turkey have arrived. Furthermore, in cooperation with Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV), the UNDP wished to respond to this significant historical juncture with a proverbial, yet meaningful and useful "gift." The 1998 NHDR, we believe, shall mark the UNDP's and TESEV's joint observation, recognition, appreciation and assessment of these two historical events.

This volume underscores that human rights is a holistic and indivisible concept which covers all aspects of an individual's life, beginning with one's right to life. Unlike many of the popular explications of human rights, the UNDP and TE-SEV have sought to re-introduce in this volume, an understanding of human rights which goes beyond the sole concern of civil rights.

In this effort, the UNDP's mandate of Sustainable Human Development set the definitive parameters of the discussion on Human Rights as presented in this volume. The UNDP advocates the realization of human rights as part of sustainable human development which is an approach that places people at the center of all development activities. The main purpose is to create an enabling environment in which all human beings lead secure and creative lives. As in the words of UNDP Administrator James Gustave Speth "Sustainable Human Development is directed towards

the promotion of human dignity – and the realization of all human rights, economic, cultural, civil and political."

In line with the UNDP's sustainable human development mandate, and with the retrospective approach which the historical significance of this year presents, the 1998 NHDR analyses human rights and the human rights performance of Turkey from the economic, social, cultural and political perspectives within a Sustainable Human Development framework. Chapters 4 through 6 of the 1998 NHDR, thus, present analytical discussions on the past performance of and future perspectives for Turkey in regard to rights of women, right to health, education, adequate housing, and cultural development. In so doing, the discussions take as reference point, the international agreements and covenants that define the totality of these rights, the most outstanding being the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948.

As in past years, the 1998 NHDR presents human development data disaggregated by province and gender. This year's Report, however, goes beyond analysis of human development indicators, and introduces for the first time in Turkey, the Human Poverty Index which, on a province by province basis, seeks to assess the condition of human poverty in Turkey. In doing so, the Report eschews the traditional measurements of poverty based income alone, and instead considers the sum of all the factor's that effect an individual's well being.

The UNDP is grateful to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the State Planning Organization for supporting the preparation of this Report and to TESEV for its organization in bringing together the team of independent experts who provided the valuable analyses presented in the Report.

Paul van Hanswijck de Jonge

UN Resident Coordinator and UNDP Resident Representative Ankara, Turkey

Foreword by the TURKISH ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STUDIES FOUNDATION



or the third time, The Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV) has undertaken the task of preparing the 1998 Human Development Report for Turkey, in coordination with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The 1998 National Human Development Report is of additional significance for both the Republic of Turkey and the United Nations as this year marks the 75th anniversary of the Republic of Turkey and the 50th Anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

As a public policy research institute, TESEV's main objective is to promote research and analysis on a wide range of social issues in order to bridge the gap between academic research and policy decisions. The Report at hand, as did those of the previous years, serves the achievement of this very objective. Through the analysis presented in this volume, TESEV seeks to wide the scope of discussion and to contribute to the policy decision making processes on the crucial issyes of Human Development and Human Rights.

This Report analyses Human Rights from a social development oriented perspective. The discussions presented in the 1998 National Human Development Report run the gamut from women's rights to cultural rights and serve to expand the often limiting understanding that the concept of human rights is confined to the political arena alone. In so doing, the 1998 National Human Development Report argues that the right to life, liberty and a meaningful existence can not be adequately dealt with through the sole prism of political rights, and instead requires a holistic review of rights in various arenas.

The 1998 National Human Development Report for Turkey examines how promotion of the right to development, human development and its institutions combine to further the measurable advancement of the individual human being, in social, economic, cultural and political realms. Following this examination, the Report highlights,

with the help of key development indicators, the regional, gender and provincial disparities in human development and introduces a Human Poverty Index for Turkey. Properties of good governance are further explored in the Report through the three main definitive headings of responsive, accountable, and effective government. This discussion relates good governance to the promotion of civil and political rights and presents a theoretical framework for good governance in Turkey. The gender and development issues are also explored in a discussion on the scope women in Turkey have for realizing their most fundamental rights. A team of multi - disciplinary experts analyze the role of the state, private sector and the civil society in respect to national policies on the right to health, education, housing and shelter as well as cultural and personal advancement.

I would like to express my gratitude to the authors for their commitment and scrutinizing approach and research of the international and national Human Development and Human Rights discourse and their contribution to better awareness of the multi faceted, comprehensive and indivisible nature of Human Rights. TESEV is thankful to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the State Planning Organization for their overall guidance; and to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in Ankara for its support for development cooperation activities in Turkey and for making the technical, substantive and financial resources available towards the realization of this Report.

Dr. Can Paker

Chairman of the Executive Board Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation

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The HDR Experience in Turkey A Retrospective and Projections

The Global Human **Development Reports**

eleased annually since 1990, the Human Development Reports have guided the development community worldwide, creating a global agenda to help transform development priorities into plans of action for achieving for all, peace, respect for human rights, social and economic well being, and equal access to opportunities in all arenas.

These Reports contain thought- provoking analyses of major issues and updated Human Development Indicators (HDI) that compare the relative levels of human development of over 175 countries. The HDI introduced therein and updated each year is a composite index, which measures development of countries from a human centered perspective. This, unlike other indicators of development that are based on economic growth or productivity, has been able to capture the well being enjoyed - not by the countries in a monolithic nature - but by the people in them. Measuring people's ability to enjoy a healthful life, their access to education and opportunities for income, the UNDP Human Development Reports have painted compelling pictures of countries' development performances. These pictures have indeed been compelling in that they account for development concerns that are not always apparent in traditional economic growth profiles.

The thought provoking and compelling profiles of national development as presented in the global Reports have also triggered debates at national levels. For some countries, the Human Development Index rankings have led to "national soul searching" and consequently enhanced attention placed on social development policies which in turn have raised these countries' ranks in HDL

After seven years of the Human Development Report exercise, a retrospective assessment of Turkey's HDI ranking is in order. This, not only for obtaining a picture of Turkey's human performance in the global perspective; but also to account for gains, if any, achieved at the country level, in transforming the development priorities identified in these reports into tangible programs at the national level.

Turkey and the Global Human **Development Reports** (1990 - 1997)

The Human Development Report groups countries into three main development categories: High Human Development; Medium Human Development; and, Low Human Development. Since the first Report, Turkey's rank in the HDI has been among Medium Human Development Countries. From 28th among 40 Medium Human Development countries in 1990, to 10th among 65 Medium Human Development countries in 1997 Turkey's rank in the HDI has improved. These improvements have been registered against a setting of sporadic yet significant economic growth and GDP expansion, enviable to many developing countries.

However, an analytical look at the individual variables that compose the HDI, presents a more realistic profile of the performance of Turkey in translating its economic growth successes into tangible well being for the people. Furthermore, other indicators for human development such as gender empowerment and education; as well as Turkey's level relative to other countries in these areas, compel us to review - in a more realistic manner - the past performances and to assess the future interventions in light of the identified development concerns.

A scrutiny of the profile for human development for the period 1990-1997 (based on data of 1987 through 1994) reveals that improvement has been the case, but that it has not been sustainable for the period in question. The human development composite index for 1990 places Turkey at 72nd position among 130 developing countries and at the lower edge of medium development countries. By 1992, Turkey's rank among medium development countries rises to 17th from 28th in 1990, and closer towards the High Human Development country category. Turkey approximated high human development the most in 1995 when

it was placed at 3rd among the 64 medium development countries on the borderline to achieving high human development categorization. In 1996, Turkey's rank dropped back to 27th among 69 medium development countries. This was due basically to the addition under this category of new countries which registered higher values for the educational attainment variable.

Likewise, in 1995, when the Human Development Report first introduced the Gender and Development and the Gender Empowerment Measure indices, Turkey ranked 45th among 130; and 98th among 116 measured countries in the two respective indices. In 1996, the same figures were at 61st and 68th. The same rank figures for 1997 were 58th and 82nd. As in the case with the HDI, the preceding indicates that for the years in question, Turkey's gender empowerment programs of the past decade have not achieved the sustained advancement of women in terms of income, educational attainment, life expectancy at birth, and representation at political and managerial positions.

For both the composite human development and the gender-related indices, Turkey recaptured its 1993-94 rankings in the most recent findings of the 1997 Human Development Report. These fluctuating advances registered in human development indicators lead, however, to the assumption that Turkey's progress in social and human development programs for the period in question have not been commensurate with its economic growth performance.

The relationship between economic growth and development is an oft probed issue by the UNDP. This is because for many developing countries the gains registered in economic growth often do not translate into well being and opportunities for the people who live in them. Concentration of wealth in the hands of few and misallocation and or ineffective use of public investments are often the causes. Therefore, the sustainable human development paradigm espoused by the UNDP is one which seeks to ensure that economic growth progresses in tandem with improvements in human development fields, such as education; health and gender empowerment. To this end, the global re-

ports propose broad strategies of action for application to national circumstances and implementation. The parallelism between economic growth and human development has been of particular interest in the Turkish context where as indicated above GDP expansion has been quite remarkable in the past years; and, where gains in human development, especially in education and gender empowerment have remained skewed. The factors that account for Turkey's HDI performance at the global level have in turn been explored in the National Human Development Reports, the most recent one of which is this volume at hand.

The National Human Development Reports

This sustainable human development concern, emanating from the global Reports, has been exhaustively explored at the national level in the National Human Development Reports, the preparation of which have been supported by the UNDP in Ankara also since 1990, when the first Country Profile Report for Turkey was released.

Since 1990 until today, the National Human Development Reports for Turkey have been prepared employing much of the methodology of the global reports. Much in the same vein, the HDI has been utilized and has shed light on the human development performance of Turkey on a province by province basis. Furthermore, the human development approach espoused in the global reports has been brought to bear on the national reports' investigations of gender and development as well as regional development disparities.

Finally, the National Human Development Reports, along with the issues identified in national directives and reports, have guided the trajectory of the UNDP and UN System technical cooperation programs in Turkey towards addressing the key developmental issues identified therein.

Repeatedly, National Human Development Reports of the past several years have argued that Turkey's social development performance has not paralleled its economic growth profile. The NHDRs seize a correlation between increases in income and improvement in the social fields and notably

in education. This positive correlation is captured in the recurrent finding that the people in the provinces where income per capita is above a certain threshold, also have high educational attainment levels. Likewise, in the same provinces, HDI differences along the lines of gender begin to narrow.

However, both the 1995 and 1996 NHDRs isolate education as the main detriment to Turkey's sustainable human development performance. Weak educational attainment indicators especially for women, significantly lowered the HDI values for these two years, and particularly for the provinces on the lower edge of Medium Development. The latter Report, consequently, proposes concrete policies to remedy this situation. Relative advances in educational attainment as measured in the 1997 NHDR, on the other hand, convincingly propel national and province based human development indices, lifting Turkey's overall HDI value to a decisive high human development level of 0.834.

Both in terms of income and education, the successive National Human Development Reports underline the development disparities between regions and between men and women. The provincial breakdown of HDI values indicate that the provinces, ranking towards the lower edge of Medium Human Development (HDI<0.700) and those with Low Human Development (HDI<0.500) are predominantly in the Black Sea, East and Southeast Anatolia regions. For women, the same HDI values go below 0.400.

The Impact of the National Human **Development Reports**

As will be noted, successive NHDRs have emphasized that the main challenge of Sustainable Human Development in Turkey has been regional and gender based disparities in social development with particular focus on education. The Reports have thereby brought Turkey's human development concerns to the limelight and have arguably filled an important niche within the policy dialogue among development partners, complementing the government led planning. Furthermore, by providing comprehensive human development indicators and indices, the NHDR has helped monitor progress and setbacks in human development. Consequently, the UNDP Technical Cooperation Program in Turkey has been channeled into the development priorities established in the NHDR that are also strongly collaborated by the directives emanating from the Five Yearly Development Plans as well as Government Programs.

For instance, the UNDP supported Gender Umbrella Program of the General Directorate of Women's Status and Problems which began in 1992 responds directly to the national objective to eliminate the alarming human development gap observed between men and women. Still continuing today, this Program has supported the strengthening of the national machinery for the advancement of women, encumbering specific activities designed for women's adult education.

At the policy level in Turkey, the UN system's response to NHDRs and the national directives has been embodied in the establishment of the UN Inter-Agency Social Development Programming Committee (ISDPC), established by the UN Resident Coordinator in 1995. This Committee seeks to foster a joint UN system engagement in technical cooperation programs aimed at the alleviation of the regional development disparities. Convening ten UN agencies, the ISDPC, has supported joint projects in East and Southeast Anatolian provinces. These joint projects that combine the experiences and know-how of specialized UN agencies with the capacities of the national agencies and institutions, espouse the necessary multi - faceted, sustainable human development approach to meet the multifarious developmental shortcomings of these regions.

Operationalizing the sustainable human development concerns that have successively been identified in the NHDR's on a grand scale has been the UNDP supported Southeast Anatolia Regional Development Program (GAP). The GAP Umbrella Program has sought to reproduce on an initial pilot basis the key policy recommendations that have ensued from the NHDRs of the past several years. This integrated regional development program, supports educational attainment, especially of girls in remote areas while also promoting income generation activities. Its specific activities designed to spur investments in the region directly serve the employment creation needs as identified in the NHDRs.

The 1997 NHDR for Turkey had as its central theme the relationship between Sustainable Human Development and Social Cohesion wherein the role of the State in fostering Social Cohesion was explored. This report, perhaps more than any other preceding one, cautioned the development community in Turkey to socially disadvantaged groups who persistently can not benefit from national development gains and the impediments of whom pose a challenge to social cohesion in Turkey with serious implications for the sound development of the county. Identified in this regard were women, the youth, the elderly along with the poor, especially of the Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia region.

The 1997 Report made concrete policy recommendations aimed for the elimination of barriers to social cohesion, highlighting that clearly targeted social development programs for the benefit of these groups must be given utmost priority. In addition, the 1997 Report included the policy framework recommendations emanating from the National Dialogue on Anti-Poverty Strategies held in Diyarbakır on 29-31 May 1997 in its final chapter. Calling on the state, the private sector and the civil society, the Panel addressed the multiple issues of poverty and produced a series of policy recommendations running the gamut from macro economic reform measures to specific program intervention proposals targeting the socially disadvantaged groups.

The UNDP Technical Cooperation Program in Turkey reflects these policy priorities in its on-going GAP Umbrella Program where specific activities are being implemented for the benefit of women and the youth. Also, consequent to the 1997 NHDR and the National Dialogue on Anti-Poverty Strategies, the UNDP and the Government have begun to support a new program which addresses social and antipoverty policy development with a view to creating the groundwork for more effective and targeted national policies aimed at addressing the needs of these socially disadvantaged population groups.

In addition, the UNDP has taken active steps in support for the national development of programs that will help further establish the social development of such socially disadvantages groups as an essential right. Consequently, the present volume probes the concept of human rights from the social development perspective, wherein education, cultural attainment, a healthful life, social, economic, political and personal advancement are conclusively established as indelible rights, the protection and promotion of which is the shared responsibility of the state, the private sector and the civil society.

The NHDRs have been important instruments, not only for UNDP's own and UN system's more focused and coordinated program cooperation in Turkey, but also for the UN's national counterparts and partners for development in the government. The Human Development perspective has been acclaimed as a fresh approach at the highest level of the state on many occasions. This human development approach has illustrated at these levels, that Turkey's ranking vis a vis other evaluated countries has been rather disappointing. This recognition, in turn, has become a driving force for paying closer attention to immediate – impact social development program areas, already strong in many long term social programs of the government.

National Human Development Reports and the utilization of their findings have also been effective in creating the added focus given by the government in the Country Strategy Note (CSN) of 1994 wherein regional and gender development disparity reduction is identified as priority concern areas for UN system cooperation with the Government.

The National Human Development Reports and the methodology of applying the Human Development Index at provincial, gender and regional levels have been welcomed by many scholars, statisticians and analysts in Turkey – adding impetus to their research and studies and providing a "fresh look" at the oft pronounced national development concerns.

Human Rights, Sustainable Human Development and Human Security



asting peace, security and prosperity of people depends on a new paradigm - the trilogy of basic human concerns, which consists of: a) Human rights for development; b) Sustainable Human Development, and c) Human Security.

The realization of this paradigm will not only generate economic growth worldwide, but will also distribute its benefits equitably. It will regenerate the environment, instead of destroying it. It will empower people rather than marginalize them. It will enlarge people's choices and their opportunities and provide them with opportunities to participate in decisions that affect their life.

A. HUMAN RIGHTS

Human rights must be recognized as the first basic human concern. The primary basis of today's activities at the United Nations and its member Governments is to promote, protect and monitor human rights and the fundamental freedoms that derived from the International Bill of Human Rights, which has developed successively through the years. The Bill comprises three documents:

- a) the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted in 1948;
- b) the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, promulgated in 1966; and
- c) the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, launched during the same year.

These instruments enshrine global human rights standards and have been the source of inspiration for more than 60 supplemental United Nations human rights conventions, declarations and legal instruments. The latter has established international rules, guidelines and other universally recognized principles that cover a wide range of human concerns, including: the right to development, women's rights, protection against racial discrimination, protection of migrant workers, the rights of children. Through the years, the totality of this international human rights law has been designed to promote and protect the basic concerns of people to have freedom, safety and a healthy life. The right to live a dignified life can never be attained unless all basic necessities of life - work, food, housing, healthcare, education and culture - are adequately and equitably available to everyone.

Universal Declaration of **Human Rights**

This year, 1998, marks the 50th anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Following the most destructive conflict of all time, the Second World War, the members of the international community came together in 1945 in San Francisco to establish the United Nations Organization. Its mandate was to ensure an enduring peace, each country's faith in fundamental human rights, and to promote economic and social progress and better standards of living for all. Thus, its Charter outlined the foundation of freedom, justice, prosperity and peace for all members of the human family. Three years later, the United Nations met at the Palais de Chaillot in Paris, France, and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, on 10 December 1948.

This document constitutes one of the greatest aspirations by the international community, with the intent of being implemented at both national and international levels. It embodies the hopes and dreams of people who suffered, from the devastating impact of two ravaging and bloody World Wars and an equally damaging Cold War, during the same century.

A Historical Background

During the late 1940s, the armies of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy occupied Western Europe. In Asia the armies of Japan were on the march. It was during these dark days of the Second World War that American President Franklin Delano Roosevelt appeared before the Congress of the United States, on January 6, 1941, and told his people that they were facing an unprecedented threat to their freedom: "... As men do not live by bread alone, they do not fight by armaments alone. Those who man our defenses and those behind them who build our defenses, must have the stamina and courage which comes from an unshakable belief in the manner of life which they are defending..."

Then, the late President presented his ambitious humanitarian vision of a post-war world:

"... In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms: the first is freedom of speech and expression - everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way - everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want - which means. on a global scale, economic understandings that will secure for every nation a healthy peace time life for its inhabitants - everywhere in the world. The fourth is freedom from fear - which means, on a global scale, a world wide reduction of armaments to such a point, that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor - anywhere in the world.

That is not a vision of a distant millennium. It is. however, a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation... The world order which we seek is the cooperation of free countries, working together in a friendly, civilized society".

As highlighted in this statement, the post-war world order had to be based on three main foundations - collective security, economic cooperation, and human rights. These elements jointly formed the main framework of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and achieved concrete expression in global and regional institutions that remain with us today.

Freedom from want, the right to development and economic cooperation were among the essential elements of the post-war world order. As a matter of fact, President Roosevelt told his country that American democracy could not survive if one-third of the nation was ill housed, ill clothed, and ill fed. In his view, the Second World War was caused in part by dramatic currency disorders, mass unemployment and economic despair that brought Hitler and Mussolini to power.

Vistas of the Universal Declaration

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights reflects all four of the essential human freedoms. It proclaims the fundamental freedoms of thought. opinion, expression and belief, it enshrines the core right of participatory and representative governance. Just as firmly and with equal force, it emphasizes the necessity of freedom from wants - economic, social and cultural rights and the right to equal opportunity.

The Declaration solemnly recognizes that everyone, as a member of a civilized society, has the right to social security and is entitled through national efforts and international cooperation, to the economic, social and cultural rights for his or her own dignity and the development of his or her own personality. Everyone has the right to work, to the free choice of employment, a right to equal pay for equal work and to protection against unemployment. Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for their health and well being including: food, clothing, housing, medical care and necessary social services. Everyone has the right to education that is free and compulsory, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages.

The Declaration also recognizes that human rights must be regarded as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations. Similarly, they are indivisible, inalienable and universal. The emphasis on one aspect of human rights cannot be used to detract from the promotion and implementation of any other aspect. The rights and freedoms set in the Declaration are to be enjoyed by all, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin.

However, contrary to the well-defined guidelines above, in practice, a biased approach has been adopted by some governments and academics. Civil and political rights (e.g. the right to life, liberty, security, political rights to vote, freedom of speech and press, the right not to be discriminated against on the basis of race, sex, color, language, religion, etc.) have received more attention, codification and judicial interpretation. They have been instilled in public consciousness to a far greater degree than economic, social and cultural rights and the right to development. Deliberately and wrongfully, it has been presumed that only civil and political rights can be subject to violation. As a result, economic, social and cultural rights and the right to development have often been evaluated as "second-class rights" unenforceable, non-justifiable, only to be fulfilled progressively over time.

It is therefore that the United Nations General Assembly, by its resolution 32/130 of 16 December 1977, asserted that: "... All human rights and fundamental freedoms are indivisible and interdependent; equal attention and urgent consideration should be given to the implementation, promotion and protection of both civil and political, and economic, social and cultural rights... The full realization of civil and political rights without the enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights is impossible."

Similarly, the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna, on 25 June 1993, reasserted that, "all human rights are universal, indivisible and interdependent and interrelated. They should be treated globally, in a fair and equal manner, on the same footing, and with the same emphasis".

International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

Following almost 20 years of drafting debates. The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights was adopted and opened for signature, ratification and access by the United Nations General Assembly through its resolution 2200A (XXI) of 16 December 1966. It finally gained the force of law a decade later.

The Covenant is a legal instrument. Thus, when two member or two non-member States of the United Nations ratify the Covenant, it becomes a "State Party" to it. Thereby, it is willfully accepting a series of legal undertakings, to apply solemnly each of the obligations embodied therein, and to ensure the compatibility of their national laws with their international duties.

This Covenant codifies the economic, social and cultural rights defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in detail and contains some of the most significant international legal provisions. These provisions have established economic, social and cultural rights; including rights relating to work in just and favorable conditions, to social protection, to an adequate standard of living, to the highest attainable standards of physical and mental health, and to education and the enjoyment of the benefits of cultural freedom and scientific progress.

At the end of May 1998, 137 States have ratified the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, thereby, voluntarily undertaking the obligation to implement fully its norms and provisions. Contrary to the aspirations, guidance and leadership of President Roosevelt on the importance of freedom from want, the United States Government, to date, has not become party to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Similarly and unfortunately, the Republic of Turkey has not yet signed nor ratified the Covenant.

Compliance by States parties with their obligations under the Covenant and the level of implementation of the rights and duties in question are monitored internationally by the United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, established in 1985.

Right to Development

A balanced and integrated economic and social development contributes towards the promotion and maintenance of peace and security, social progress, better standards of living and the observance of and respect for human rights and fundamental freedom. The International Conference on Human Rights, held in May 1968, in Teheran, elaborated on this theme. It declared that the enjoyment of economic and social rights is inherently linked with any meaningful enjoyment of civil and political rights, and that there is a profound interconnection between the realization of human rights and development. Subsequently, the United Nations General Assembly adopted in December 1969 the Declaration on Social Progress and Development and in December 1986 the Declaration on the Right to Development.

The latter document not only recognizes the right to development as a human right but also elaborates on its several dimensions. According to this Declaration, development is a comprehensive economic, social, cultural and political process, which aims at constant improvement of the well being of the entire population and all individuals. The human person is the central subject of the development process and development policies should therefore make human beings the main participants and beneficiaries of development. The creation of conditions favorable to the development of peoples is the primary responsibility of the States. All human beings have the right to development, individually and collectively. States should undertake all the necessary measures for the realization of the right to development and ensure equality of opportunity for all in their access to basic resources, education, health services, food, housing, employment and the fair distribution of income. Appropriate economic and social reforms should be carried out with the intent to eradicate all social injustices.

Thus, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; the International Convenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; the Declaration on Social Progress and the Declaration on the Right to Development, as a whole, constitutes the main legal framework of Human Rights to Development.

B. SUSTAINABLE HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Sustainable Human Development is the second basic human concern. All development must be seen as a process through which one lives, learns and participates, rather than a static phenomenon. In the post-war era most development efforts were based on the neo-classical belief that successful growth could best be ensured through capital investment which would permit urban industrialization and modernization. Later, in the 1960s and 70s, while recognizing the continuing need for sustained national or international, capital investments, the importance of better terms of trade and increased trade flows were highlighted. In the 80s, the monetary aspects of the development process gained prominence. Each of these aspects, albeit highly relevant to the process of development, was a means to achieve development, but could not be considered as the objective of development. It has frequently been overlooked that individual people are at the core of all development processes, and that human skills and human capacity determine the success or failure of these efforts. The deficiencies and shortcomings of policies and strategies that relied more on capital and natural resources and neglected the human dimension (both as an input and as an objective of development) have become increasingly clear.

Since the mid-1980s, the United Nations Development Programme has played a prominent pioneering role in promoting a new concept of development - sustainable human development, and shaped appropriate strategies to ensure its implementation, especially by convening several prestigious Round-Tables and publishing global and national human development reports. Through extensive research and the publications of UNDP, it has become apparent that there is no one and only way to ensure development. Development is a complex process. Each country varies in size, political system, population, climate, resources, heritage, etc. Each may have needs that vary according to their stage of development. However, one fact has become clearer. In the development process, solutions that do not consider the human dimension properly or do not put people at the center of all concerns fail to provide an enduring answer and real development achievements. Literate, educated, healthy, motivated people are at the core of development.

Definition

The UNDP 1990 Human Development Report said, human development is the process of enlarging people's choices. In principle, these choices can be infinite and changed over time. Its parameters are changing with time. But at all levels of development, the three essential choices for people are to lead a long and healthy life, to acquire knowledge and to have access to resources needed for a decent standard of living. If these are not available, many other opportunities remain inaccessible and many other possibilities will not be realized

But human development does not end there. Additional choices highly valued by many people range from political, economic and social freedom to opportunities for being creative and productive and enjoying personal self-respect and the guarantee of human rights.

Human development has two sides: the formation of human capabilities - such as improved health, knowledge and skills, - and the use people make of their acquired capabilities - for leisure, productive purposes or being active in cultural, social and political affairs. If the scales of human development do not balance the two sides, considerable human frustration may result.

According to this concept of human development, income is clearly only one option that people would like to have, albeit an important one, but it is not the sum total of their lives. Development must therefore be more than the expansion of income and wealth. Its focus must be on people.

This approach was expanded on by the sustainable human development concept as presented by the Administrator James Gustave Speth. The 1994 Human Development Report, accordingly, defined sustainable human development as the development:

- that not only generates economic growth, but distributes its benefits equitably,
- that regenerates the environment rather than destroys it,
- that empowers people, rather than marginalizes

It is development that gives priority to the poor, enlarging their choices and providing opportunities to participate in decisions that affect their lives for them. Development that is: pro-people; pro-nature; pro-jobs; pro-women.

According to the definition of the UNDP 1990 Human Development Report, the human development paradigm is aimed at the expression of freedom of choice of the individual. It provides material and social conditions necessary for such freedom. In other words, the freedom of choice presupposes universal access to healthcare and education, employment, elimination of poverty and discrimination, conservation and preservation of nature and the security of the individual. But, in the view of some critics, freedom of choice and participation in taking decisions relevant for everyone are impossible without an open society, guaranteed pluralism and consolidated democratic systems. Such a definition of human development, therefore, at first sight seems to be rather mundane, not complete, and oversimplified.

Without question what is certain is that human development becomes impossible within societies where there is not sufficient political stability and respect for fundamental human rights. In brief, and on a more practical level, the United Nations Development Programme has successfully introduced a valid new concept and solid new dimension of development by putting people first both at the national and global levels.

Through UNDP's concerted efforts, we have learned that development should no longer be evaluated by how much growth, but what type of growth. People should not be considered only as a residual factor for growth, but as the true objective of development. True development can be achieved only through a process that places people at the centre of all concerns. This process must develop human capacities and capabilities to help people to release their human energies for the benefit of their own development and that of their societies.

C. HUMAN SECURITY

The third basic human concern is human security. Taking into account the reasons for the failure of the League of Nations at San Francisco in 1945, it was clear to the signatories of the United Nations Charter that a durable international peace and security system could only be achieved if effective measures were taken to ensure human security. Therefore, one of the major goals of the United Nations Charter has been to foster peace by promoting social progress and better standards of living in an environment of freedom. Its preamble declared that: "the Peoples of the United Nations [were] determined to promote social progress and better standards of life... to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples".

Articles 55 and 56 pointed out that: "the United Nations shall promote... higher standards of li-

ving, full employment and conditions of economic and social progress and development" and "take joint and separate actions for the achievement of these purposes".

In brief, according to the Charter the world cannot be secure unless people are secure in their homes, their jobs, and their communities. As a matter of fact, when one reads the following appraisal from the report of the former US Secretary of State Hull to President Truman on the results of the San Francisco Conference, one deems to praise warmly the farsightedness of the founders of the United Nations, especially with respect to the concept of security and human rights:

"... The battle of peace has to be fought on two fronts. The first is the security from where victory spells freedom from fear. The second is the economic and social front where victory means freedom from want. Only victory on both fronts can assure the world an enduring peace... No provision that can be written into the Charter will enable the Security Council to make the world secure from war if men and women have no security in their homes and their jobs..."

From the above quote, it is clear that the architects of the United Nations have given equal weight to human security and political security. However, during the Cold War, security meant mainly military and political security, the defense of states, their territory, their system, and their ins-Similarly, the meaning of "human rights", especially for some Western countries, meant essentially political and civil rights of the individual and free speech. The third freedom freedom from want - was nearly forgotten. Now that the Cold War is over, there is a pressing need to return to the basic and original aims and interpretation of the United Nations Charter concerning the human security and rights, and to insert them with new energy and commitment at both the national and international levels.

The United Nations Charter recognizes that international security has many components. It invol-

ves not only political, but also human security and the two are indivisible. In maintaining peace and security, the well being of people is as important as national political security. The preamble of the Charter begins with the words, "We the people". Therefore, each member of the United Nations must put "people" at the center of all concerns. People's capacities and capabilities must be better utilized. The release of human energies must be encouraged in accordance with their aspirations.

Definition

Several definitions have been formulated to describe human security. As the 1994 Human Development Report indicates, human security is more easily identified through its absence than its presence like other fundamental concepts, such as human freedom.

It could be said that human security has two distinct aspects. First, it means safety from deadly threats such as hunger, disease and repression. Secondly, protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life - in homes, in jobs or in communities.

Also, human security has four distinct characteristics:

- It is a universal concern.
- Its components are interdependent. When the security of people is endangered in one part of the world, sooner or later other nations are likely to feel its consequences, especially areas such as terrorism, disease, pollution, and ethnic disputes.
- It is easier to ensure it through earlier prevention than later intervention.
- It is people-centered. Its main subject is how people live.

There are, of course, close linkages between human security and sustainable human development. However, it is important that the two should not be considered the same. Human development is a process through which people's capacities, capabilities and choices expand. Human se-

curity is the necessary environment in which this expansion can take place and in which choices can be exercised safely and freely.

D. A NEW TRILOGY

Despite the many advances in the second half of the 20th century, there is still a large unfinished national and global agenda to be completed in the quest for the empowerment of people and implementation of the trilogy of basic human concerns which has been examined above. Therefore, perhaps the most urgent need, both at national and international levels, is the realization of this new paradigm - a political consensus on a renaissance in development thinking. True development requires a balance between economic growth rates, sustainable human development goals and human rights norms. Without this balance, longterm development cannot occur and progress in meeting people's goals will never be achieved and sustained. Therefore, all development efforts need to be people-centered. This means:

A renewal of the social contract between the State and the people, putting people, especially poor people, first; higher standards of living for all; full employment; social progress; reduction and control of inflation; and political and personal freedom.

A new system for monitoring progress in achieving and maintaining human rights and responsibilities for development must be established at the national level.

National strategies should be developed to empower people and increase opportunities for productive employment.

Roles, rights and responsibilities of the private sector, foundations, civil society and media in empowering people must be recognized and defined.

Social spending should be the last thing to be cut in structural adjustment programmes. Subsidies for the rich should be cut before subsidies for the poor.

Safety nets that address areas of health, education, unemployment, falling incomes should be an integral part of social policy, and access of the poor to health, education, clean water and other social services must be improved.

Women's access to basic education, skills training, political participation and decision-making, healthcare, family planning, productive resources and markets should be expanded.

Expansion of productive and remunerative employment should become the central goal of all political, economic and social policies. Employment has multiple dimensions in people's lives. It is not merely an economic means to generate financial resources. Far more important, it gives people a sense of dignity and integrates them into their society.

Investments must be backed by a higher rate of domestic savings.

Government policies must be designed to unleash people's creativity and energy and enable them to become self-employed or entrepreneurial.

Respect for human rights, freedom of expression and association, freedom to worship and true economic and social justice are the cornerstones of stable societies. Therefore, each government and each society must become more tolerant and respectful, show more solidarity with one another, and halt violence. The management of expectations and pluralism are crucial in this process.

The civil society, educational institutions, media and individuals all have responsibilities to expand moral horizons to include values of solidarity, tolerance and partnership. The Government should use public policies to promote solidarity, unity, partnership, and tolerance of multiculturalism with devolution of power, electoral reforms, and respect for different cultures, languages, and faiths in society.

New Actors and Agents

At present, Governments and intergovernmental organizations are no longer the sole actors and agents in promoting the establishment, evaluation, management and improvement of the trilogy of basic human concerns, at the national and global stages. Assisted by remarkable advances in information technology and a world-wide process of democratization, non-governmental and civic organizations, media networks, private sector and multinational corporations, local authorities, grass-root and community-based organizations, associations, foundations, academic institutions, etc., are playing a very dynamic role in promoting and protecting human concerns, as well as shaping important strategies according to their own rules, priorities and values today.

The emergence of these new actors and agents in local, national and global relations creates the need for redefinition of the role, functions, rights and obligations of each actor and the establishment of appropriate partnerships between them, in order to respond effectively to pressing human concerns and challenges.

Especially in the domain of human rights, increasingly a closer relationship is being established at a global level between intergovernmental organizations and the relevant non-governmental as well as community-based organizations. Intergovernmental organizations are now recognizing the important contribution, which can be made by civil society institutions in the provision of information, concerning the enjoyment or abuses of the rights contained in the International Bill of Human Rights. In many instances, these institutions have generated substantial media attention in their countries and around the world.

E. CONCLUSIONS

The previous discussion demonstrates that despite a long history of humanity, it is an amazingly short period of the last fifty years that the major human concerns have rapidly developed from aspirations to perceptions and finally to well-defined legal rights and duties. What conclusions can be drawn from this remarkable process?

First, lasting peace and security on earth depends on a new paradigm - a trilogy of major human concerns to be identified as: a) human right to development; b) sustainable human development; and c) human security. Though these three concepts are very much inter-linked, they should not be considered to be one and the same. They are indispensable and inseparable parts of a whole, and they are complementary and reinforcing elements of one another. They are and should be the concern of local, national, regional and universal efforts. Similarly, they are interdependent and indivisible. Equal attention and urgent consideration should be given by people, nations, states, international communities and organizations, as well as by new actors such as civil society, local authorities, private sector, academia and media, to their full implementation, promotion and protection.

Some governments make a mistake by adopting the hypocritical and biased policy of making a distinction between the right to development and other civil and political rights. By not ratifying the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, they consider these as second-class rights, which are unenforceable, non-justifiable, and only possible to be fulfilled over time.

As recognized again and again by different international documents, human rights are indivisible, inalienable and universal. The emphasis on one aspect can and should not be used to detract from the promotions of any other aspect of human rights.

Poverty is a brutal denial of human rights. Due to such an approach, despite significant progress made in the last half of this century in addressing problems of human deprivation, well over one billion people on the earth live in circumstances of extreme poverty, homelessness, hunger and malnutrition, unemployment, illiteracy and chronic ill-health. More than 1.5 billion people lack access to clean drinking water and sanitation. Some 500 million children don't have access even to primary education. This massive scale of marginalization raises serious questions, not only of development, but also basic human rights and political security.

By now, we have learned that peace, economy, environment, social justice and democracy are all integral parts of the whole. Without peace, human energies cannot be productively employed. Without economic growth, there can be no sustained, broad-based improvement in material well being or ecological balance. Without environmental protection, the basics of human survival are jeopardized. Without social justice, mounting inequalities threaten social cohesion, and without the channels to participate in local politics, developmental freedom remains fragile and perpetually at risk.

In brief, we know that a balance is needed between democratic freedoms, economic growth, social progress and human and environmental development. We also know that the political, economic and social spheres are one. They are complementary and mutually supporting. Too much social equity without adequate economic growth may lead to bankruptcy; too much economic growth without social equity can lead to social disorders. Therefore, for each government a package of integrated political, economic and social policies is essential for the maintenance of political peace and social justice.

It is high time for each Government, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the turn of the

century to lead its own country and people to a new millennium. This can be done by preparing them for a more interdependent world, for the information age and the global economy, by expanding their opportunities, prosperity and human rights and by maintaining fiscal discipline, opening more markets and investing more in people.

For these to happen, they need new global perceptions and vision, long-term perspectives and bold leadership.

NOTES

This essay benefited from information, ideas and argumentations provided in several previous publications such as: Crisis of the 80s, 1984; Human Development: The Neglected Dimension, 1986; Development for People, 1989; People From Impoverishment to Empowerment, NYU Press, 1996, by Üner Kirdar; UNDP Human Development Reports, 1990, 1994; Integrating Human Rights with Sustainable Human Development, a UNDP policy document, 1988; "Franklin Roosevelt and World Order", address by R.N. Gardner, the Conference on Legacy of FDR, September 1996.

See:

Human Rights, Fact Sheet No.16, UN Publications. Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, Part I, para.5.

Human Development Report 1994, UNDP, pp.22-23.

A. Regional gender and provincial disparities as indicators of peoples' differentiated scope for enjoying most fundamental rights.

This chapter presents analytical tools for measuring human development. The updated, disaggregated Human Development Index table compares the relative levels of human development of over 78 provinces in Turkey. Two new measures of human development that highlight the status of women for measuring inequality are introduced: first is the Gender-related Development Index (GDI)- and second is the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM). A new concept and measurement of poverty, disaggregated Human Poverty Index (HPI), is also presented for each province.

1. Human Development performance by region (HDI)

Half of Turkey's inhabitants live in provinces where a medium level of human development has been recorded. These provinces are situated mainly in Central Anatolia, on the Black-Sea coast and in the southeast of Turkey. 47% of the population lives in provinces with high human development. These provinces are in western parts of Turkey. 3% of the population lives in provinces with low human development. These are mainly eastern provinces.

Only in the Marmara region do all the provinces rank at high human development (Northwest of Turkey). The share of the population living in provinces with high human development is quite high (74%) in the Aegean region, but falls in Central Anatolia to 40% and in the Black-Sea region to 7%. In all these regions the remaining provinces rank at the medium level of human development. In the East and South-East regions,

none of the provinces rank at high human development; there medium level of development dominates. There are only six provinces with low human development. Five of them are in Eastern Anatolia and only one province (Şırnak) is in the Southeast.

2. Human Development performance by province (HDI)

Although it generated some controversy when first introduced in 1990, the HDI has found an increasing audience as a simple measure of human development in Turkey. The HDI provides an alternative to GNP for assessing a country's standing in basic human development or its progress in human development over time. It does not displace economic measures but can serve as a simple composite complement to other measures like GNP.

Bursa, with a provincial value of 0.863 is at the top, followed by Kocaeli, İstanbul and İzmir with provincial HDI values of 0.860, 0.856, 0.849 respectively. Bingöl, Bitlis, Hakkari, Muş, Ağrı, and Şırnak are at the bottom of the HDI ranking with values 0.484, 0.459, 0.450, 0.447, 0.441 and 0.428 respectively. Out of 78 provinces studied, 20 are in the high, 52 are in the medium and 6 are in the low human development group. Although, on the basis of its overall HDI value, Turkey is in the medium human development group in the international classification, disaggregation at the provincial level shows that almost half of the population lives in provinces with high human development.

What is meant and measured by provincial HDI is actually the development level of an average individual in that province. However, the provincial average values could be disaggregated further into urban and rural components and these could be further disaggregated into male and female components. Such a disaggregation would reveal that the challenges of human development do not

solely lie in geography. By this method one could capture pockets of low human development in other geographic regions as well. Low human development in rural parts and low human development of female in the rural areas is encountered more frequently along the west-east direction.

3. Gender Development Index (GDI)

The GDI uses the same variables as the HDI. The difference is that the GDI adjusts the average achievement of each province in life expectancy, educational attainment and income in accordance with the disparity in achievement between women and men. This methodology is different from calculating the HDI for women as a population group and comparing it to men, as was practiced in previous national human development reports on Turkey. The GDI does not calculate separate indices for women and men but takes into account the inequality between women and men. The GDI falls (a) when the achievement levels of both women and men in a province go down or (b) when the disparity between their achievements increases. Therefore, the greater the disparity between men and women in a province, the lower a province's GDI compared with its HDI. GDI, in other words, is actually HDI, which is discounted (adjusted) for gender disparity.

One way of measuring gender inequality between provinces is to compare their GDI values with their HDI values. This can be simply done by taking the percentage reduction of the GDI from the HDI, or (HDI-GDI)/HDI. The newly created province Sırnak in the South-East of Turkey, which ranks at the bottom for both GDI and HDI exhibits in this respect also the highest difference. Its GDI is 6% lower than its HDI. In contrast to other Mediterranean-provinces. Adana has the smallest difference 0.5%. Gender disparity is much lower in Ankara and İstanbul than in İzmir and Antalya. The relatively high gender disparity in the Aegean and Mediterranean regions compared to Central Anatolia is mainly due to the ratio of female non-agricultural wage to male non-agricultural wage. This

variable is vital for the calculation of 'earned income shares' (see technical annex).

4. Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM)

The GEM uses variables constructed explicitly to measure the relative empowerment of women and men in political and economic spheres of activity and evaluates progress in advancing women at the political and economic levels. It is different from the GDI, which is concerned primarily with basic capabilities and living standards. The GEM is not meant to be a prescriptive index, i.e., there is no intent to set universal norms.

Like the HDI and the GDI, the GEM focuses on a few selected variables: (a) For power over economic resources, the variable is per capita income in PPP dollars (unadjusted). (b) For access to professional opportunities and participation in economic decision-making, the variable is the share of jobs classified as professional and technical, and administrative and managerial. Administrative and managerial jobs lie closer to decision-making, but professional and technical jobs represent opportunities for career development. (c) For access to political opportunities and participation in political decision-making, the variable is the share of local municipality or equivalent parliamentary seats. The GDI and GEM use the income variable differently. In the GEM income is evaluated as a source of economic power that frees the income earner to choose from a wider set of possibilities and exercise a broader range of options. GDI uses adjusted income shares of male and female (see technical annex).

The best records are observed in Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir, i.e. in the three largest cities of Turkey. According to HDI ranking, twenty provinces rank at high human development level. Sixteen of these provinces with some alteration, still claim these ranks; only four of them drop by GEM to lower ranks. The lowest ranking provinces do not change by HDI, GDI or GEM classification.

B. Indicators of disparities in access to amenities that ensure persons' right to life and a meaningful existence.

1. Human Poverty Index (HPI)

Poverty means that opportunities and choices most basic to human development are denied. From a human development perspective, poverty means more than the lack of what is necessary for material well-being. For measuring this new concept of poverty, the Human Development Report 1997 introduced the Human Poverty Index (HPI). It brings together in a composite index the different features of deprivation in the quality of life to arrive at an aggregate assessment on the extent of poverty in a community. Human Development Report 1996 attempted this by using the "capability poverty measure". The HPI follows the same approach.

The HPI uses indicators of the most basic dimensions of deprivation: (a) The first deprivation relates to survival (the vulnerability to death at a relatively early age) and is represented in the HPI by the percentage of people expected to die before age forty. (b) The next one relates to knowledge (being excluded from the world of reading and communication) and is measured by the percentage of adults who are illiterate. (c) The third aspect relates to a decent standard of living, in particular, overall economic provisioning. This is represented by a composite of three variables: the percentage of people with access to health services and to safe water, and the percentage of malnourished children under five.

2. HPI by province

The HPI provides here a measure of the incidence of human poverty in a province in Turkey. Consider for example Ankara with HPI value 13%. This means that judged by the HPI, an average of some 13% of the Ankara province's population is affected by the various forms of human poverty or deficiency included in the measure. But unlike with a headcount measure, it is not possible to associate the incidence of human poverty with a specific group of people. Besides, the type of data used here contains strong regional characteristics. Provincial data on malnourished children and access to safe water was not available. Therefore the ranking should not be interpreted rigorously and one of the variables - access to health services - was by definition different from the original version in HDR (See Technical Annex). Therefore, the indices are not suitable for international comparison.

Kocaeli, Ankara, Eskişehir, Bilecik, İzmir, Bursa, and İstanbul rank with the least poverty incidence 13% at the top. Mardin and Hakkari with a poverty incidence 35% and Şırnak with 42% are at the bottom of the ranking. The Central Anatolian provinces have a more favorable ranking according to HPI compared to HDI and Black-Sea provinces rank lower when classified by HPI. Only five provinces (Karaman, Antalya, Şırnak, Çanakkale, Niğde) keep the same rank by both HDI and HPI.

C. Statistical information necessary for human and social development planning

1. Availability of statistical data and its soundness

Statistics on Human Development issues are available in Turkey. Since 1990, State Institute of Statistics has made great progress in providing the relevant data. Statistics on education and income may be considered as sound and available, but the same cannot be said for "life expectancy" statistics. Data on "death" is not sound and this prevents us from establishing sound life tables. Better life tables are indispensable for sound decision making in insurance and social security

sectors as well. State Institute of Statistics also provides good and sound statistics on the basis of gender. However, except for the income component, statistics related to poverty are quite scarce.

2. Availability of census data and its shortcomings

The availability of the census data every five years in the past was probably an expensive but highly useful undertaking. Increasing the span of the population census to ten years has caused problems. The biggest shortcomings are "estimated statistics" within the ten-year census period. The results of the "General Population Register 1997" have not been published yet. The availability of these statistics will probably contribute to the construction of more sound indices on Human Development next year.

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HDI, GDI, GEM, and HPI Tables

Table 1	Human	Develo	oment In	ıdex (HDT)
The second name of the second	the latest and the la				

				Combined							Real
				first, second		A 10					GDP pe
		1.16-	A 1 (r	and third level		Adjusted					capita
		Life	Adult	gross		Real GDI				Human	(PPP\$
		expectancy	literacy	enrollment	Real GDP	per				development	
LIDI		at birth	rate	ratio	per capita	capita	Life			index	minu
HDI		(years)	(%)	(%)	(PPP\$)		expectancy			(HDI) value	
rank	TIP I I	1996	1996	1996	1996	1996	index	index	index	1996	rank
	High human d		04.0								
1	BURSA	75,4	86,8	62	7.666	5.921	0,84	0,55	0,96	0,863	10
2	KOCAELİ	74,0	88,8	57	16.441	6.038	0,82	0,50	0,98	0,860	-1
3	İSTANBUL	72,5	91,0	62	7.562	5.918	0,79	0,51	0,96	0,856	10
4	İZMİR	72,3	87,7	63	8.242	5.933	0,79	0,52	0,96	0,849	4
5	SAKARYA	75,4	85,5	53	6.638	5.892	0,84	0,44	0,96	0,847	17
6	ANKARA	66,9	90,3	79	7.282	5.911	0,70	0,56	0,96	0,841	9
7	BALIKESİR	72,7	82,8	60	6.426	5.884	0,80	0,55	0,96	0,834	17
8	MUĞLA	72,1	86,6	51	9.229	5.952	0,79	0,46	0,97	0,833	-5
9	ESKİŞEHİR	67,1	89,9	69	7.843	5.925	0,70	0,53	0,96	0,831	0
10	TEKİRDAĞ	69,3	87,9	58	7.409	5.914	0,74	0,41	0,96	0,826	4
11	AYDIN 	72,9	82,1	48	6.908	5.901	0,80	0,55	0,96	0,821	9
12	BİLECİK	68,5	87,4	57	8.451	5.937	0,73	0,55	0,96	0,820	-6
13	ANTALYA	71,3	84,9	49	7.144	5.907	0,77	0,56	0,96	0,820	3
14	DENİZLİ	72,0	83,4	48	6.198	5.873	0,78	0,00	0,95	0,818	11
15	ÇANAKKALE	67,7	84,7	59	8.366	5.936	0,71	0,54	0,96	0,812	-8
16	MANİSA	71,4	80,7	48	7.111	5.906	0,77	0,48	0,96	0,810	1
17	BOLU	68,3	83,9	56	6.674	5.893	0,72	0,54	0,96	0,809	4
18	EDİRNE	65,1	85,1	69	5.942	5.856	0,67	0,54	0,95	0,805	10
19	KIRKLARELİ	65,3	88,7	54	9.166	5.950	0,67	0,50	0,97	0,804	-15
20	BURDUR	65,2	86,0	63	5.948	5.856	0,67	0,55	0,95	0,802	7
	Medium huma	n developme	nt								
21	ARTVİN	66,8	81,4	58	6.126	5.869	0,70	0,55	0,95	0,795	5
22	İÇEL	66,7	85,0	47	7.572	5.918	0,70	0,53	0,96	0,793	-10
23	КÜТАНҮА	67,2	82,1	51	6.618	5.891	0,70	0,50	0,96	0,792	0
24	ZONGULDAK	66,4	81,2	51	7.688	5.921	0,69	0,40	0,96	0,788	-14
25	KİLİS	70,1	78,3	46	5.710	5.710	0,75	0,32	0,93	0,785	5
26	HATAY	68,1	79,4	51	5.760	5.760	0,72	0,52	0,93	0,783	3
27	NEVŞEHİR	64,6	83,6	49	7.071	5.905	0,66	0,45	0,96	0,780	-9
28	ADANA	64,4	80,8	55	6.952	5.902	0,66	0,58	0,96	0,779	-9
29	KIRIKKALE	61,3	84,7	60	9.625	5.958	0,60	0,38	0,97	0,779	-27
30	KONYA	68,8	85,1	51	5.239	5.239	0,73	0,49	0,85	0,772	5
31	UŞAK	69,8	80,5	56	5.077	5.077	0,75	0,40	0,82	0,764	6
32	RİZE	63,6	80,5	59	5.614	5.614	0,64	0,45	0,91	0,763	0
33	KARAMAN	60,7	84,7	47	8.703	5.942	0,59	0,39	0,96	0,760	-28
34	ÇORUM	67,0	75,6	45	5.657	5.657	0,70	0,54	0,92	0,758	-3

35 36 37 38	KAYSERI SAMSUN	66,5 68,1	83,2	58	5.025	5.025	0,69	0,51	0,81	0,750	3
37		00.1	79,2	57	4.976	4.976	0,72	0,45	0,81	0,747	3
	NİĞDE	63,2	78,9	55	5.275	5.275	0,64	0,45	0,85	0,734	-3
	TRABZON	67,7	81,6	58	4.618	4.618	0,71	0,41	0,75	0,732	5
39	ELAZIĞ	62,9	73,3	59	5.385	5.385	0,63	0,54	0,87	0,730	-6
40	KIRŞEHİR	63,0	81,9	62	4.879	4.879	0,63	0,51	0,79	0,725	0
41	ISPARTA	66,4	86,8	53	4.475	4.475	0,69	0,52	0,72	0,722	5
42	GAZİANTEP	70,1	74,2	46	4.704	4.704	0,75	0,53	0,76	0,721	-1
43	MALATYA	66,4	78,4	52	4.698	4.698	0,69	0,49	0,76	0,715	-1
44	AMASYA	64,4	82,0	57	4.489	4.489	0,66	0,55	0,72	0,706	1
45	KASTAMONU	63,2	72,2	50	5.084	5.084	0,64	0,51	0,82	0,702	-9
46	KARABÜK	66,4	82,4	43	4.276	4.276	0,69	0,33	0,69	0,691	1
47	AFYON	68,2	83,0	43	3.806	3.806	0,72	0,57	0,61	0,677	7
48	SİVAS	67,4	78,1	50	3.834	3.834	0,71	0,42	0,62	0,671	4
49	K.MARAŞ	60,4	75,6	41	4.594	4.594	0,59	0,49	0,74	0,658	-5
50	TOKAT	64,6	76,6	45	4.048	4.048	0,66	0,41	0,65	0,657	-1
51	SİNOP	64,9	75,6	48	3.921	3.921	0,67	0,43	0,63	0,654	-1
52	ERZURUM	62,4	75,0	51	3.874	3.874	0,62	0,53	0,62	0,639	-1
53	ÇANKIRI	65,0	80,5	39	3.591	3.591	0,67	0,54	0,58	0,637	2
54	DİYARBAKIR	68,2	57,6	35	4.141	4.141	0,72	0,54	0,67	0,630	-6
55	BARTIN	66,4	92,6	43	2.738	2.738	0,69	0,00	0,44	0,629	11
56	YOZGAT	64,9	76,7	44	3.347	3.347	0,66	0,40	0,54	0,620	0
57	AKSARAY	62,1	77,8	48	3.262	3.262	0,62	0,39	0,52	0,606	0
58	TUNCELİ	59,6	74,7	37	3.832	3.832	0,58	0,41	0,62	0,604	-5
59	ORDU	66,6	75,6	38	2.928	2.928	0,69	0,45	0,47	0,597	4
60	GİRESUN	64,6	75,7	50	2.878	2.878	0,66	0,53	0,46	0,596	5
61	GÜMÜŞHANE	64,9	78,9	45	2.632	2.632	0,66	0,53	0,42	0,586	7
62	ARDAHAN	60,4	85,4	49	2.715	2.715	0,59	0,34	0,43	0,585	5
63	ERZÍNCAN	59,9	81,5	38	3.086	3.086	0,58	0,53	0,49	0,582	-2
64	BAYBURT	66,7	79,2	37	2.333	2.333	0,69	0,39	0,37	0,572	8
65	ADIYAMAN	63,2	68,2	42	2.904	2.904	0,64	0,57	0,46	0,565	-1
66	MARDÍN	66,3	54,8	31	3.177	3.177	0,69	0,47	0,51	0,555	-6
67	ŞANLIURFA	64,1	56,8	32	3.231	3.231	0,65	0,40	0,52	0,552	-9
68	BATMAN	63,1	59,3	34	3.079	3.079	0,63	0,37	0,49	0,545	-6
69	SİİRT	63,7	55,9	31	3.186	3.186	0,64	0,42	0,51	0,543	-10
70	IĞDIR	60,4	74,1	40	2.537	2.537	0,59	0,33	0,40	0,539	-1
71	KARS	60,4	73,9	42	2.509	2.509	0,59	0,51	0,40	0,539	-1
72	VAN	63,7	57,3	38	2.367	2.367	0,64	0,39	0,37	0,509	-1
	Low human deve										
73	BİNGÖL	59,6	63,1	33	2.172	2.172	0,58	0,55	0,34	0,484	1
74	BİTLİS	59,9	62,0	24	1.930	1.930	0,58	0,55	0,30	0,459	2
75	HAKKARİ	60,7	54,9	20	2.049	2.049	0,59	0,53	0,32	0,450	0
76	MUŞ	62,1	59,3	26	1.553	1.553	0,62	0,46	0,24	0,447	2
77	AĞRI '	60,5	58,9	28	1.584	1.584	0,59	0,57	0,25	0,441	0
78	ŞIRNAK	57,7	43,5	25	2.308	2.308	0,54	0,38	0,36	0,428	-5

		Gender related	Li expec	tancy	Adı literacy		Combined secondary a	and tertiary	Ear	ome	GDI value	HDI rank
	d€	evelopment			(0.4)	60	gross en		ratio		(0/)	Iminus
		index	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	GDI
H		(GDI)	1996	1996	1996	1996	1996	1996	1996	1996	1996	rank
rai	nk	rank	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male		
	High human d	evelopment										
	BURSA	1	78,2	72,7	80,1	93,3	56,4	68,1	39,7	60,3	0,847	0
2	KOCAELI	3	76,9	71,4	81,9	95,1	53,7	60,4	41,5	58,5	0,843	-1
3	İSTANBUL	2	75,3	70,1	85,3	96,2	59,8	64,2	42,8	57,2	0,844	1
ļ	İZMİR	7	74,8	70,1	81,1	94,0	61,6	64,5	36,0	64,0	0,819	-3
5	SAKARYA	5	78,2	72,7	77,3	93,5	46,3	59,1	39,7	60,3	0,831	0
	ANKARA	4	71,9	62,2	84,3	96,0	78,3	80,0	43,4	56,6	0,832	2
7	BALIKESİR	8	74,6	70,9	75,6	89,7	57,1	62,4	40,3	59,7	0,818	-1
3	MUĞLA	11	74,6	70,0	79,7	92,9	51,3	50,7	37,1	62,9	0,802	-3
)	ESKİŞEHİR	6	72,0	62,3	84,3	95,4	63,9	74,5	40,9	59,1	0,819	3
0	TEKİRDAĞ	9	71,8	67,1	82,0	92,9	59,0	57,1	43,3	56,7	0,810	1
1	AYDIN	15	75,0	70,8	73,6	90,5	45,6	49,3	35,0	65,0	0,789	-4
2	BİLECİK	10	71,0	66,3	80,6	93,6	52,5	59,9	41,3	58,7	0,804	2
3	ANTALYA	18	73,6	69,2	76,9	92,2	47,3	50,5	36,0	64,0	0,785	-5
4	DENİZLİ	16	74,2	69,9	74,4	92,2	46,9	49,7	34,9	65,1	0,787	-2
.5	ÇANAKKALE	12	70,1	65,5	78,4	90,4	60,1	57,6	41,5	58,5	0,797	3
6	MANİSA	21	73,5	69,4	71,6	89,6	44,8	50,1	35,1	64,9	0,778	-5
7	BOLU	13	70,0	66,7	75,7	92,0	48,8	64,1	39,3	60,7	0,792	4
.8	EDİRNE	14	67,4	63,1	78,4	91,0	69,8	68,5	42,4	57,6	0,790	4
9	KIRKLARELİ											
			64,0	66,5	83,0	93,5	60,5	49,8	43,4	56,6	0,787	2
20	BURDUR Medium huma	n developm	67,0	63,6	78,6	93,1	59,1	67,0	34,7	65,3	0,767	-5
21	ARTVÍN	20	68,6	64,9	72,6	90,8	52,4	63,8	37,8	62,2	0,779	1
22	İÇEL	29	68,7	64,8	77,2	92,5	43,3	49,8	34,6	65,4	0,758	-7
23	KÜTAHYA	28	70,1	64,3	74,3	89,9	42,4	59,3	34,6		0,760	
ر.	ZONGULDAK									65,4		-5
	KİLİS		69,7	63,1	72,3	90,5	44,1	58,5	38,0	62,0	0,771	1
25		19	72,4	67,9	71,4	86,0	41,0	51,7	45,1	54,9	0,781	6
26	HATAY	30	70,6	65,5	68,6	90,3	47,2	53,6	33,6	66,4	0,749	-4
7	NEVŞEHİR	24	65,4	63,9	74,3	93,0	45,5	53,0	40,2	59,8	0,767	3
8	ADANA	22	66,7	62,1	71,2	90,4	49,5	60,8	46,6	53,4	0,775	6
9	KIRIKKALE	26	63,4	59,2	75,9	93,3	51,4	67,9	41,6	58,4	0,766	3
0	KONYA	27	71,1	66,5	76,8	93,6	45,2	56,0	40,4	59,6	0,761	3
1	UŞAK	35	72,7	66,8	70,8	90,5	51,9	61,1	34,0	66,0	0,737	-4
2	RİZE	32	65,7	61,4	68,6	93,9	48,3	71,2	36,3	63,7	0,744	0
3	KARAMAN	31	62,9	58,3	78,1	91,6	42,0	51,7	39,2	60,8	0,749	2
4	ÇORUM	33	68,8	65,0	67,3	84,9	37,5	53,9	36,7	63,3	0,742	1

35	l KAYSERİ	34	68,5	64,4	73,8	92,7	51,8	63,2	40,5	59,5	0,739	1
36	SAMSUN	36								62,9	0,733	0
37	NİĞDE	37	70,5	65,6	70,0	89,1	50,4	64,3	37,1			0
	TRABZON	39	65,3	61,0	67,8	91,2	46,4	65,5	38,4	61,6	0,721	
38	ELAZIĞ		70,6	64,6	71,0	93,1	50,2	65,5	37,3	62,7	0,716	-1
39		38	64,3	61,5	59,6	87,5	46,1	72,0	43,0	57,0	0,717	1
40	KIRŞEHİR	40	64,6	61,2	73,5	91,1	55,4	68,6	38,5	61,5	0,714	0
41	ISPARTA GAZÍANTEP	43	68,5	64,4	79,1	94,0	49,5	55,4	36,2	63,8	0,698	-2
42	MALATYA	41	72,4	67,9	60,6	87,6	41,0	51,7	45,1	54,9 59,1	0,713	1
43	AMASYA	42	68,5	64,3	67,5	89,2	46,2	57,5	40,9	60,5	0,703	0
45	KASTAMONU	45	66,4	62,6	74,7	89,3 83,4	51,5 41,2	62,2 59,0	39,5	63,5	0,685	0
46	KARABÜK	46	64,5	61,7	62,3	91,4	36,9	49,3	36,5	62,0	0,678	0
47	AFYON	48	70,6	65,9	73,8 74,1	92,2	37,0	50,0	34,3	65,7	0,655	-1
48	SİVAS	47	69,7	65,2	67,4	89,0	43,3	57,8	40,4	59,6	0,660	1
49		52									0,628	-3
50	K.MARAŞ TOKAT	49	62,4 66,5	58,6 62,6	63,5 67,6	87,7 86,0	36,1 38,5	46,0 51,5	33,8	66,2	0,645	-5 1
51	SİNOP	50	67,2	62,4	67,9	84,3	41,7	55,8	36,1	63,9	0,643	1
52	ERZURUM	51	63,5	61,3		88,3	40,6	61,4	43,9	56,1	0,629	1
53	ÇANKIRI	53	66,2	63,7	61,8	88,9	33,3	44,9	40,4	59,6	0,627	0
54	DİYARBAKIR	56	70,4	66,1	37,8	76,8	27,9	42,2	45,4	54,6	0,612	-2
55	BARTIN	54	69,7	63,1	87,4	98,0	36,9	49,3	38,0	62,0	0,621	1
56	YOZGAT	55	67,0	62,6	66,7	87,5	37,8	50,9	42,7	57,3	0,614	1
57	AKSARAY	58	63,8	60,2	67,3	89,8	41,0	54,9	37,7	62,3	0,596	-1
58	TUNCELÍ	57	61,8	57,4	63,6	85,5	37,8	35,5	44,4	55,6	0,599	1
59	ORDU	59	68,4	64,8	64,6	87,3	33,9	41,8	38,0	62,0	0,586	0
60	GİRESUN	60	66,8	62,4	62,7	89,2	46,0	53,1	38,3	61,7	0,585	0
61	GÜMÜŞHANE	63	67,0	62,6	68,6	90,5	36,6	54,1	36,6	63,4	0,575	-2
62	ARDAHAN	61	62,8	57,9	76,3	93,2	42,3	56,9	43,8	56,2	0,579	1
63	ERZİNCAN	62	62,0	58,0	71,0	91,0	36,3	39,9	46,5	53,5	0,577	1
64	BAYBURT	64	68,9	64,4	68,5	90,6	31,6	42,7	42,0	58,0	0,565	0
65	ADIYAMAN	65	65,3	61,0	53,4	83,5	35,6	48,7	42,9	57,1	0,554	0
66	MARDÍN	66	68,6	64,1	34,2	75,3	25,6	36,6	44,7	55,3	0,537	0
67	ŞANLIURFA	68	66,3	62,0	36,7	76,0	25,0	39,2	45,0	55,0	0,533	-1
68	BATMAN	70	65,3	61,0	39,4	78,5	25,4	41,9	44,6	55,4	0,526	-2
69	SİİRT	71	65,5	61,8	35,9	75,7	20,9	39,9	45,0	55,0	0,522	-2
70	IĞDIR	67	62,8	57,9	62,0	89,8	32,1	48,5	43,8	56,2	0,535	3
71	KARS	69	62,8	57,9	61,0	86,7	38,1	44,6	43,8	56,2	0,533	2
72	VAN	72	63,9	63,5	38,0	76,4	26,4	49,7	44,7	55,3	0,489	0
	Low human dev											
73	BİNGÖL	73	61,4	57,7	48,1	78,6	25,9	41,1	42,8	57,2	0,472	0
74	BİTLİS	74	62,1	57,9	44,1	78,9	16,4	31,1	45,2	54,8	0,445	0
75	HAKKARİ	76	63,0	58,9	29,1	75,4	14,9	24,4	50,0	50,0	0,425	-1
76	MUŞ	75	64,2	60,0	38,2	80,0	19,4	32,7	44,0	56,0	0,428	1
77	AĞRI	77	62,3	58,7	38,6	79,3	19,7	36,1	43,4	56,6	0,421	0
			THE RESERVE AND ADDRESS OF THE PARTY OF THE	The second secon								

	Table 3 Gend	ler Empowermen	t Measure ((GEM)
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HDI rank		Gender empowerment measure (GEM)	Seats held in municipal and provincial parliament rank	Administrators and managers (% women)	Professional and technical workers (%women)	Earned income share (%women)	GEM (%to women) value
	High human deve	lopment					
1	BURSA	14	0,7	31,8	5,0	38,9	0,247
2	KOCAELİ	4	0,2	28,7	5,0	37,2	0,305
3	İSTANBUL	2	3,8	34,2	8,9	38,6	0,318
4	İZMİR	3	3,4	37,4	7,5	33,8	0,311
5	SAKARYA	26	.1,1	24,1	4,1	39,0	0,216
6	ANKARA	1	4,1	36,7	13,9	40,9	0,350
7	BALIKESİR	18	0,8	31,3	4,5	38,3	0,235
8	MUĞLA	5	1,2	31,6	7,2	32,4	0,279
9	ESKİŞEHİR	8	1,0	34,0	6,1	41,0	0,265
10	TEKİRDAĞ	6	1,6	35,0	5,1	35,5	0,270
11	AYDIN	13	0,7	34,3	5,8	34,5	0,249
12	BİLECİK	19	0,0	26,8	4,7	37,4	0,230
13	ANTALYA	16	0,4	30,9	6,0	31,9	0,241
14	DENİZLİ	25	0,1	30,9	4,0	34,6	0,217
15	ÇANAKKALE	9	0,6	32,0	5,3	37,2	0,256
16	MANİSA	21	0,1	31,1	3,3	34,4	0,220
17	BOLU	17	1,2	28,5	4,8	39,5	0,235
18	EDİRNE	15	0,4	39,0	5,0	36,3	0,247
19	KIRKLARELİ	7	0,4	34,8	5,5	35,3	0,269
20	BURDUR	29	0,0	30,7	4,4	33,1	0,215
	Medium human d	levelopment					
21	ARTVİN	35	0,0	25,7	3,3	41,1	0,195
22	İÇEL	12	1,2	33,3	4,4	33,2	0,249
23	KÜTAHYA	40	0,4	23,1	2,0	34,9	0,187
24	ZONGULDAK	10	1,8	28,9	5,3	40,9	0,253
25	HATAY	23	0,4	32,2	3,7	34,2	0,218
26	NEVŞEHİR	28	0,0	26,2	4,8	41,7	0,215
27	ADANA	11	0,6	31,9	6,4	46,8	0,249
28	KIRIKKALE	30	0,0	21,3	2,9	40,3	0,209
29	KONYA	46	0,0	25,1	2,4	41,5	0,182
30	UŞAK	31	0,6	31,2	2,4	35,4	0,205
31	RİZE	54	0,0	23,2	2,2	42,7	0,174
32	KARAMAN	22	0,0	25,2	3,9	42,7	0,219

33	ÇORUM	50	0,3	24,1	2,0	42,2	0,181
34	KAYSERİ	41	0,0	26,6	2,6	41,4	0,187
35	SAMSUN	20	1,6	31,4	3,6	41,8	0,225
36	NİĞDE	32	0,0	32,8	2,7	43,5	0,204
37	TRABZON	44	0,0	26,8	3,2	41,6	0,185
38	ELAZIĞ	49	0,0	25,6	1,7	45,1	0,182
39	KIRŞEHİR	52	0,0	24,5	2,6	43,4	0,177
40	ISPARTA	24	0,2	30,3	6,0	33,3	0,217
41	GAZÍANTEP	36	0,6	28,3	1,8	44,8	0,194
42	MALATYA	42	0,0	29,5	1,5	41,0	0,186
43	AMASYA	27	1,1	31,0	3,6	39,3	0,216
44	KASTAMONU	57	0,0	23,1	2,6	42,4	0,172
45	AFYON	55	0,0	25,7	2,8	35,2	0,173
46	SİVAS	56	0,0	25,7	2,5	41,5	0,173
47	K.MARAŞ	58	0,0	25,1	1,7	34,1	0,171
48	TOKAT	38	0,5	26,6	3,8	40,9	0,191
49	SİNOP	33	0,0	30,4	4,9	42,8	0,199
50	ERZURUM	48	0,0	26,8	3,0	44,2	0,182
51	ÇANKIRI	53	0,0	24,8	3,4	41,5	0,174
52	DİYARBAKIR	39	0,0	28,7	2,7	44,5	0,189
53	YOZGAT	66	0,0	22,3	0,9	47,3	0,147
54	AKSARAY	37	0,0	24,5	7,7	44,3	0,192
55	TUNCELİ	34	0,0	34,2	2,1	43,7	0,195
56	ORDU	45	0,6	28,6	2,6	40,9	0,183
57	GİRESUN	43	0,4	28,0	3,8	40,6	0,186
58	GÜMÜŞHANE	70	0,0	20,1	1,5	42,3	0,135
59	ERZÍNCAN	47	0,5	27,1	2,4	41,7	0,182
60	BAYBURT	69	0,0	22,4	0,7	46,1	0,138
61	ADIYAMAN	59	0,0	24,4	2,3	45,2	0,161
62	MARDÍN	65	0,0	19,9	2,2	45,2	0,147
63	ŞANLIURFA	63	0,0	21,4	1,5	43,1	0,150
64	BATMAN	72	0,0	18,3	1,2	43,5	0,134
65	SİİRT	67	0,0	19,4	1,8	44,9	0,143
66	KARS	51	0,7	29,4	1,8	44,3	0,180
67	VAN	60	0,0	25,9	1,2	45,1	0,156
	Low human devel	opment					
68	BİNGÖL	68	0,0	24,4	0,4	45,3	0,142
69	BİTLİS	61	0,0	26,1	0,7	42,9	0,150
70	HAKKARİ	71	0,0	19,6	1,1	38,2	0,135
71	MUŞ	62	0,0	26,5	1,0	44,1	0,150
72	AĞRI	64	0,0	26,9	0,8	44,7	0,149
73	ŞIRNAK	73	0,0	14,6	1,2	40,4	0,113

			People not expected to	Moderately and	Population dissatisfied			Human	НРІ
HDI rank		HPI rank	survive to age 40 (as % of total population) (1990-95)	severly underweight children under five (%)	with access to health services (%) (1993)	Population without access to safe water (%)	Adult illiteracy rate (%)	poverty index (HPI) value (%)	rank minus HDI rank
2	YALOVA	1	6,2	6	18	25	7	12	-1
3	KOCAELİ	2	5,0	6	18	25	11	13	-1
7	ANKARA	3	12,0	8	18	19	10	13	-4
10	ESKİŞEHİR	4	11,8	8	18	19	10	13	-6
13	BİLECİK	5	9,9	8	18	19	13	13	-8
5	İZMİR	6	6,3	6	18	25	12	13	1
1	BURSA	7	4,0	6	18	25	13	13	6
4	İSTANBUL	8	6,2	6	24	25	9	13	4
6	SAKARYA	9	4,0	6	18	25	15	14	3
32	KONYA	10	9,7	8	18	19	15	14	-22
9	MUĞLA	11	6,5	10	26	15	13	14	2
18	BOLU	12	10,2	8	18	19	16	14	-6
11	TEKİRDAĞ	13	9,2	6	24	25	12	14	2
14	ANTALYA	14	7,2	10	26	15	15	14	0
43	İSPARTA	15	12,3	10	26	15	13	14	-28
16	ÇANAKKALE	16	10,8	6	18	25	15	15	0
15	DENİZLİ	17	6,6	6	18	25	17	15	2
49	AFYON	18	10,3	8	18	19	17	15	-31
8	BALIKESİR	19	6,0	6	18	25	17	15	11
37	KAYSERİ	20	12,2	8	18	19	17	15	-17
23	İÇEL	21	11,9	10	26	15	15	15	-2
20	KIRKLARELİ	22	13,4	6	24	25	11	15	2
21	BURDUR	23	13,6	10	26	15	14	15	2
12	AYDIN	24	5,9	6	18	25	18	15	12
24	КÜТАНҮА	25	11,5	8	18	19	18	15	1
28	NEVŞEHİR	26	14,3	8	18	19	16	15	-2
33	UŞAK	27	8,8	8	18	19	19	16	-6
17	MANİSA	28	7,1	6	18	25	19	16	11
19	EDIRNE	29	13,8	6	24	25	15	16	10
46	AMASYA	30	14,6	8	18	19	18	16	-16
30	KIRIKKALE	31	18,4	8	18	19	15	16	1
55	ÇANKIRI	32	14,0	8	18	19	20	17	-23
42	KIRŞEHİR	33	16,4	8	18	19	18	17	-9
35	KARAMAN	34	19,2	8	18	19	15	17	-1
27	HATAY	35	10,5	10	26	15	21	17	8

29	ADANA	36	14,7	10	26	15	19	17	7
31	OSMANİYE	37	14,7	10	26	15	19	17	6
26	KİLİS	38	8,4	10	26	15	22	17	12
39	NİĞDE	39	16,1	8	18	19	21	18	0
52	TOKAT	40	14,5	8	18	19	23	19	-12
36	ÇORUM	41	11,7	8	18	19	24	19	5
59	AKSARAY	42	17,5	8	18	19	22	19	-17
44	GAZİANTEP	43	8,4	10	26	15	26	20	-1
40	TRABZON	44	10,9	8	17	51	18	20	4
22	ARTVİN	45	11,9	8	17	51	19	20	23
58	YOZGAT	46	14,1	8	35	19	23	20	-12
34	RİZE	47	15,6	8	17	51	20	21	13
61	ORDU	48	12,1	8	17	51	24	22	-13
45	MALATYA	49	12,3	19	18	45	22	22	4
57	BARTIN	50	12,4	8	36	51	7	22	-7
62	GİRESUN	51	14,4	8	17	51	24	22	-11
48	KARABÜK	52	12,4	8	36	51	18	23	4
25	ZONGULDAK	53	12,4	8	36	51	19	24	28
38	SAMSUN	54	10,5	8	36	51	21	24	16
64	ARDAHAN	55	19,6	19	35	45	15	25	-9
66	BAYBURT	56	12,0	19	35	45	21	25	-10
50	SİVAS	57	11,2	19	35	45	22	25	7
63	GÜMÜŞHANE	58	14,1	19	35	45	21	25	-5
53	SİNOP	59	14,1	8	36	51	24	25	6
65	ERZİNCAN	60	20,1	19	35	45	18	26	-5
54	ERZURUM	61	17,0	19	35	45	25	27	7
47	KASTAMONU	62	16,2	8	36	51	28	27	15
51	K.MARAŞ	63	19,4	19	35	45	24	27	12
41	ELAZIĞ	64	16,4	19	35	45	27	27	23
72	IĞDIR	65	19,6	19	35	45	26	27	-7
60	TUNCELİ	66	20,5	19	35	45	25	27	6
73	KARS	67	19,6	19	35	45	26	27	-6
67	ADIYAMAN	68	16,2	19	35	45	32	29	1
75	BİNGÖL	69	20,5	19	35	45	37	32	-6
76	BİTLİS	70	20,1	19	35	45	38	32	-6
70	BATMAN	71	16,2	19	32	45	41	33	1
78	MUŞ	72	17,4	19	35	45	41	33	-6
56	DİYARBAKIR	73	10,3	19	32	45	42	33	17
79	AĞRI	74	19,4	19	35	45	41	33	-5
69	ŞANLIURFA	75	15,0	19	32	45	43	34	6
74	VAN	76	15,4	19	35	45	43	34	2
71	SİİRT	77	15,5	19	32	45	44	34	6
68	MARDÍN	78	12,4	19	32	45	45	35	10
77	HAKKARİ	79	19,0	19	32	45	45	35	2
80	ŞIRNAK	80	22,8	19	32	45	56	42	0

Good Governance and Human **Development in Turkey**



overnance is about the interactions between government and the society at large. At focus is the exercise of power by a host of groups, including government on political issues, problems, and matters that concern large segments of the public. Hence, it is "the responsible and responsive exercise of power on matters of public concern, involving the institutions, processes and traditions of government and society which determine how power is exercised, how decisions are taken and why, and how citizens have their say" (Langseth and Simpkins, 1996: 8) in political decisions, that is emphasized in defining good governance. Hence, good governance is also about the modus operandi of institutions and organizations, which contribute to the capability of the political system to provide the working conditions of the economy, on the one hand, and to the overall capability of that system to instigate sustainable economic development, on the other.

The establishment and maintenance of law and order, which enables safe transportation of goods and people across the territory of a state, and unhindered and efficient dissemination of information and news between citizens of the state provide a part of the basis of an infrastructure of good governance (ibid.: 8). The institution of an independent judiciary, and an effective court system, which function in a respected legal system, are necessary for successful resolution of socioeconomic conflict in society. Law and order can only be upheld through fair implementation and adjudication of laws. Provision of education, health and welfare equitably to all citizens, such that all who seek those services face equal opportunity in receiving as much as their abilities or necessities require, are also among the most important properties of good governance (ibid.: 8). In this sense, good governance is about effective management of the economy, environment, and social conflict.

When law and order, education, health and welfare to all the citizens equitably are provided for by the political system, and a legal system that effectively and fairly deal with resolution of conflict is established the basis for good governance is firmly secured. On that basis we would expect to find the institution of structures that process the consentful or resentful reactions of the citizens to governmental decisions, and of structures which enable the citizens to exercise power to enable them to have a major say on the very formation of government. Hence, there seems to be a close correlation between good governance, on the one hand, and a vigorous civil society, politically active citizenry, and a responsive and accountable government, which enjoys legitimacy in the eyes of the citizens, on the other. Such a design should enable the establishment of sound macroeconomic policies, (which keep the inflation rate, unemployment down, budget and trade balance in the black, and a sustained positive real economic growth rate).

This section focuses on the properties of good governance, which, to put it in a nutshell is about responsive, accountable, and effective government interacting with the populace, in Turkey. The three properties of good governance insinuate that institutions of political participation and representation are erected and maintained to provide for the citizens to freely interact with their government. Similarly, it is assumed that the government has the authority and capability to carry out its policies, and the people feel efficacious enough to carry out actions to influence government decisions and policies. The latter not only register their reactions to government policies and decisions, but also the government is impressionable and sensitive to such popular reactions, demands, and criticism, and responds to such influence by adapting its decisions and policies according to popular demand. Such governmental sensitivity is not necessarily due to any charity or philanthropy of the governing elite, but due to their status of being accountable to the citizens, who authorize and/or demonstrate their consent for them to govern the state. Without such accountability, responsive government is hard to imagine. Therefore, it is no coincidence that responsive government tend to go with representative government, on the one hand, and vigorous civil society, on the other.

In the following, civil society and government interface, and the effectiveness of government in the Turkish case will be examined in two sections. The first section focuses on political interactions between the citizens and government. The second section examines the effectiveness of the political system in Turkey in managing macro economic policy.

A. Civil Society and Government Interface

A tolerant, trusting, and active public vigorously seeking greater influence over the political authorities using various channels of conventional political participation still seems to be a long-term goal in Turkish politics. By most accounts civil society is still frail in Turkey (Kalaycıoğlu, 1998: 132-33). The constitution of 1982, which is formulated with a perspective that considers all civil initiative, voluntary associations and non-governmental organizations with serious misgivings plays a role in dissuading people from becoming more involved in voluntary associations. Political authorities and security bureaucracies have also adopted a similar attitude toward civil initiatives, and voluntary associations since 1982. Hence, the previously vigorous and vibrant interest group system of Turkey, became largely dormant. The overall goal of voluntary associations became the establishment of a more liberal interest group system and the adoption of a similar attitude by the political authorities in the 1982-1995 period. Those efforts became relatively successful in summer 1995. The 1982 constitution was amended to provide for a more liberal interest group regime, and for more tolerance toward political activities of the youth, women, state employees etc., whose participation in politics had been curbed in the 1982-1995 era. Although the constitution was amended, the related laws have not yet been altered. Such a situation creates a state of uncertainty, and gives the impression that there seems to be little change in the approach toward the voluntary associations. Therefore, when associability of the Turkish population is considered over time, we observe little difference between 1991 and 1997 (Kalaycıoğlu,1998: 128-9).

Voluntary associations and civic initiatives in local and national politics, which voice and promote single issues are mostly lacking in Turkey. Trade unions, business associations, and institutional interests are more robustly organized to assert their influence on the political decision-making process than grassroots organizations, voluntary non-governmental associations, and issue oriented civil initiatives in Turkish politics. Although the environmentalists, animal rights activists, feminists, disabled, and civil rights groups are making some headway in the 1990s their impact is eclipsed by the economic interest groups in Turkish politics which themselves do not still carry enough weight on governments. A major study on economic interest groups in Turkey concludes that state-interest group relations in Turkey continued to manifest unmistakable signs of lack of pluralism (Heper, 1991: 173). Nevertheless, the interest group system of Turkey is thoroughly occupied by such economic powerhouses as the Turkish Union of Chambers and Stock Exchanges (TOBB), Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen's Association (TÜSİAD), Turkish Confederation of Small Business (TESK), Turkish Chambers of Agriculture (TZOB), Turkish Confederation of Business Associations (TİSK), Turkish Workers' Unions (TÜRK-İŞ), Confederation of Revolutionary Workers' Unions (DİSK) etc., as well as powerful institutional pressure groups, such as the military. Single issue economic interest groups and voluntary associations find little room to maneuver among those highly organized, and well-connected pressure groups. The competition for the attention of the political authorities has always been very keen in a context where primacy of politics has been the norm. The single issue voluntary associations often find their chances of engaging the political authorities quite slim.

However, the increased attentiveness of the Turkish media to single issue campaigns of voluntary associations have improved their recognition by the public. The recent campaigns of the environmentalists and the local inhabitants in Manisa, Akkuyu (İçel), Gökova (Muğla), the anti-corruption campaign of 1996 (aydınlık için bir dakika karanlık), cyclical demonstrations of the mothers of the disappeared people at Galatasaray (İstanbul) every Saturday morning have been illustrative of the activities of single issue voluntary associations in Turkey. Peaceful demonstrations by voluntary associations and civic initiatives have been well received by the public, and tolerated by the political authorities. There seems to be a marked decline in the application of physical force to acts of political protest in 1998, and a concomitant proliferation of voluntary associations under the circumstances. However, distrust of the political authorities of the voluntary associations, and vice versa, may still be continuing. Associability is still a relatively scarce commodity in the Turkish culture (Kalaycioğlu, 1998: 127-29; and see Table 1).

Interpersonal trust is designated as a crucial factor in sustaining cooperation and associability in a civic environment, which in turn seems to be correlated with stable democracy, on the one hand, and economic development, on the other (Inglehart, 1990: 36-37; Fukuyama, 1995: 3-57). Turkish society is marked with a relatively high level of interpersonal distrust. Turkey ranks the lowest with less than 10% of its population believing that most fellow human-beings are trustworthy among forty-four countries included in the World Values Survey of 1989-1990 (Kalaycıoğlu, 1995: 57). Therefore, it is no coincidence that associability is also hard to come by in Turkey.

When both lack of interpersonal trust and associability in the Turkish culture influence socio-economic and political behavior, the outcome is lack of civil initiative, single-issue voluntary associations, on the one hand, and a corporate structure replete with family owned firms, on the other.

Blood ties, lineage relations, regional bondage (hemsehrilik), and other primordial affiliations play a major role in the establishment and maintenance of political, economic and social organizations. Family firms, primordial associations, and regional organizations enjoy higher chances of support among grassroots organizations.

Government Policy Outputs: A Look at Effectiveness

Macroeconomic Policy

Turkish political system has been moderately effective in managing macroeconomic policy. The rate of annual inflation of general prices has been steadily high (80-120%) in the 1990s. Although, a downward trend exists in the first couple of months of 1998, it is too early to tell whether the annual inflation rate can be cut down by half by the year's end. Other macroeconomic indicators do not seem to indicate that the governments performance is poor. The economic growth rate is indicative of a robust trend of growth, the unemployment rate is less than the EU average (TÜSIAD, 1998: 21, 24), the foreign currency assets have reached a record high of \$ 30 billion, although the foreign trade balance is in the red.

However, the distribution of national income in Turkey was quite uneven in the 1970s and the 1980s (SIS, 1994: xiv-xv), and it has become even more uneven in the 1990s (see Table 2). The gap between the richest quintile and the poorest seems to be growing wider. In fact, income distribution has also become highly skewed within the top quintile. The top 5% seemed to be getting 30.34%, and the top 1% was obtaining 16.6% of the national income in Turkey, in 1994 (SIS, 1994: xv). Market oriented policies and liberalization that have been followed since the early 1980s seem to have contributed to the modernization and globalization of the economy, but it has also led to the deepening of the divide between the haves and have nots in the Turkish society. Under the circumstances, the macroeco-

Table 1: Associability in Comparative Perspective (1990-1996/7)

			Culture/	Trade	Political			Social Welfare/
Country	Religious	Sports	Art	Union	Party	Environment	Professional	
Gamery	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Austria	15.5	17.1	8.0	19.3	11.9	2.9	5.8	5.8
Belgium	12.1	19.5	16.2	14.4	5.8	6.6	6.7	11.6
Brazil	22.2	8.3	5.4	6.7	4.9	2.8	4.6	10.0
Britain	16.6	16.9	9.3	14.4	4.9	5.0	9.8	7.1
Bulgaria	2.3	4.3	4.3	19.2	11.4	3.8	5.0	3.6
Canada	25.0	22.8	17.7	12.2	7.3	7.6	16.4	8.4
Chile	17.8	12.4	9.3	5.9	4.9	1.6	3.2	4.7
China	1.4	4.4	7.3	1.7	35.1	1.0	25.7	3.7
Denmark	6.7	33.5	12.5	49.0	6.5	12.5	12.1	5.5
Estonia	3.8	14.3	11.1	59.0	7.9	2.7	4.2	1.6
Finland	17.7	22.8	20.1	35.9	13.8	5.4	15.3	10.5
France	6.2	15.7	8.8	5.2	2.7	2.3	5.0	6.6
W.Germany	15.9	32.3	12.0	15.7	7.5	4.6	8.9	7.2
E.Germany	20.1	21.3	8.5	55.9	10.8	3.5	6.4	9.5
Hungary	11.1	4.2	2.5	31.7	2.4	1.4	5.6	2.1
Ireland	13.9	23.7	10.1	8.8	3.8	2.3	5.0	7.4
Italy	8.0	11.3	4.9	5.9	5.0	3.3	3.9	4.1
Japan	6.5	8.6	6.0	7.4	2.0	1.1	4.4	1.9
S.Korea	38.6	17.3	11.0	7.4	6.4	2.0	12.5	6.1
Latvia	3.1	8.9	6.8	52.0	18.4	4.3	6.2	1.6
Lithuania	3.4	7.5	7.3	42.7	7.4	2.1	2.7	0.9
Netherlands	34.9	40.4	34.6	19.1	9.4	23.8	13.1	16.0
Nigeria	63.2	26.1	31.5	14.0	17.8	8.0	19.3	11.7
Norway	11.2	32.8	13.5	41.7	13.9	4.1	16.3	10.9
Portugal	10.5	11.5	6.2	4.5	4.0	0.8	3.5	3.9
Spain	4.8	5.3	5.3	3.2	1.8	1.4	2.6	2.6
USA	48.7	20.2	19.7	8.9	14.5	8.3	15.0	9.2
Turkey	3.7	5.7	3.1	4.8	9.7	1.9	8.6	4.1

Source: Turkish Values Survey 1996/97 and World Values Survey 1989/90.

Table entries are percentages of respondents in corresponding country samples who claim to have membership in the type of organization designated per column.

nomic policy outputs of the Turkish governments have engendered a relatively mixed bag of results to emerge. They were successful in econo-

mic growth, employment and attracting foreign resources, but dismally failed in coping with high inflation, and the lopsided distribution of income.

Table 2: Income Distribution in Turkey: A Comparative Perspective

	Lowest Quintile	Second Quintile	Third Quintile	Fourth Quintile	Highest Quintile	Gini Index
Belgium(1978-9)	7.9	13.7	18.6	23.8	36.0	33.8
Britain(1988)	4.6	10.0	16.8	24.3	44.3	-
Denmark(1981)	5.4	12.0	18.4	25.6	38.6	
France(1989)	5.6	11.8	17.2	23.5	41.9	
Germany(1988)	7.0	11.8	17.1	23.9	40.3	-
India(1992)	8.5	12.1	15.8	21.1	42.6	-
Italy(1986)	6.8	12.0	16.7	23.5	41.0	-
Netherlands (1988)	8.2	13.1	18.1	23.7	36.9	-
Spain(1988)	8.3	13.7	18.1	23.4	36.6	-
USA(1985)	4.7	11.0	17.4	25.0	41.9	-
Turkey(1987)	5.2	9.6	14.1	21.2	49.9	0.44
(1994)	4.9	8.6	12.7	19.0	54.9	0.49

Source: IBRD, World Development Report, 1997: 222-23, State Institute of Statistics of Turkey, Income Distribution (1994 HIDS Results), 1994: xiv-xv.

Rule of Law

The performance of the judicial system in providing fair and just settlements of socio-economic conflicts in the Turkish society has also not been without problems. The independence of the judiciary from the executive branch of the government is not fully guaranteed since the adoption of the 1982 Constitution. However, the current government has become less lenient on human rights violations and on serious crimes committed by state agents. Therefore, the courts can now act with greater amount of leeway in deciding on cases concerning the security forces who are accused from time to time of implementing excessive physical force, torture, and of other human rights violations on the arraigned suspects. Police forces have become more effective in catching suspects of crimes committed with political motives, and even those that seem to involve former state agents seem to be prosecuted now. A recent National Security Council decision (on

May 26, 1998), further corroborated the abovementioned attitude of the government toward crime prevention and prosecution. Such an attitude of the power elite definitely helps to promote fair and equal application of law to all citizens and contributes to the establishment of rule of law. However, without a full fledge judicial independence from executive supervision, such a government policy may still not be maintained in the long-run.

However, when analyzed in comparative perspective the confidence of the voting age population in the legal system in Turkey seems to be high (see Table 3). The results of the Turkish Values and World. Values Surveys of 1990 and 1996-97 indicate that about two-thirds of the Turkish population seem to put some confidence in the legal system. The responses of the Turkish interviewees indicate some variability, and the coefficient of variability increased from 1990 to 1996-97. Hence, there seems to be a growing amount of disparate perceptions of the legal system in Turkey, in spite of the fact that those who

Table 3: Confidence in the Legal System in Turkey: a Comparative Perspective (1990, 1996-97)

	(1)	(2)	(1+2)	Standard	Coefficient
	Alot	Quite	Total	Deviation	of Variability*
	%	%	%		
Austria	14.7	42.9	57.6	0.81	0.35
Belgium	6.6	39.4	46.0	0.8	10.31
Britain	13.8	38.0	51.8	0.81	0.34
Denmark	22.2	55.7	77.9	0.69	0.35
France	7.2	48.4	55.6	0.78	0.32
Germany	13.3	51.8	55.1	0.73	0.32
Iceland	12.5	53.1	65.6	0.72	0.32
India	24.6	38.2	62.8	0.93	0.42
Italy	5.4	26.3	31.7	0.82	0.29
Netherlands	9.4	53.1	64.5	0.73	0.31
Portugal	7.3	36.0	43.3	0.79	0.30
Spain	9.5	35.8	45.3	0.83	0.32
Sweden	9.6	44.8	54.4	0.77	0.32
USA	11.6	45.2	56.8	0.80	0.33
Turkey (1990)	27.5	34.8	62.3	0.97	0.44
(1996-7)	34.0	35.7	69.7	0.98	0.48

Source: World Values Survey, 1989-1991, and Turkish Values Survey 1996-1997. The figures in bold indicates the highest and the figures in italics the lowest percentages of the Table.

are confident of the system have increased over the years (see Table 3). Nevertheless, in Turkey there seems to be no deeply rooted dissatisfaction with the legal system as is the case in Italy. Therefore, the chances of making any major amendments in the legal system on popular demand seems to be slim in the Turkish system.

Welfare: Health and Education

Health and other welfare expenditures seem not to be growing at pace with economic growth in Turkey. Turkey seems to have been growing by about an average of 4% per annum in real terms, since the early 1980s (TÜSİAD, 1998: 21). Percentage of health expenditure in the state budget was 2.1% in 1980, and it is 3.0% by 1992-1995 (IBRD; Human Development Report, 1997:

186). Infant mortality rate in Turkey is 4.4%, and it is still higher than the average of the middle income economies, excluding China (4.9%) (Ibid.: 174). Trained health personnel attend 76% of all births in Turkey, which is above the average for middle income economies, excluding China (65%) (Ibid.: 174). Population per doctor is 1 176 in Turkey in 1994, which is much better than the average for middle income economies, excluding China (3 446) (Ibid.: 176). Life expectancy is 68.2 years in Turkey in 1994, which is slightly more than the average for medium human development of 67.1 years, but much worse than the average for high human development of 74.6 years (Ibid.: 146, and also see the chapter on health in this report).

^{*} Coefficient of Variability = Standard Deviation / Arithmetic Mean (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 1996: 379).

Education does not seem to portray a different picture either. The adult literacy rate for Turkey is 81.6% in 1994, which is slightly better than the average rate for adult literacy for medium human development, excluding China (78.7%) (Ibid.: 147). However, Turkey still runs into great difficulty in educating her female population. In 1994 only 71% of the female and 92% of the male population of Turkey were literate (Ibid.: 150). Although the former figure is substantially lower than the average for countries at the level of medium human development, the latter is higher than the same average for males (Ibid.: 150). It seems as if it is the female illiteracy that remains as a pressing problem to be tackled in Turkey. Under the circumstances, the drop in the share of expenditures in the state budget for education from 16.8% to 13.6% during 1980 to 1992-1995 (Ibid.: 186) indicates that there is hardly any major attempt to cope with the problem of female illiteracy in that period (see the chapter on education in this report).

The overall performance of the Turkish political system in the realm of welfare policies has been a combination of some success and some failures. Infant mortality has been an enduring and pressing problem, and it is still considerably high. Female illiteracy has also been an ongoing problem in Turkey. The staunch conservatism of the traditionally minded masses depress the percentage of women exposed to science education to much lower levels than the laws of the land should tolerate. However, governments have shunned away from the daunting task of persuading the conservative communities of the country to permit the participation of their daughters in science education. The illiterate mothers fail to improve the hygiene of their infants, or of their own. Hence, a relatively large number of infants and their mothers die during and soon after birth. Female illiteracy and the health record of the country seem to go hand in hand.

So far as the overall picture of the performance of effectiveness of the political system is concerned,

we observe a simultaneous mix of failures and accomplishments. Law enforcement and adjudication have been replete with cases of laxness. The citizens do not seem to be too unhappy with the relative lack of diligence in regulatory activities of the Turkish government. If there is one area of governance in which some major improvements can be made, it is the realm of effectiveness of governments.

Conclusion

The government-civil society interface seems not to be well instituted in the Turkish context. Associability and interpersonal trust are two basic ingredients of a vibrant and vigorous civil society, replete with a multitude of voluntary associations, entrepreneurship, community associations, and civil initiatives in economic, social and political realms of life. Unfortunately, both associability and interpersonal trust are dismally low in Turkey. Consequently, civil society fails to make an impact on political decision-making as a functional realm of society. The long established practice of "primacy of politics" further diminishes the realm that civil society can occupy in Turkey. Thus, Turkey fails to mobilize and fully exploit her human resources in coping with economic, social and political issues and problems of the country.

Similarly, government responsiveness to popular and often contradictory economic demands has been quite confusing. The governments have proved to be ineffective in combating inflation, yet very efficient in providing subsidies to agricultural and industrial interest groups, which, in turn contribute to inflationary pressures in the economy. Such irreconcilable government behavior can partly explain stable high inflation and governmental ineffectiveness in certain realms of the economy and society in Turkey. Nevertheless, the governments have paid a dear price for such a mixed picture of responsiveness in the national and local elections, as well as by a chronic and rapid increase of the general level of prices.

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Towards Democratization of Human Interaction in Daily Life: Rights of the Women

s stated by the Secretary General of the United Nations Fourth World Conference Lon Women, Getrude Mongella , women in the world experience similar problems regardless of their countries. What varies is the "intensity of their problems". It is evident that the alleviation of this "intensity" is not in line with the dazzling achievements in science and technology marking the 20th century.

Moreover, the gender equality issue becomes all the more complicated in the new world order where globalization of institutions and standards is an integral feature. Although increased economic growth is central to economic development, it has been noted that it alone can not improve human development indicators and living standards. Therefore, in order to achieve the necessary holistic approach for making development sustainable for all individuals - men and women alike- a search for new alternatives has begun at the international levels.

The motto of "Equality, Development and Peace," coined in the aftermath of the 1946 Commission on the Status of Women and strengthened in the wake of the four World Conferences on Women, has not translated into real life gains for women. Thus instead of the well intentioned theoretical work in this field, an urgent need has arisen to re-question all social institutions at national, regional and international levels, along the lines of gender concerns.

In the new world order where principles of "competition" rule all areas of life, those social groups with less competitive powers are further threatened. In this world order, the status of women is perhaps more threatened than ever before.

The 1993 World Conference on Human Rights held in Vienna, adopted the human rights of women and the girl child as inalienable and indivisible components of universal human rights. This resolution was strongly reiterated at the Beijing Platform for Action to which Turkey adopted without reservations. Therefore, Turkey has fully and formally committed itself to apply all the tenets of this Platform for Action.

In addition to the above, Turkey has been a party to the Committee for Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) since 1986. The Grand National Assembly ratified this Convention with reservations on a few of its provisions. As per this Convention, the General Directorate on the Status and Problems of Women (DGSPW) was established in 1990. Despite budgetary and personnel constraints, the formal institutionalization process for the advancement of gender issues has begun with the adoption of the backstopping legislation. In addition, with the support of the National Program for Enhancement of Women's Integration in Development, carried out jointly by the UNDP and the State Ministry Responsible for Women, Women's Studies and Research Centers were established at several universities at the national level. It can be said that the institution building process, combined with the momentum achieved in the women's movement since the 1980s, will yield effective solutions to the gender discrimination problem in Turkey. Furthermore, institution building geared towards achieving gender equality is essentially instrumental for the realization of sustainable human development. The sustainable human development paradigm does not confine development to the economic realm only, and strongly emphasizes the social dimensions of development. Thus, gender equality, social justice, environmental protection, solidarity, participation, peace and respect for human rights constitute the main components of sustainable human development. Despite all these well intentioned efforts, women in Turkey continue to be the largest social group denied of equal opportunity. This state of affairs accounts for Turkey's low rankings in the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) indexes. On the other hand, increases in the rates of literacy and enrollment among women in the 1996 data, are encouraging advancements for national human development indicators.

A. Public Sphere: Public Life

1. Gender Differences and Equal Opportunities in Social Security and Income:

Since the 1950s, dramatic changes in the world have influenced the status of women significantly. This, in turn has profoundly effected the global developments. One area of such great change is the increased participation of women in the labor force. Yet, the rate of women's participation in the labor force continues to be lower than that of men. Moreover, the domestic sphere, shaped independently of the principles of change and development of the market economy, continues to be an impediment for women's increased participation in the labor force.

While women participate at increased degrees in the labor force, they invariably occupy the less advantageous and marginal positions. Women generally fill in jobs and occupations with lower status and pay. Their access to training programs and career opportunities in the workplace are limited. They constitute much of the casual labor force. In addition, women's labor is concentrated in limited occupational and sectoral categories.

The characteristics of women's labor as cited in the above general framework are by and large valid for the case of Turkey. What distinguishes the Turkish case, however, is the sustained annual decrease of women's participation in the labor force over the past two decades.

In 1955, 77 % of working age women were in the labor force. In 1989, the same figure went down to 35.1%; further down to 31.8 % in 1990 and to 29.9% in 1993. By 1996, the employment rate among the same age group of women was 30.1 %.(1) Women's participation in the labor force in rural areas, however, is much higher. In rural areas, the 1996 data indicate that 48.6 percent of the same age group were employed,

while for the urban areas the same figure is 14.6 % for women (see Table 1).

The low rate of women in the workforce (OECD Standard is 50 % and above), and its continuous decline is generally explained by social and sectoral changes.(2) Social change is expressed in migration, urbanization, higher access to education, changes in the family structure and lower birth rates. On the other hand, the shrinking of the agricultural sector, combined with the limitations of the modern job sector for employment opportunities for women, summarize the sectoral changes that have negative impacts on women's labor. Also accounting for the decline in women's participation in the labor force is the comparative disadvantage of women in entering the labor market, along with women's educational disadvantages relative to men. Furthermore, women are less mobile in the labor force due to domestic obligations and are more vulnerable to the bottlenecks created by traditional values.

The labor statistics clearly illustrate the concentration of women in low paid positions at the lower ends of the job scale with no social security. The women labor force in Turkey is 6.9. million, while those employed are 6.5 million. The distribution of employed women to economic sectors is as follows: 74.1% in the agricultural sector, 16.2% in the service sector and 9.1% in the industrial sector. The above figures strongly suggest that women are represented at much lower rates outside the agricultural sector.

The official statistics in Turkey suggest that the unemployment rate among women is 4.9 %. In rural areas, the same figure is 1.7 % whereas in urban areas it is 13.9 %. The statistics also indicate that the 20 to 24 age group participates in the labor force at the highest rate. Yet, the highest rates of unemployment (11.5 %) are also registered for this same age group. The official statistics do capture a decline in women's unemployment; however, when these statistics are reassessed in light of the overall decline in wo-

THREE	1989	1990	1993	1996
TURKEY				
Women's Workforce (x1000)	6645	6263	6379	6869
Employment (x1000)	6016	5660	5959	6550
Those out of Workforce (x1000) Rate of Participation	12264	13416	14961	16030
n the Workforce (x1000)	35.1	31.8	29.9	30.1
Unemployment Rate (%) Unemployment of Educated	9.5	9.6	6.6	4.9
Women at the Age Range 15-24 (Percentage of the Unemployed	42.3	43.6	31.6	27.8
women)				
RURAL				
Women's Workforce (x1000)	5077	4755	4687	5055
Employment (x1000)	4360	4549	4595	4970
Those out of Workforce (x1000) Rate of Participation	4260	4911	5398	5335
in the Workforce (x1000)	54.4	49.2	46.5	48.6
Unemployment Rate (%)	4.3	4.3	1.9	1.7
Unemployment of Educated				
Women at the Age Range 15-24	46.8	38.1	27.9	19.3
(Percentage of the Unemployed	10.0			
women)				
URBAN				
Women's Workforce (x1000)	1568	1508	1692	1835
Employment (x1000)	1156	1111	1364	1580
Those out of Workforce (x1000)	8004	8505	9563	10695
Rate of Participation				
In the Workforce (x1000)	16.4	15.1	16.7	14.6
Unemployment Rate (%)	26.3	26.3	19.4	13.9
Unemployment of Educated				
Women at the Age Range 15-24	40.6	45.9	41.8	31.6
(Percentage of the Unemployed women)				

men's participation in the labor force at large, they no longer point to a significant nor positive development in this regard. In terms of women's representation in the public sphere, the statistics are therefore not very encouraging.

While there should be a negative correlation between the levels of education and unemployment in theory, the case of Turkey illustrates the contrary because unemployment among women increases as their educational attainment levels rise. According to the 1996 Household Labor Survey, 19.5 % of the unemployed women are secondary school graduates, while 17.9 % hailed from vocational schools and 7.2 % have completed tertiary education. The three groups' rate of participation in the workforce is 31.7 %, 42.3 % and 71.9 % respectively.

Another striking aspect of women's employment is the working conditions. 70 % of employed women are unpaid family workers. Only 22 % of the female labor force is paid or salaried. This figure goes up to 30 % when self employed and employer women are factored in. (see Table 2)

TABLE 2 Women's Employment In Terms of Status at Work, Economical Activities and Periods

X 1000				
Status at Work	1989	1990	1993	1996
	April	April	April	April
1.All Activities	6015	5661	5960	6550
Pay and Wage Earners	1204	1162	1354	1461
Self-employed	459	369	455	504
Unpaid Family Worker	4352	4130	4151	4585
2. Agricultural Activities	4667	4467	4481	4892
Pay and Wage Earners	139	149	103	126
Self-employed	287	250	307	332
Unpaid Family Worker	4241	4068	4071	4434
3.Activities Outside Agriculture	1348	1194	1479	1659
Pay and Wage Earners	1065	1013	1251	1336
Self-employed	172	119	148	171
Unpaid Family Worker	111	62	80	151
<u>Percentage</u>				
Pay and Wage Earners	20.0	20.5	22.7	22.3
Other (Self-employed and				
Unpaid Family Worker)	80.0	79.5	77.3	77.7
Distribution Among Sectors				
Agriculture	4668	4466	4482	4892
Industry	502	477	612	62
Service	845	749	867	1036
<u>Percentage</u>				
Agriculture	77.6	78.9	75.2	74.7
Industry	8.3	7.9	10.3	9.5
Service	14.0	13.2	14.5	15.8

Source: SSA, April 1996 Results of Household Workforce Questionnaire p.22-23

When women's employment is categorized per occupations, the results are not very surprising. Only very few women are in the scientific, technical or professional fields in Turkey, as is the case in the rest of the developing world. Out of the women's work force of 6.9 million, less than 400 000, i.e. less than 5.8 %, are employed in these fields. The number of women in entrepreneurial or managerial positions, in both the private and public sectors, is only 58 000, i.e. only 0.8 % of the women's workforce. The number of men in such positions is 8 times more than that of women, that is approximately 443 000.

According to official statistics, 150 000 women work as marginal laborers, concentrated mainly in the agricultural and manufacturing sectors.

Official statistics also suggest that working hours of women, particularly for those in the manufacturing sector, reach up to 71 hours per week.

Only a very small percentage of working women in Turkey benefit from the national social security system. Of those covered by the national social security system, only 15.8 % are women. More than half of the above are covered by the Pension Fund for civil servants (51.6 %). Social Insurance Institution (30.1% women subscribers) and Social Insurance Institution for the Self Employed (18.3 % women subscribers) are the other social insurance organizations. (3) (See Table 3)

The above findings, provided in general outline form, do reflect the extent of women's access to social security benefits, however, they do not sufficiently provide information on the gender disparities in income. The information on income disparities between genders is based largely on the findings of the International Labor Organization which suggests a women to men income ratio (on daily/weekly basis) of 84.2 %. This ratio brings Turkey to the forefront of a number of developing countries, boasting a gender income ration of over 80 % which is in deed much better than that in several industrialized countries. (Belgium, 75 %, Germany 73.2 %, Holland 77.5 %, England 70.5 %) (4). However, when gender disparities in income are reassessed further, the outcome is not as positive as suggested by the ILO figures. The scarcity of empirical research in this field hinders availability of sound data for the assessments in this regard. Nevertheless, it is generally conceded that there are serious gender differences in income in Turkey. Dayloğlu's (1995) 5 research based on income data for 1987 supports the above. This study finds a 30 % disparity between income earned by women and men. The study's findings indicate that approximately 24 % of the income disparity stems from the differences in the quality of the workforce (disparity of human capital endowment) and the remaining 76 % from the gender variable. When other variables such as education, work experience, place of residence as well as occupational sectors, and conditions in the work place are factored into the above, the determining power of the gender variable does not go below 50 %. As expected, the findings of the survey suggest that the contribution of educational attain-

Social Security Organisation	Women	Men
SSA	418122	3784494
IWA	254258	2448140
Retirement Fund	715585	1180415
Total	1387965	7411049

ment to women's income is higher than that of men and that the largest income disparities are detected in the agricultural sector.

The findings of Dayloğlu study are consistent with the available theoretical work on women's employment. One of the main causes of female male pay differentials is the gender based differences in human capital endowment. Other causes are: (a) direct discrimination against women in the labor market; (b) definition and classification of occupations where women are concentrated as separate from other occupations where the principle of equal pay for equal value of work is applicable; 6 (c) the distinct occupational demands of women and the disparities in the existing occupations. The above-mentioned three causes of income disparity are directly related to occupational segregation by sex.

As per generally accepted norms, occupational segregation by sex manifests itself in three major forms. Firstly, women are accumulated in specific productive sectors. Secondly, they are concentrated in specific occupations; and finally they are placed, in the lower ranks of the labor hierarchy. These three forms of occupational segregation by sex are deeply rooted in Turkey. For instance, women are over represented in the agricultural sector. The service and manufacturing sectors follow suit. As a consequence of this sectoral distribution, women work either as unpaid family workers or in the occupations traditionally reserved for them such as teaching, or nursing.

As stated in the following section on women's participation in the political arena, and as per the general outlines of occupational segregation by sex, women in Turkey work in the lower ranks of the job scale and are hardly represented in the decision-making positions. The same holds true for labor union organizations. Out of the 2 million members of labor unions, women make up no more than 2 or 3 hundred thousand. (7) It goes without saying that the number of women heads of unions is very low. This picture once more indicates that women lag way behind in participation in the public sphere.

In terms of both labor supply or demand, genderbased discrimination against women in Turkey's labor market is structural and institutionalized. Despite the virtual absence of discriminatory clauses in the national labor legislation, and despite Turkey's stated official commitment to the international agreements regulating labor, (8) gender prejudice sustains itself in both the labor demand side and in the consequent reproduction of the labor force.

The "Women's Employment Promotion Project" initiated by DGSPW within the framework of the Employment and Training Umbrella Program and the Employment Guaranteed Training Project of the Labor Placement Office under the above mentioned umbrella program are targeted at the elimination of gender disparities in income. However, in order to develop the necessary effective and substantial policies, there is continued need to engage in more comprehensive work.

Another point that should be underlined here is the relationship between the problems encountered in women's employment and the overall unemployment problem in Turkey. Throughout the 1980s, policy makers did not pay due attention to the mounting unemployment problem which was virtually overshadowed by the antiinflationary, liberal policies of the decade. However, unemployment shrinks the national income pool and causes deep gaps in income distribution, while a large potential of human resources remains unutilized. The Turkish economy cannot afford to waste such resources, as no economy can. On the contrary, realizing sustainable development is closely related to the promotion of human resources.

The Human Development Reports released annually since 1990 by the United Nations Development Program centralize the vitality of investing in the people for achieving sustainable human

development. These reports further emphasize investment in women as an essential prerequisite for national development.

In addition to the above, Turkey's modern sectors have been largely unable to create new employment opportunities. This, in turn, aggravates the unemployment situation and leads to the expansion of the informal sector. The informal sector, where both productivity and wages are low, reinforces sub-standard labor conditions in developing countries. In Turkey, the informal sector has received both overt and covert support from policy makers in the name of political gains. However, the rationales behind the promotion of the informal sector need to be reassessed, especially in light of women's employment. This is all the more important because small scale enterprises mostly in the informal sector - have been proposed as the magic panacea for the solution of women's employment problems. While in Turkey, there are no examples to back this proposition, new evaluations of the Bangladeshi Grameen Bank case lead to grave doubts about its soundness. Even the implementers of the Grammen Bank project, have begun to criticize it from the human development perspective, indicating that the project may have more than doubled the daily work burden of women, while its success is gauged solely by the credit return rates.

In light of the above concerns, the subject of women's entrepreneurship in Turkey should be reassessed, while the small enterprise promotion mechanisms are diversified and institutionalized. There is further need, in this regard, to identify credit institutions that will provide alternatives to the traditional ones (such as banks), while civil initiatives and intermediary loan support mechanisms are promoted.

The ultimate goal in women's employment is to facilitate women's entry into the labor force and to enable them to equally share their domestic responsibilities with men and the state.

2. Equal Opportunities In Terms of **Political Representation**

Women are not effectively represented in decision making processes in Turkey, as in other countries. Political representation and participation, the basic tenets of democracy in any given setting, are still at very low levels for women in Turkey. In this regard, it is vital to challenge the concept of "equal citizenship" and women's position therein, as well as the effectiveness of women's participation in decision-making mechanisms. Considering that only 13 out of 550 members of the Grand National Assembly in Turkey are women, it is virtually impossible to claim that Turkish women exercise free political will on their own behalf. This is a significantly low number to account for the political representation of 52 % of Turkey's total population. In this regard, Turkey ranks last among countries of Europe, and among the lower echelons in world wide international comparisons. Only two women presently occupy seats in the ministerial cabinet of 36 ministers. This is only 5 % women's representation at this level. The same figure is between 40 to 50 % in the Nordic countries (50% for Sweden, 43%, 33% and 26% for Norway, Finland and Denmark, respectively). It is important at this juncture to note that all these countries have gender equality legislation and parliamentary quota systems.

These rather disheartening figures come despite the fact that women in Turkey gained the right to vote and to be elected at an early stage in the international suffrage movement. Turkish women were able to vote and be elected in local elections. in 1930; in 1934 in the general elections. The founders of the Republic, M. K. Atatürk and the governing elite, regarded women's participation in decision-making mechanisms as a westernizing move towards the foundation of the modern nation state, and consequently applied a covered quota for women in the first general elections (1935). Women were represented in Parliament with 4.5 % of the seats (18 parliamentarians) which to date has not yet been achieved in the history of the republic. (see Table 4). This ratio

went down to 2 % following the transition to multi party system in 1946 and thereby increased competition in the political arena. As indicated in Table 4, the decline in the representation of women in the parliament continued in the 1980s and 90s. In order to solve "the crisis of women's representation" in the public sphere, there have been endeavors, by non-governmental organizations in particular, over the past years, the most notable being the work of the Association for Training and Supporting Women Candidates (KA-DER).

The immediate objective of KA-DER, to ensure that 55 women (10 %) are elected to Parliament in the next elections, receives encouraging support from the public at large, which is a promising development in this regard. Considering that the movement is in its initial stages, immediate solutions to the representation crisis of women should not be expected in the short run. Yet, KA-DER's impact as a pressure group should be taken seriously.

The centralized government structure of the state and its reflection in all the social and political arenas is one of the main causes for the cited decline in women's participation in the decision-making processes. The same reason holds also for the impediments to the participation of youth. The overly centralized government finds reflection in all societal institutions, namely, the state, the market and the family. Therefore, it is heavily felt in the structures of the political parties also.

In light of the fact that political participation is possible only through the mechanisms of the political parties, the problem of women's participation in politics becomes all the more apparent. The percentage of women among party members is around 20 %.(9) Furthermore, women members of the political parties are often regarded as support personnel for helping men get elected. Another issue to be addressed is the lack of intraparty democracy. Women and the youth often do not even have the opportunity for entering the party's candidate lists which are usually drawn

TABLE 4 Election Year and the Number of MPs on Gender

Election Year	Women	Men	Total	Women-Men Ratio
1935	18	377	395	4.56
1939	15	385	400	3.75
1943	16	419	435	3.68
1946	9	446	455	1.9
1950	3	484	487	0.62
1954	4	531	535	1.75
1957	7	603	610	1.15
1961	3	447	450	0.67
1965	8	442	450	1.78
1969	5	445	450	1.11
1973	6	444	450	1.3
1977	4	446	450	0.89
1983	12	388	400	3.00
1987	6	444	450	1.33
1991	8	442	450	1.78
1995	13	537	550	2.3

Source: Women in Statistics 1927-1992, SSA

up by the party leaders who carefully choose candidates from among personal allies and economic interest groups. In addition, the traditional structure of the political parties in Turkey, their working hours and lobbying methods espouse the most stereotypical male values and hinder women's participation. Furthermore, the stereotyped view of women as "mothers" and "wives", confined to family units, exacerbates the situation psychologically and socially.

The quota system seems as an effective instrument for promoting women's participation in politics. Two parties (CHP 25 %, DYP 10 %) have introduced quotas for women, yet they have not been effective enough.

While before 1980, provisions were in place for women to organize women's commissions within the parties, the 1982 Constitution has banned separate women's organizations within the political party framework. In following years, enacted legislation lifted this ban, however, the relevant rules and regulations have not yet been appropriated for its application.

Women's Representation in Local Governments

"Representation Crisis" of women in Turkey is also pertinent for the situation in local administrations and governments.

Since 1930, due to unavailability of data, a comparative analysis of women's representation in local governments is not entirely possible. Nevertheless, the decline in this regard is clearly observed on a yearly basis. The case of the central Anatolian province of Konya illustrates this decline. The number of women in the Provincial Council of Konya was 6 in 1935. In the 1984 local elections, the same number was 8 for the whole country in its 67 provinces.(10) In the 1994 local elections, provincial council member women were 24 across the country making up only 0.08 % of the total. This trend is also true for the women's membership in Municipal Councils and the number of mayors who are women (0.5 %). (see Table 5).

Most of the women elected to Provincial Councils and the Municipal Councils are from the three most developed provinces (Ankara, İstanbul, İzmir). This indicates that in the rest of the provinces women are not represented in local governments at all.

However, local government is the most essential governance layer for effecting direct participation and democratization. Moreover, while women directly experience the day to day difficulties of their living environment, they are not able to voice their concerns and demands at the responsible municipal councils. This is a grave concern in terms of democratization of daily life.

In addition to the wide cultural diversity in Turkey, there are serious developmental and social disparities between the regions. For this reason. transition to decentralized government system and sound local government principles gain utmost saliency for the promotion of social cohesi-

	TARLE 5	Representation	of W	lomen i	n the	e 1994	Local	Elections
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		CONTRACTOR OF THE PARTY OF THE			The second secon
	Female	%	Male	%	Total
Mayor	13	0.5	2.764	99.5	2.777
Provincial Council	24	0.08	30.310	99.92	30.334
Municipal Council	287	0.1	28.467	99	28.754

Source: The Interior Ministry, General Directorate of Local Administrations, 1994.

on and productivity. An important step in this regard will be the promotion of good governance processes and institutions for women's participation in local governments. An essential element of good governance is realization of state accountability and to render the state policies responsive to the gender agenda. Enhanced accountability and responsiveness of state policies will also be instrumental for the solution of the women's political representation problem.

Consequently, limited participation of women in decision-making processes and in the public sphere threatens their ability to fully enjoy their rights and to translate their exercised rights into sound policies for their own benefit. This also explains the increasing feminization of poverty in Turkey.

In conclusion, in order to enhance the status of women substantially, "special measures" as well as diversified mechanisms should be realized in Turkey. Turkey has no national strategy or policy to accommodate such special measures, despite its signatory status to CEDAW. In its 4th article CEDAW explicitly calls for signatory nations to implement affirmative action and positive discrimination policies to promote gender equality. Thus, signatory nations are obligated to design and implement the necessary special measures until they reach gender equality goals. In this connection, the drafting and enactment of a "Equal Status Act" may induce the necessary positive impact. (11) In deed, at the time of this report's preparation, a civil initiative had been taken and continues its work with the participation and commitment of some academics, lawyers and activists. (12)

The implementation of affirmative action policies will pave the way for "equality of results" which will also be instrumental in re-distribution of social resources on an equal footing between men and women.

BOX 1 Amendments to Statutes Towards Gender Equality

The entry for marital status in each Turkish citizen's identity card contains five options: Single; Widow/er; Divorced; Marriage Annulled). This piece of information is indeed of a personal, private nature which is often not necessary for the purposes for which the identity cards are often used. For this reason alone, divorced women in Turkey are unnecessarily harassed. As a result of both organized and individual advocacy from women in this regard, the proposal from the State Ministry for Women's Affairs and the Family that this entry simply indicate married / unmarried has been accepted by the Ministry of Interior. The application has begun as of December 1997.

However, being married or unmarried is not a defining characteristic for any person. Therefore, the "marital status" entry would be best removed from the identification cards of all citizens as has been the case in the European countries.

Parallel to the regulations regarding the identification cards, the entry providing information on the degree of relationship to the pensioner in the identification cards given out by the Pension Fund, has been amended to state "spouse, daughter, son, mother or father" instead of the previously used terms such as "widow and orphan."

B. Private Sphere: Family Context

1. Rights of Women (and Youth)

a. Domestic Violence

The Beijing Action Plan, in its relevant articles, endorses that the rights of women and the girl child are in alienable and indivisible part of human rights. However, the continued violence against women worldwide violates the most basic tenet of human rights, the right to life. In Turkey, this is a major human rights concern. Not-

withstanding studies on domestic violence carried out by non-governmental organizations, academic circles and some governmental organizations, it is not possible to access sound data on the incidence of violence against women in Turkey. Therefore, there is no clear picture of the scale at which it exists, nor of its scope.

Most research conducted in Turkey as well as in other countries has shown that women are subjected to violence mostly by family members, relatives or boyfriends. The "smallest democratic unit at the heart of the society," i.e. the family, is paradoxically also at the heart of the violence against women.

The state explicitly does not interfere in family life, on the grounds of respect for private life. This has made many women vulnerable against domestic violence, while the domestic arena is left to its own private operations where women have to fend for themselves. Therefore, further reconsideration of the distinction between public and private domains is necessary. Violence which is the most damage inflicting act on one's private life, can easily be left outside the scope of crimes which necessitate legal intervention by confining the matter to "private sphere" relations.

Some resolution of this legal paradox was advanced with the 17 January 1998 dated "Family Protection Law" number 4320 which was enacted as a result of years of advocacy work on the side of the women's movement and feminist lawyers and finally with the support of the State Ministry Responsible for Women's Affairs.

Enacted expressly to prevent domestic violence, this Law's most significant aspect is that it enables consideration of complaints emanating, not only from the victims of domestic violence, but also from witnesses of domestic violence such as neighbors of family relations.

This legislative measure has been an important step towards enabling legal action and state intervention for the protection of basic human rights and preventing violence in the private sphere. It can also be considered as an instrument for the national democratization process. It has accorded protection against violence not only for women, but also for other family members. Nevertheless, it is clear that domestic violence in Turkey can not be fully eradicated by this law alone. It should be emphasized, however, that amendments to the Turkish Penal Code as well as solutions in the social, economic and political field are also necessary for sound follow up of this law.

The awareness raising campaigns conducted in this regard have increased public sensitivity towards domestic violence since the 1980s. Shelters for battered women have opened up - albeit in symbolic numbers - throughout the 1990s with the support of civil society organizations. (13)

At the state level, seven women's shelters have opened mostly in 1991 in various parts of the country with the support of the General Directorate for Social Services and Child Protection. In addition, victims of violence can seek advisory assistance at centers established by some local administrations, and women's organizations and the GDSPW. Unfortunately, however, the number of applicants to these centers is very low, while most applicants are victims of physical violence.

In Turkey, the foremost manifestation of male dominance over the women's body are "honor killings" and "virginity tests". The latter is an exercise of violence against girls and young women which is sanctioned by the law and within legal regulatory frameworks. The Ministry in Charge of Human Rights in Turkey is in the process of developing some radical protection measures for young women and girls, in this regard.

The persistence of a conservative approach from the side of the Court of Appeals in its evaluations of "honor killings", (14) combined with the fact that it has not been possible to convert the social tolerance of such crimes into social rebuke of them, has fed the persistence of "honor killings."

For real democratization of social and cultural fabric in Turkey, the necessary special legislation must be immediately enacted to end this most brutal violence of women's most basic human right, the right to life.

Data compiled by the DGSPW indicate the following 15: (a) 59% of married women in Turkey are subjected to physical violence, %63 are subject to non-physical violence; (b) 77.8% of women have sought no outside help against spousal abuse; (c) 49.4% of Turkish women were beaten up as a child by their parents; (d) 67.2% of women in Turkey beat their children.

The above indicates that abused women also abuse their children. As mentioned above, that social unit which is often presumed to be the safest, i.e. the family, is on the contrary the source of most violence. Therefore, it is very difficult to claim that domestic life in Turkey is democratized since the most fundamental rights of women are extensively violated within the private sphere.

The Turkish Penal Code has no provisions against marital rape. Rape is criminalized only when it occurs outside matrimony. Thus, the marital rape issue still awaits solutions in the legal realm.

It must be borne in mind that Turkey has only just recently begun confronting the issue of violence against women and combating it. Several studies point that the incidence of domestic violence declines, as educational and awareness levels of family members rise. It has also been observed that working women are less likely to be subjected to domestic violence. However, sound data is not available to back the above propositions for the case of Turkey.

b. Equality and Protection Before the Law- "Civil Code, Marriage, Penal Code"

In the post-war period, new perspectives and gains in the social sphere paved the way for chan-

ges in legal systems which aimed at the advancement of women's status. European countries have amended their civil codes to realize gender equality (Germany, 1957; France, 1956). Since 1951, Turkey has had sporadic initiatives through the Ministry of Justice's specialized commissions set-up to amend the Civil Code in line with gender equality. Gaining great momentum since the 1980s, the women's movement in Turkey, has struggled long to amend the provisions of the Civil Code where gender inequalities before the law persist. Through national campaigns focussing on "Women and the Law," women have shared their experiences and have strengthened the awareness on women's rights. Consequently, the issue of gender equality before the law has taken its place in the national agenda.

Since 1990, efforts by the DGSPW have also played an important role in identifying those provisions of the Civil Code that contain discriminatory clauses and supporting grass roots demands for their amendment.

In this regard, the Ministry of Justice has prepared the Draft Civil Code and the Draft Penal Code, taking into consideration the international agreements, which Turkey has signed, and the amendments to the Swiss Civil Code. Above all, the draft codes have been prepared to respond to the gender equality principles.

The amendments proposed by the Ministry of Justice are presented below in a comparative analysis with the existing applicable laws. A perusal of the suggested amendments will reveal that discrimination against women covertly persists in the draft bills, although certain amendments "demanded by women" have been incorporated.

The Draft Bill of the Civil and Penal Codes

The Marriage Age:

The draft bill proposes to set the minimum age for marriage at 17 for both men and women. Pre-

sently the marriage age is 15 for women and 17 for men. Under extreme situations, the present law consents to marriage by the competent judge if the man is at least 15 and the woman 14. In the draft code, the marriage age has been leveled at 16 for both men and women.

The increase of the age of marriage can be regarded as a positive step but it runs counter to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child which explicitly defines as a child every human being under 18, unless national laws recognize the age of majority earlier. Thus, the increase of the marriage age to 18 would be the most effective move for guaranteeing the physical and psychological growth of young persons.

The 8 Years Compulsory Basic Education's Act will prove to be beneficial in solving early marriage setback for women. The extension of compulsory basic education for both boys and girls will enable them to have longer and better education, and forestall early marriages. (16) (Turkish C.C. Art. 88, Turkish C.C. Dr. Bill. Art. 124)

Place of Application for Marriage:

Under the existing law, in order to complete the marriage formalities, the couple must apply to the municipality where the man resides. The draft bill proposes that applications can be made at the municipality of either the man's or of the woman's residence. (Turkish C.C. Art.98, Turkish C.C. Dr. Bill. Art. 134).

Authority in Divorce Cases:

Under the present law, the authorized court for divorce or separation cases is that of the locality of the plaintiff. The draft bill amends this clause and identifies the responsible court as that of the locality in which the couple has lived for six months prior to separation. The Draft bill also proposes that alimony cases be tried at the locality of the party which shall seek the alimony. However, the draft bill does not have any provisions for the protection of the alimony amount against inflation.

The Head of the Family:

Under the current law, the husband is "the head of the union". On the other hand, the draft, proposes that "spouses shall govern the union together". (Turkish C.C., Art. 152, Turkish C.C., Dr. Bill. Art. 185)

Choice of Residence:

The clause of the present law wherein the choice of residence belongs to the husband is amended in the draft bill as "spouses shall choose their place of residence together". (Turkish C.C. Art. 152, Turkish Dr. Bill. Art. 186).

The preceding two components of the draft bill are encouraging developments for the promotion of democratic family life. They obviate the notion of household or family heads and provide for opportunities for equal share of responsibility and authority in the family.

The Family Name:

The amendment to the law promulgated on 14 May 1997, numbered 4248 and to the article 153 of the current of law is as follows:

"Women shall carry the family name of their husbands upon marriage. However, women may carry maiden names in front of the family names of their husbands if they submit their intention to do so in writing to marriage officers or later to the census officers. Women carrying two family names may choose only one of the names upon divorce."

The said amendment has been retained in the draft bill.

Choice of Profession:

The Constitutional Court decision of 2 July 1992 had lifted the clause calling for the husband's consent for women to practice professions. The present proposition of the draft bill which states that each spouse shall consider the other spouse's and the family's peace when choosing and or practicing a profession" contradicts the above decision of the Constitutional Court. No doubt, the draft bill is a step backwards in this regard. It may in its present form lead to grave loss of already acquired rights. (Turkish C.C. Dr. Bill. Art. 192).

Representation of the Matrimony:

According to the current law, the representation of the matrimony is exercised by the husband. The draft bill provisions that both spouses shall represent the matrimony for the family's interests and needs until the termination of matrimony. (Turkish C.C., Art. 154, Turkish C.C. Dr. Bill. Art. 188).

Matrimonial Property Regime:

According to the current law, the separation of property regime is valid. Should a contractual agreement be operational, then the regimes of joint or common property may be applied. On the other hand, under the draft bill, "Shared Property Regime" is the accepted matrimonial property system. (Turkish C.C., Art. 170, Turkish C.C., Dr. Bill, Art. 202).

In the current law, the system of separation of property is seemingly on the side of women. However, there exists no provisions securing the rights of a spouse against the other party, in connection with properties acquired during marriage. In the case of the termination of a marriage on account of death or divorce, serious problems do arise in this regard. Thus, a matrimonial property regime wherein claims may be placed on property acquired during marriage, or in other words, "Sharing of the Acquired Properties Regime", ensuring individual titles to properties acqu-

ired during marriage would greatly serve the interests of gender equality in marriage.

In conclusion, some of the draft amendments to the Turkish Civil Code are quite positive. However, that no further provisions have been made in support of women's active participation in public life – such as the total annulment of spousal consent for working, or the acceptance of the regime on sharing of properties acquired during marriage – will result in the continuation of the present gender inequalities in the public realm.

Turkish Penal Code and Draft Bill of Turkish Penal Code:

The Turkish Penal Code was put into force in 1926. The provisions that relate specifically to women are under the 8th section of the law under the heading "Crimes against Public Decency and the Family Order". Since the 1980s, the women's movement has launched campaigns to eliminate the discriminatory provisions of the Penal Code; and, to abandon the consideration of crimes committed against women under the 8th Section cited above.

With a view towards meeting the requests of women, The Draft Bill of the Turkish Penal Code, proposed by the specialized commission of the Ministry of Justice, was submitted to the Parliament in 1998. In the said draft Bill, sections regarding women in particular are placed under two titles. In the 6th section, the criminal offences, such as rape, carnal abuse, instigation to prostitution, abduction and detention of women, kidnapping and detention of children, are regulated under the heading of "Offences against Sexual Freedom and Decency".

Victims of the above offences are mostly women and children. However, punishments prescribed in the draft bill are far from deterrent. Thus, it is recommended that punishments for these offences be made more severe. Furthermore, for the crimes committed against the body of the woman, such as abduction and detention, the penalties are distinguished based on the marital status of the victim. If the abducted or detained woman is married, the punishment is more severe. This perpetrates discrimination against women. It is recommended that this discriminatory clause of the draft bill be reconsidered.

The section of the draft bill on "Crimes Against the Family" regulates punishments for crimes such as adultery, polygamy, maltreatment etc.

Under articles 440 and 441 of the current law, adultery committed by men and women, respectively, are regulated separately. However, the Constitutional Court, basing its judgement on the principle of equality before the law, invalidated article 441 of the Penal Code on 27 December 1996, and article 440 on June 1998. Thus, adultery will not be deemed an offence under the Turkish Penal Code until gaps in the law are filled with new provisions. The draft bill defines adultery as a crime and calls for one and the same punishment for men and women.

Furthermore, in the draft bill, there is also a new provision stating that a punishment for adultery shall be executed only if there exists a divorce suit brought by one of the spouses and that the divorce has been secured

It is clear that gender equality in the crime and punishment of adultery will not prevent couples from committing it. It would be somewhat unrealistic to expect that one of the spouses can protect the matrimonial unity and the family by ensuring that the other spouse is punished for adultery. Therefore, adultery should not be included as a criminal offence in the Penal Code. Adultery could only constitute a grounds for divorce as it is in the Civil Code.

Amendments already effected in the existing statutes towards realizing gender equality can be seen in the box titled "Amendments to Statutes towards Gender Equality".

NOTES

- Unless stated otherwise, labor force related data are from the April 1996 Household Labourforce Survey, State Institute of Statistics.
- Hadler, Sandra. Turkey: Women in Development, The World Bank. Washington DC, 1993
- Data compiled from the General Directorate on the Status and Problems of Women. (GDSPW)
- Anker, Richard. "Theories of Occupational Segragation by Sex: An Overview," International Labour Review. No. 3, 1997. p.1-30.
- 5 Dayıoğlu, Meltem. Earnings in Equality between Genders in Turkey. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis. Middle East Technical University, Ankara.
- In Turkey, the principle of equal pay for equal work has been adopted. However, equal pay for work of equal value would alleviate the discrimination against women in the labour market.
- Data compiled from the General Directorate on the Status and Problems of Women. (GDSPW)
- Turkey is party to the ILO Agreements number 100 on Wage Equality; number 11 on Equal Opportunity and Treatment; no. 165 on Workers with Family Responsibilities; and, no. 3 on Maternity Assistance.
- Data compiled from the General Directorate on the Status and Problems of Women. (GDSPW)
- The Seventh Five Year Development Plan. Report of the Specialized Commission on Women, State Planning Organization, 1994. p. 65.
- "Gender Equality Framework Laws" are 11 implemented largely in the Scandinavian countries where they have had significant positive impacts on realization of equality between women and men. For example, the quota systems implemented within the frameworks of these laws have resulted in women's representation in Parliaments to up to
- Acuner, Selma. "Working Group Project for 12 Development of an Equal Status Act for Turkey,"
- Purple Roof Shelter Foundation in 1990 and Women's Solidarity Foundation in 1993.
- 14 Kalan, İlknur. Women and Justice, İstanbul, 1998. p. 45.
- Handbook for Law NO. 4320 on the Protection of the Family and its Implementation. Prime Ministry, Ankara, 1998. p. 5.
- Kalan, İlknur. ibid. p. 81

BOX 2 Youth and Representation in the Public Sphere

The youth of Turkey, that being the 15-24 age group, constitutes 20.3 % of the total population of Turkey. Of this population group, 49% are young women.

According to the estimates of the State Institute of Statistics, of the civilian labor force of 22.6 million in Turkey, 23.6 % is composed of young persons. Of the young labor force, 61.9 % are men, and 38.1 % are women. Compared to previous years, employment percentages for the young are on the decline. This decline is experienced more severely by young women. The most general explanation for this decline is that the modern sectors have not been able to create new employment opportunities for an increasingly young population.

Children of the 12-14 age group in the labor force has been on the decline in the past years. Nevertheless, over 1 million children out of 12 million children of 6 to 14 age range are employed, and 32.4 % of the employed children are younger than 12.

It is estimated that for the 1997-1998 school year, the rate of pre-school education enrolment will be only 9 %. For compulsory primary education the enrollment rate is to reach 91.3 %, whereas the same figure is estimated at 57.7 % for secondary education including vocational and technical schools. Enrollment rates in tertiary education are projected at 14.6 %. (Source: State Planning Organization) (1998 program).

In the Juvenile Detention and Rehabilitation Centers execute programs aimed at social integration of convicted children through provision of educational and personal development opportunities.

A special statute on establishment of Juvenile Courts, identifying their duties and scope of jurisdiction has been presented to the Parliament. The total number of Juvenile Courts has been increased to 6.

A juvenile Detention Center was set up in Istanbul in 1997 with a view towards separating juveniles and adult offenders in penal institutions.

Towards the year 2000, the main objective of youth services is to ensure youth contribution to sustainable human development and increase tolerance, solidarity and friendship among the youth for full realization of democracy.

Enhancement of human resources gains utmost saliency as the need for parallel development in economic and social fields is further emphasized as the means for sustainable human development. Enhancing opportunities for youth development and participation in society is a prerequisite for ensuring the social dimensions of national development.

In this framework, there is further need to improve youth access to health, education services, to cultural and sports activities; and, to social security, employment and recreation facilities.

With a view towards providing youth with opportunities for interaction and leisure activities, 84 Youth Centers were set up in 1994 where some 48 thousand young persons benefited from the facilities.

It is not possible to claim that enough research has been conducted about the youth. Policies must be designed which heed the regional differences among the youth who constitute the pillars of social change and development. (This section is largely based on the data from the Seventh Five- Year Development Plan of Turkey 1996-2000, for year 1998.)

Right to Opportunities for Personal Growth: Education/Health/Housing

A. The Right to Education

There are many studies, both at national and international levels, proving the correlation between education and certain economic and social variables such as income, health, political participation and gender equality. In many cases, education is the basis for the ability to make use of economic and social rights. The lower the level of education, the less the chance for an employment with favorable conditions of work and a satisfactory remuneration. A low level of education will also constitute a serious obstacle concerning the rights to form and join associations and trade unions, even the right of equal access to public service and the right to social security. Therefore, the right to education is of utmost importance.

In this regard, Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights emphasizes the following points:

- "Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory,"
- "Technical and professional education shall be made generally available",
- "Higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit",
- "Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality",
- Education shall be directed "to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups..."

The first paragraph on free and compulsory basic education expresses a concrete target, but the duration of this education is not specified. Today only in a few countries is compulsory education still only 5 or 6 years. In many countries, it varies between 9 and 11 years, e.g. it is 9 years in Greece, Ireland and Germany, 10 years in Belgium, Denmark, France and Spain, 11 years in Holland (1). Free basic education for all is still not realized in many less developed countries. That higher education should be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit is a more distant target for many countries, if not for all of them.

The last two statements provided above which are quoted from the Declaration are directed at the philosophy, contents and methods of education systems. Whether education does promote understanding and tolerance among all nations, racial or religious groups is a serious question in many countries.

Article 27 of the Universal Declaration is indirectly related to the right to education and states that "Everyone has the right to freely participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits."

The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in Articles 13 and 15 has a very similar, but slightly more detailed coverage concerning the right to education. The Covenant mentions some additional targets explicitly, such as "the progressive introduction of free education" at the secondary and higher education levels, establishing "an adequate fellowship system" and improving "the material conditions of teaching staff".

Contemporary western constitutions do cover the right to education specifically and explicitly. Article 24 of the Belgian constitution states that compulsory education is free. The same article emphasizes the neutrality of the system with regard to the ideological or religious tendencies of the students and parents. It also expresses the freedom of parents to choose between a religion course and a non-denominational course (2). Article 76 of the Danish constitution states that compulsory education is free and also that parents have the freedom not to send their children to national schools as long as it is guaranteed

that they receive a similar education (3). Article 7 of the German constitution determines mainly the status of private schools and the right of the parents to decide on the child's participation in a religion course. Article 13 of the Finnish constitution emphasizes free compulsory education and the responsibility of the state to provide an education according to needs and abilities, irrespective of the means possessed (4).

Articles 33 and 34 of the Italian constitution concentrate on free, compulsory elementary education and the right to benefit from the highest level of education regardless of the means possessed. This right is to be realized through scholarships and similar supports (5).

The Portuguese constitution of 1976 is clearly different from other constitutions, in that it covers the right to education in a detailed way. Article 42 expresses the freedom of scientific and artistic production. Article 43 is about the freedom to learn and to teach and emphasizes the secular, non-denominational nature of the education system. Articles 73-78 designate a number of principles and features characterizing the system. The list covers aims like democratization of education and culture, democratic participation of teachers and students in the administration, realizing equality of opportunity, a general, compulsory, free elementary education, progressive introduction of free education at all levels, promoting special schools for the disabled (6).

The coverage of the right to education in the Spanish constitution of 1978 and of the Dutch constitution of 1983 are quite detailed, too, but they mainly concentrate on principles (7).

The Turkish constitution of 1982, in Article 42 on the right to education, expresses various aspects of this right, but also limitations to it. It is stated explicitly, that no one can be prevented from making use of the right to education and that elementary education is compulsory and free in state schools. The state is assigned the respon-

sibility of supporting the disadvantaged pupils through scholarships and the disabled through special education measures. Article 42 prohibits the teaching of any other language than Turkish as the mother tongue. In contrast to many western constitutions, Article 42 favors a certain ideological preference and determines that education is to be realized "in the direction of Atatürk's principles and reforms... under the supervision and control of the state."

Another peculiarity of the 1982 Constitution is that whereas the right to education is stated in the section on "Economic and Social Rights and Duties", the universities are regulated in Articles 130 and 131 under the subsection titled "Administration" which itself is a part of the section titled "The Executive". This section covers the articles about the president, the cabinet, the national security council, local government and the Turkish Radio and Television Institution. Articles 130 and 131 are extremely detailed compared with other constitutions and state a long list of administrative regulations and limitations for the universities.

Population Increase and Enrollment

The education system of Turkey is under the heavy pressure of the high rate of population increase. Total population has almost doubled in the last 30 years. The annual rate of increase, which was above 2 % until the 1990s, has been going down gradually in the recent years. According to the findings of the 1997 Census, the latest figure is slightly below 1.5 %. However it will take a few years before this gradual improvement brings about a relief for the education system. Besides, the population growth rate in the Eastern Anatolia and Southeast Anatolia regions is considerably higher than the country's average.

At present net, annual population growth is close to 1 million in absolute numbers. This high rate of increase naturally affects the age structure of the population in favor of the young. Turkey's median age is still under 25 on average, and un-

der 20 in the East. Table 1 shows that almost 1/3 of the population is in school age, excluding the pre-school group. The ratios of these age groups to total population have begun to decrease slowly in recent years, but they are still too high, especially compared with developed countries.

Compulsory elementary education that is free for all has not yet been fully realized despite the articles of the 1961 and 1982 constitutions. Compulsory education was only 5 years until 1997 when it was raised to 8 years. Although, a significant amount of resources has been allocated to elementary education since then, an enrollment ratio of 100 % has still not been reached. Table 2 presents the latest figures on student numbers and enrollment ratios.

Elementary education is an enormous sector in itself, comprising more than 56000 schools and approximately 285000 teachers for almost 9,5 million pupils in the 1996-1997 school year (8). An enrollment ratio of less than 90 % proves that the right to education is not enjoyed by all, and what is more striking is that the size of the deprived population exceeded 1 million in the same school year. According to the 1998 Program, more than 1 million children in the age group of 6-14 are employed and approximately 1/3 of them are in the age group 6-12 (9).

Regional and Gender Differences

The extent to which the right to education is realized varies considerably between regions, between urban and rural settlements and also by gender. In the 1996-1997 school year the number of male students (close to 5,2 million) exceeded that of female students (4,3 million) by 869 000, and

Table 1 Composition of The Population at School Age (1998 Estimate)

Age Gro	% of Total Population	
4-6	6.0	
7-11	10.2	
12-14	6.2	
15-17	6.3	
18-21	8.2	

Source: State Planning Organization, 1998 Program, Ankara, 1997, p.33.

Table 2 Student Numbers and Enrollment Ratios, (1996-1997)

	Students	Enrollment Ratio (%)
Pre-School Education	22 900	8.8
Compulsory Elementary Education	9 463 000	88.5
Secondary Education	2 225 000	54.7
General High Schools	1 252 000	30.8
Vocational and Technical		
High Schools	973 000	23.9
Higher Education	1 213 165	23.2
Formal Education	749 970	14.3
Open Education	463 195	8.9

Source: State Planning Organization, 1998 Program, Ankara, 1997, p.27.

the shares in the total number were 54.6 % and 45.4 %, respectively.

At the secondary level the deprivation of the girls becomes more serious. Of the more than 2,2 million students in high schools 59 % were male and 41 % female. In the last 10 years the share of male students in general high schools has been stagnant around 57-58 % and the share of female students around 42-43 %. The gender gap is wider in the vocational and technical schools, although it is improving slowly. In the last 10 years the male share has fallen from 71 % to 65 %, and the female share has risen from 29 % to 35 % (10).

The regional inequality presents itself both in enrollment figures and also in the female share in enrollment. For example, in the 1995-1996 school year, before the compulsory education reform, Turkey's enrollment ratio for 5 year elementary education was 89 %, but the same ratio was 71 % in South East Anatolia and 68 % in East Anatolia. For the male population the ratios were 76 % in South East and 73 % in East Anatolia, but for the female population they went down to 65 % and 63 %, respectively (11).

The right to education is certainly not confined to enrollment, it has a quality aspect, too. To be enrolled is the necessary condition, but not the sufficient condition. The quality of the education provided bears importance as well and this quality is determined by the philosophy conditions and methods of education.

Overcrowding in classrooms, high number of twoshift schools and combined classes, poor libraries and laboratories, extremely poor computer endowment, and last but not least, teacher deficiency are the major factors limiting the quality of education and at the same time the right to education.

At all levels of education overcrowding in the classes makes individual attention impossible, lowering performance and satisfaction. One of the targets of the reform is to lower class sizes to 30 students by the year 2000, which is still too high.

Another aim of the reform is to end the two-shift system which is quite common today. In the 1995-1996 school year of the 39 268 (5- year) primary schools (which were active), 7671 (19.5 %) were on a two shift basis (12). The problem is more serious at the high school level. Of the 2196 general high schools of Turkey, 587 (27 %) were on a two shift basis. This problem is more common in the large, relatively developed cities. In the three largest cities the majority of general high schools are two shift schools: In the 1995-1996 school year, 39 out of 72 in İzmir, 55 out of 88 in Ankara, 96 out of 167 in Istanbul (13).

One of the outcomes of the teacher deficiency is the wide application of combined classes where one teacher is responsible for more than one class (sometimes up to five). In 1997, combined classes were being implemented in more than 20 000 settlements (14). In more than 10 800 schools a single teacher was teaching five combined classes. The total number of pupils in these schools was 387 000 (15).

The high number of very small, rural settlements, especially in the East, have rendered alternative solutions necessary. One of these solutions is the "regional boarding schools" at the elementary level. In the 1996-97 school year the number of these schools was 143, and 92 of them were in East or South East Anatolia regions (16).

A very similar model is the "schools with pensions". Another alternative is the "student transport" model where students are transferred daily from very small settlements to schools in district centers. The dimension and coverage of these methods are still far from sufficient.

The eight-year reform in 1997 has given an impulse to the positive development. First of all, new enrollment at sixth grade, which was 703 000 in the 1996-1997 school year, increased by an exceptional 21 % to reach 853 000 in 1997-1998. The number of teachers showed a parallel growth. Net increase in the number of teachers jumped from approximately 4900 in 1994 and 2900 in 1995 to more than 21 000 in 1997. The number of students covered under "student transport" model increased from 121 000 in 1996-1997 to 242 000 in 1997-1998 (17). This rate has to be preserved so that a qualitative change can be achieved.

Higher Education

Enrollment ratio at higher education is quite low, mainly due to lack of sufficient capacity. There is a serious shortage concerning both human resources and physical infrastructure, i.e. libraries, laboratories, computers etc. The number of public universities increased sharply in 1992. Since the physical and academic environment had not been prepared, this increase did not bring about a parallel growth in student numbers and also risked the quality in higher education.

This problem still continues. In more recent years Turkey has witnessed an explosion in the number of private universities, owned by foundations, which charge high rates of tuition. Some of these universities take high quality seriously; but then there are others, which started like many of the public universities in 1992, i.e. without the basic necessary preparations. In any case the student share of these private universities is very small and will remain small for some time due to the insufficient income level of the great majority of the population. Because of the same reality, the share of students in private high schools has still not exceeded 5%.

Entrance to university is one of the major bottlenecks in the education system. In 1998, more than 1.3 million students entered the first stage of the entrance examination and about 600 000 were qualified to participate in the second stage. At the end, 262 000 will be able to enter public universities and 92 000 of these will be attending 2-year programs. In 1998, the number entering private universities will be close to 16 000.

The very high number of the applicants is the result of the accumulation of many years. A significant percentage of the applicants consists of those who graduated in earlier years or who are already studying at a university. In the past few years, new graduates formed only a minority of those passing the exam and entering the university.

The discrepancy between the number of available places (especially at prestigious universities) and the number of applicants has widened with time and the competition has sharpened. To gain advantage in this race, students from upper and middle income families flooded private courses which has evolved into a large sector, becoming in some cases even an alternative- to the high schools. This exacerbated the influence of the families' economic and social status on the success of the students.

Success in the university entrance exam shows a high correlation with the type of the high school attended and even the province of the high school. Table 3 gives the "admission rates", i.e. percentage of those who gained admission to those who entered the exam, for different types of high schools (18). The admission rates should be interpreted with the following reservation: The table does not reveal anything about the institutions entered. It is to be expected that graduates from strong high schools aim at institutions with higher minimum points and vice versa. If one considers the average points achieved for different high school types, then the discrepancy becomes larger.

A similar discrepancy exists between regions. Marmara and Aegean regions have the highest rates with 33.9 % and 34.2 %, respectively. East and Southeast Anatolia regions have the lowest ratios with 23.8 % and 23.1 %, respectively. The "admission rate" is highest in the provinces in the West, e.g. İzmir (37.5 %), Yalova (35.8 %), Istanbul (35.6 %), Kırklareli (34.5 %), Çanakkale (33.9 %) and Ankara (33.4 %). The ratio is considerably lower in the East, e.g. Sırnak (19.4 %), Ağrı (20.6 %), Siirt (20.7 %), Osmaniye (20.8 %), Şanlıurfa (21.1 %).(19) (These rates should be interpreted with the same reservation expressed above for high school groups).

Higher education is not completely free; but the fees are certainly not prohibitive, and the system is supported through two types of student credits, i.e. the "fee credit" and the "education credit". For the 1998-1999 academic year the highest fee is 74 million TL per year in medical schools, which covers only 3.4 % of the cost. In faculties like law, economics, business administration, etc. the fee is 38 million TL and covers 12 % of the cost (20).

In the first half of 1997 the number of students receiving "education credit" was slightly above 170 000 and the government's target for the 1997-1998 academic year was declared as 196 000. The number of students benefiting from the "fee credit" was exceeding 222 000 and the target for 1997-1998 was 291 000. Compared with total enrollment in formal education these figures are fairly high. However, since the majority of university students are not studying in their hometowns a large subsidy is allocated to dormitories. In 1997-1998 the capacity in public dormitories was 158 000 and the prices were very low (21). Provision of credits and subsidies does not make higher education accessible for all. At present, the fees are not prohibitively high

and a fee credit can be obtained easily; but access to higher education is still only a dream for the youth because of other and more fundamental reasons. The first is the low enrollment rate at high schools, i.e. the youth of low income families are even not lucky enough to receive a high school education. Secondly, even if they have completed high school, total cost of attending a university is considerably higher than the education and fee credits.

Equality of opportunity at all levels of education is an important challenge for Turkey. Increase in the dormitory capacity and increase in the resources allocated to scholarships and credits should become a serious priority.

Mass Education

The formal education system is based upon the needs of the young generation. However, especially in developing countries where a considerable part of the adult population is illiterate or is lacking productive capacities, mass education gains great importance. As stated in the second part of this report, in 1996, among all provinces of Turkey, İstanbul had the highest literacy rate with 91 %. Ankara and Eskişehir followed with 90 %, Kocaeli and Kırklareli with 89 %. Even in these provinces the absolute numbers of the illiterate reach

School Type	%
Science High School (Public)	60.3
Science High Schools (Private)	58.9
Anadolu High Schools	57.0
Private High Schools (Foreign Language)	53.8
Private High Schools (Turkish)	43.6
General High Schools	29.7
Trade Vocational Schools	
Religious Schools (İmam Hatip L.)	
Industrial Vocational Schools	24.5

Source: Yükseköğretim Kurulu, 1997 ÖSYS Sonuçları Kullanılarak Yapılan Bir Benzetim Çalışması (Okul Türlerine Göre), Ankara, 1998

high levels. In the eastern provinces the problem is much more serious. The literacy rate is 57 % in Sanlıurfa. 56 % in Siirt. 55 % in Hakkari and Mardin, and even less than 44 % in Şırnak. What aggravates this problem is the gender gap, especially in the east. In the largest cities like Istanbul, Ankara and İzmir the gender difference is 10-12 percentage points. In Mardin, Şanlıurfa, Siirt, Mardin and Sırnak this difference is about 40 percentage points. The female literacy rate for 1996 is 29,1% in Hakkari and an unbelievable 20.1% in Şırnak. This picture calls for an extensive effort and investment in adult education.

Mass education covers both adults and the young. The most common institutions active in this area are the "public education centers", "apprentice education centers", and "practical craft schools for girls". The programs carried out in these institutions show great diversity. The number of public education centers is above 900.

Public education centers provide short-term courses to develop basic skills such as reading and writing. Apprentice education centers present an opportunity to youngsters to work in a workplace and receive a parallel formal education. Practical craft schools for girls implement programs in areas like sewing, knitting, design etc.

In 1996-1997 the total number of attendants of all mass education courses was close to 1 milli-

on. In the same periodin, 13 provinces of East and Southeast Anatolia regions, 1 395 reading and writing courses were organized, but only 34 000 people attended these courses (22). Considering the enormous need and the size of the population concerned, the level and coverage of mass education are far from satisfactory.

One of the crucial educational institutions are libraries. There are two types of libraries outside the school system in Turkey: public libraries and children's libraries. Between 1990-1996 the number of public libraries increased from 810 to 1 123 and the number of books from 7,9 million to almost 11 million. On the other hand, in the same period the number of children's libraries fell from 104 to 83 and the number of books rose from 484 000 to 507 000 in 1991, but fell again to 484 000 in 1996 (23).

Education Expenditures

Considering the low enrollment rates, high number of combined classes at the elementary level, large class sizes at all levels and poor libraries and laboratories, it is obvious that Turkey needs to increase considerably the amount of resources allocated to education. Table 4 reveals that total public expenditure for education is less than 4 % of GNP, which is lower than many developed and developing countries.

Table 4 Ratio of Education Expenditures to GNP (%)

	Ministry of		
	Education	Higher Education Council	
1993	2.88	0.83	
1994	2.41	0.80	
1995	1.73	0.59	
1996	1.71	0.61	
1997	2.00	0.79	
1998*	2.53	0.79	

Source: Hikmet Uluğbay, T.B.M.M. Plan ve Bütçe Komisyonu 1998 Yılı Bütçe Konuşması, Ankara, 1997,

According to the constitution, elementary education is compulsory and free in state schools. This approach is shared by almost all constitutions and also international declarations. User fees are applied at higher education, but provide only a small portion of the revenue of higher education institutions. These institutions have increased their efforts to create additional revenues in the latest years. At the beginning of the 1990s, 80 % of their expenditures was financed through the consolidated budget and less than 20 % was obtained from "revolving funds" and similar sources. In the past few years, the share from the consolidated budget has come down to 65 % and the share of own sources has approached 30 % (24).

In spite of the extensive efforts to create new revenue, higher education institutions are facing serious financial obstacles. One of the crucial effects of this limitation is that an academic career is losing its popularity and appeal among new graduates.

To improve the conditions and quality at all levels of education and to extend the right to education to an ever increasing part of the population, Turkey needs to increase the public funds allocated to education seriously. The 8-year reform was a positive step in this direction and the investment expenditure of the Ministry of Education rose more than 250 % in real terms in 1998. This effort needs to be continued and strengthened.

NOTES

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- 6. Ibid, p. 415, 425-427.
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- 22. Ibid, p. 72-76.
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B. The Right to Health

The right to health or the right to a healthy life is stated explicitly in most national constitutions as well as in almost all international covenants and declarations.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, signed on December 10, 1948, states in Article 25, that everyone has the right to food, clothing, housing and medical care for the health and well being of him/herself and his/her family. The same article also states that everyone possesses the right to security from unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood and old age. The right of mothers and children to special care and support is also included in the same article.

Several other articles of the Declaration are designated to rights which are also in relation with health and affect people's health status, e.g. Article 5 on torture, Article 22 on the right to social security, Article 23 on the right to work, to just and favorable conditions of work and the right of protection against unemployment, Article 24 on the right to leisure and paid holidays, and, Article 26 on the right to education.

The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, which was promulgated in 1966 and went into effect in 1976 is very similar to the Universal Declaration, in its approach concerning the right to health, and is slightly more detailed.

Article 12 of the International Covenant concentrates on the right to the enjoyment of the highest physical and mental health standards by every individual. As the necessary measures to reach this goal, Article 12 mentions the improvement of environmental and industrial hygiene, the provision of health services to all, the prevention and control of occupational diseases and epidemics, adoption of steps to lower child mortality.

Other articles in direct or indirect relation to the right to health are articles 6, 7, 9, 10 and 11. Article 6 concerns the right to work and earn one's living. Article 7 explicates safe and healthy working conditions, paid holidays and leisure, fair wages and equal pay for equal work. Article 9 is about the right to social security. Article 10 expresses the aim to protect and support the family, the mother and the children. The same article mentions the need to protect children from exploitation and to provide protection and paid vacation to mothers before and after birth. Article 11 states the right to an adequate standard of living, including food, clothing and housing and, the right to continuously improve one's living standards.

Another important international text on economic and social rights is the European Social Charter signed in 1961. The coverage of the Charter is in many respects quite similar to the International Covenant, however, the Charter entails additional articles on the rights of the physically and mentally disabled and of migrant workers and their families. Article 11 of the Charter calls for the right to protection of health and is supported and completed by Article 12 on the right to social security. Article 13 concerns the right to social and medical assistance while Article 14 focuses on social welfare services. Other articles in direct or indirect relation to health are Article 15 concerning the vocational education, employment and social integration of the physically or mentally disabled, Article 16 on the social, legal and economic protection of the family, Article 17 on the protection of the mothers and children. Articles 1-4 on the right to work, on fair pay, paid vacations, fair, safe and healthy work conditions, Article 7 on the protection of children and young persons in employment and Article 8 on the protection of working women.

In 1996, the European Social Charter was revised and extended. The number of articles on rights was increased from 19 to 31. Three of the new articles are relatively more important in respect to health. Article 23 is about the right of the elderly to social protection. Article 30 is about the right to protection against poverty and Article 31 about the right to housing.

A careful reading of the above mentioned international texts makes it very clear that the right to health is in no sense confined to ensuring the provision of health services only. The international covenants and declarations consider the right to health as a holistic matter, taking into account the factors and the conditions that effect one's health. In other words, the protection of the right to health involves securing of healthful living, working and environmental conditions on one side, and the provision of health and social services on the other. This comprehensive interpretation of the concept of the right to health is the main and only reason why the above mentioned texts consider the conditions and rights of mothers, children, the young, the elderly and the disabled separately. This comprehensive interpretation is, indeed, the only logical and consistent approach to health problems, because concentrating on the health services alone, without taking into consideration the factors effecting health would be incomplete. The right to health obtains its correct and satisfactory meaning only through such a comprehensive interpretation.

Contemporary constitutions generally comprise articles expressing the right to health directly and explicitly. For example, the 1946 preamble of the French constitution states that the nation ensures the protection of health, especially for children. mothers and old workers, (1). The Belgian constitution (Article 23) bases the right to health upon social, medical and legal assistance, the right to a suitable dwelling and the right to a healthy environment(2). The Italian constitution (Articles 31 and 32) defines health as the basic right of the individual and states that the republic protects the mother, the child and the young, while providing the needy with free treatment(3). The Dutch constitution (Articles 21 and 22) mentions the promotion of national health. the protection and improvement of the environment and the promotion of sufficient dwellings(4). Article 2 of the Swedish constitution declares the rights to work, to dwelling, to education, to care, to social security and to a good living environment(5).

The Spanish and the Portuguese constitutions, coming in more recent times and following authoritarian regimes, express the economic and social rights in considerably more detail than other constitutions. The Spanish constitution of 1978 grants as a right, security and hygiene at the workplace, limitation of the working hours, periodic paid holidays, protection of health, health education, physical education and proper use of leisure time(6).

The Portuguese constitution of 1976 goes into more detail and explains how the right to the protection of health shall be realized. A general and comprehensive health system is the structural goal and some of the targets are the protection of children, the young and the elderly, systematic improvement of living and working conditions, development of health education, provision of health services to all citizens irrespective of their economic status, control of private institutions in the health system and of the production of the biological, chemical and pharmaceutical materials used in diagnosis and treatment(7).

Despite the varying degrees of detail, contemporary national constitutions acknowledge and expressly define the individual's right to health as a constitutional right. In this respect the Turkish constitution of 1982 is no exception. The 1982 constitution was prepared under the military regime and was approved under extraordinary referendum conditions which were not necessarily favorable from the social rights perspective. Nevertheless, many of the contemporary economic and social rights could not be neglected completely, and found their way into the constitution.

Article 56 of the 1982 constitution bears the title "Health Services and the Protection of the Environment". The article states the right for all to live in a "healthy and balanced environment", however the right to health or to health services is not mentioned explicitly. The state is assigned the task to control and coordinate the health and social institutions in the public and private sectors to ensure that all pursue their lives in physical and mental health. Article 56 also states that the government can introduce general health insurance in order to extend the health services.

Article 60 stresses explicitly the right for all to social security. Article 58 is entitled "Protection of the Youth" and its first paragraph reflecting ideology of the 1982 constitution, aims at protecting the youth from certain ideas. The second paragraph assigns the government to take the necessary measures to protect the young generation from drugs, crime, gambling, alcohol addiction and ignorance. Article 59 is on supporting sports.

Article 49 covers the right to work and Article 50 is about the working conditions and the right to leisure. This article also covers the right to paid holiday and the protection of children, women and the disabled concerning working conditions.

Article 41 on the "Protection of the Family" mentions explicitly the protection of the mother and the children and family planning.

A peculiar characteristic of the 1982 constitution is expressed in article 65 according to which the responsibility of the state concerning economic and social rights is conditional on the constraints imposed by financial resources and the need to preserve economic stability. Thus it would not be exaggerating to say that "the right to health" does not have a well-defined place in the 1982 constitution.

The previous constitution of Turkey (1961) had a more coherent and explicit wording in this regard. Article 49 on "The Right to Health" established it as a duty for the state to ensure that all live in good physical and mental health and receive medical care.

The right to health or the right to a healthy life can be analyzed from two angles: The first concerns the health status or the level of health. The second is related to factors or variables affecting the health status of individuals and communities. The health status is reflected in indicators such as the infant mortality rate, child (under 5) mortality rate, maternal mortality ratio, life expectancy at birth etc.

Factors affecting the health status run the gamut from climatic conditions to the accessibility of clean water and sanitation; from literacy and education to the accessibility and quality of health services. The quality level of health services finds reflection in numerical indicators such as population per hospital bed (or number of beds per 10 000 persons), population per physician (or number of physicians per 1 000 persons), ratio of births attended by health personnel, bed utilization ratio, average stay in hospital etc. Data in relation to health expenditures belong to this second group as well.

All these indicators can be used for different purposes, i.e. for comparisons between countries, between regions and between social classes or income groups. Large disparities in any of these comparisons will mean inequality and that the right to health is not realized to a sufficient degree.

For obvious reasons indicators of health status are more important and more meaningful than the indicators of health services and health expenditures, as the former reflect the totality of the health condition in the given setting.

The right to a healthy life gains a serious meaning and becomes real only when a country attains the following two goals simultaneously: (a) If the country in question has health related indicators on par with or above those of other countries of the same or similar development levels; and, (b) if the health indicator disparities between regions, social groups and income groups is tolerable and insignificant.

Turkey's performance with respect to these two criteria is not very encouraging as national health indicators are well below in international comparisons. Judging by almost any measure, Turkey fares weakly compared with countries which are more or less at the same level of development. Concerning interregional and inter-societal disparities the picture is not any brighter and reflects a serious inequality. The above are true for both the indicators of health levels and the indicators of health services.

According to the State Planning Organization in 1998 life expectancy at birth is close to 69 years and infant mortality rate is 38 0/00(8). Compared to the same figures for both developed countries and for Turkey's neighbors, both indicators reflect serious deficiencies concerning the right to health.

i. Life Expectancy at Birth

Life expectancy at birth in Turkey has been rising continuously, but quite slowly. In 1960, it was only 50 years. This low figure was the result of many factors, the extremely high infant mortality rate of 161 0/00 being one of them. The 1990s present a considerably different picture, however international comparisons show that there is need for faster improvement. According to UNICEF data for 1994, life expectancy at birth was 68 years in Turkey, compared with 67 years in Iraq, 68 in Syria, 69 in Iran, 71 in Bulgaria and 78 in Greece(9). Table 2 compares Turkey with a group of countries which are at a similar level of development, i.e. countries whose per capita GNP by purchasing power parity is within a range of + or - approximately 10 % in relation to that of Turkey.

Life expectancy in Turkey also varies greatly between social classes and regions. Chapter 2 of this report presents human development indicator data disaggregated by provinces which also sheds light upon regional differences. Maximum values for life expectancy are in the western parts of the country, mainly in the Marmara and Aegean regions. Minimum values are, as is to be expected in the East and Southeast Anatolia regions. The discrepancies between the maximum and minimum values are intolerably high. For the male population the difference between the maximum and minimum values is approximately 17 years, for the female population it exceeds 18 years.

Life expectancy at birth for the female population is 78 years in Bursa and Sakarya, 77 years in Kocaeli, 75 years in İstanbul İzmir, Aydın and Balıkesir. These provinces are all in the western regions. These provinces are all in the Western regions. On the other hand, the same figure is only 60 years in Şırnak and approximately 62 years in Bingöl, Bitlis, Tunceli, Erzincan and Ağrı. All of these provinces are in the eastern regions. For the male population, life expectancy at birth approaches 73 years in Bursa and Sakarya and is around 71 years in Kocaeli, Balıkesir and Aydın. The values for Istanbul and İzmir are 70 years. The lowest values are again in Şırnak with 56 years and in Bingöl, Bitlis, Tunceli, Iğdır, Kars and Ardahan with 58 years.

These figures illustrate clearly that the right to a healthy life is not realized to the same extent in all regions and provinces. A policy that puts human development at its center should concentrate on increasing the life expectancy in the less privileged and less developed regions of the East and Southeast Anatolia.

ii. Infant Mortality Rate

Infant mortality rate (IMR) is one of the most important and most commonly used health indicators. Although the IMR in Turkey has been declining continuously, this improvement has not been fast enough and the IMR is still too high and reflects the unsatisfactory level of the health status. At the beginning of the 1980's the IMR was above 100 0/00 and today it is slightly less than 40 0/00 (See Table 3) and the estimate for the year 2000 is 35 0/00 which is still too high. Turkey's IMR is higher than those of most neighboring countries and most countries of a similar level of development (See Table 2). For example 1995 values of the IMR as 0/00 were 32 in Syria, 18 in Georgia, 16 in Armenia, 15 in Bulgaria and 8 in Greece (10).

The mortality rate for children under 5 years, which is correlated to the IMR is too high as well. In 1995 it was 50 0/00 and this was higher than that of all of Turkey's neighbors except Iraq (11).

Table 5 Life Expectancy at Birth (Years)					
	1995	1996	1997	1998	
Male	65.7	65.9	66.2	66.4	
Female	70.3	70.5	70.8	71.0	
Total	67.9	68.2	68.4	68.7	

Source: State Planning Organization, 1998 Program, Ankara, 1997, p.33.

Table 6 Life Expectancy at Birth and Infant Mortality Rate in Selected Countries

	GNP Per capita, \$ (PPP, 1995)	Life Expectancy at Birth (Years, 1995)	Infant Mortality Rate (0/00) (1995)
Tunisia	5000	69	39
South Africa	5030	64	50
Algeria	5300	70	34
Syria	5320	68	32
Poland	5400	70	14
Brazil	5400	67	44
Turkey	5580	67	48
Botswana	5580	68	56
Costa Rica	5850	77	13
Panama	5980	73	23

Source: The World Bank, World Development Report 1997, Oxford, 1997.

Table 7 Infant Mortality Rate (0/00)				
1950-55	233			
1960-65	176			
1970-75	138			
1980-85	102			
1985-90	81			
1995	44.4			
1996	42.2			
1997	40.0			
1998	38.3			

Source: For 1950-1990, Ministry of Health, Health Statistic 1996, Ankara, 1997, p.17, taken from United Nations, World Population Prospect, The 1994 Revision, and for 1995-96, State Planning Organization, 1998 Program, p.33.

Table 8 Distribution of Hospita	al Beds (1996)			
	1996	%	1997	%
Ministry of Health	78 347	50.3	79 902	50.2
Social Security Organization	25 359	16.3	25 609	16.1
Universities	22 056	14.2	23 058	14.5
Ministry of National Defense	15 900	10.2	15 900	10.0
Other Ministries	680	0.4	680	0.4
State Economic Enterprises	2 217	1.4	2 217	1.4
Municipalities	1 218	0.8	1 218	0.8
Private	7 236	4.6	7 901	5.0
Associations	1 263	0.8	1 263	0.8
Foreign	609	0.4	609	0.4
Minorities	934	0.6	934	0.6
Total	155 819	100.0	159 291	100.0

Source: Ministry of Health, Health Statistics 1996, Ankara, 1997 and SPO, 1998 Program, Ankara 1997.

More Tha	ın 30	Less Tha	n 10
İsparta	50.3	Adıyaman	9.6
Elazığ	42.7	Aksaray	9.2
Kastamonu	40.4	Muş	8.7
Ankara	40.1	Bitlis	8.6
Eskişehir	37.8	Karaman	8.6
İstanbul	34.9	Osmaniye	8.0
Trabzon	31.4	Şanlıurfa	7.6
		Mardin	7.5
		Iğdır	7.2
		Şırnak	6.8
		Hakkari	6.3
		Yalova	6.0
		Ağrı	5.6
		Bayburt	5.0
		Batman	4.3

Source: Sağlık Bakanlğı, Yataklı Tedavi Kurumları İstatistik Yıllığı 1996, Ankara, 1997.

The high level of the IMR is not only a problem in itself, but it also impacts another important indicator, the life expectancy at birth, in a negative way. In other words, there is a correlation between these two measures and when used for regional comparisons both measures reflect more or less the same discrepancies. Recent and dependable data on the IMR by provinces is not available. However, the ratio of the "people not expected to survive to age 40" given in Chapter 2 can be used as a proxy. These values are presented by provinces for the period 1990-95. The lowest values are to be seen in Bursa and Sakarya (both 4 %) and Kocaeli (5 %). İstanbul and İzmir have values slightly over 6 %. On the other hand Şırnak has the maximum value of 23 %. Bingöl, Bitlis, Iğdır, Ardahan, Tunceli and Erzincan have values around 20 %. The difference between the lowest and highest values is approximately 1 to 5, and this is, no doubt, a problematic discrepancy.

Both, the infant mortality rate and the life expectancy at birth prove that the right to health is not fulfilled for an important segment of the society. Detailed data prove that this segment is to a large degree in the east of the country, but less extensive, independent studies point at disadvantaged districts, mostly in the periurban areas of the big cities.

Access To Health Services

A narrow interpretation of the right to health would mean availability of health services for the whole population and equal access to the services irrespective of race, religion, gender and income. The realization of this goal requires a sufficient capacity and an efficient utilization of this capacity. These in turn require designing and establishing a rational and consistent system and allocating the resources needed. Turkey has a fragmented health system; the major institutions are the Ministry of Health, the Social Security Organization and the medical faculties of the universities. The armed forces play an important role as well. Total capacity of the system is far from sufficient, as will be explained below; in addition, this capacity is very unevenly distributed over the country and utilized inefficiently.

i. Bed Capacity and Its Utilization

By international standards Turkey's hospital bed capacity is insufficient. WHO's target for developing countries is 30 beds per 10 000 population. For Turkey, this figure is around 25 for the 1990s. This can also be expressed as approximately 400 people per hospital bed.

Bed capacity in relation to population varies greatly even within a group of similar countries. For example, among the developed countries Japan, Germany. France and the countries of the former Soviet bloc have a considerably larger bed capacity than Sweden, Denmark, England and the US. The size of the bed capacity is an outcome of the health policy being implemented. Although bed capacity is an important input of the health

Tal	hle	10	Health	Personnel	(1997)
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	Number	Population Personnel
Physician	73350	876
Dentist	15365	4182
Pharmacist	19265	3335
Nurses	75011	856
Midwives	48900	1314
Health Technician	46475	1382

Provisional figures.

Source: State Planning Organization, 1998 Program, 1997, Ankara.

system, it is only one of the inputs and there is not a linear relationship between bed capacity and the health status of the population.

In Turkey's case the bed capacity is unquestionably low and the fact that the bed utilization ratio is quite low, too, aggravates the problem.

Turkey's bed capacity rose from 136 638 in 1990 to 155 819 in 1996. As regards the number of beds per 10 000 population this meant an increase from 24 to 24.8. About 10 % of the capacity is under the Ministry of National Defense and this brings down the capacity in the civilian institutions to 140 000 and 56 % of this capacity is under the Ministry of Health(12).

Geographic distribution of the bed capacity is highly uneven. Istanbul only has more than 22 % of the capacity and the share of the three largest cities (İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir) is 39 % which is considerably above their population share (25 %).

Of the 7 geographic regions South East Anatolia inhabits 9.8 % of the population, but possesses 5.6 % of the bed capacity. If the relatively more developed two provinces of the region (Diyarbakır and Gaziantep) are left out, the discrepancy gets even larger. The other disadvantaged region, East Anatolia has a share of 8.6 % in the population and a share of 6.4 % in the bed capacity and almost half of this capacity is in two centers (Elazığ and Erzurum) (13).

Evaluating the data by provinces presents a stronger discrepancy. About 10 % of the population lives in provinces where the number of beds per 10 000 population is less than 10. On the other hand, 24 % of the population live in provinces where the same ratio is above 30(14). Table 5 lists the provinces in both groups.

Since provinces are administrative units, data by provinces may not have the same meaning in all cases. Some provinces may be located very close to a national or regional center and can take advantage of this. In such a province a low bed capacity will not cause a serious problem. But in East Anatolia this is not the case and in many places the bed capacity is extremely low.

It should be added that the bed capacity of the medical faculties which are more specialized and more advanced is still more concentrated, e.g. approximately 60 % of the bed capacity of the universities is in the 3 largest cities.

Bed capacity of a country or of an institution is an important capital input, however as important is the existence of qualified personnel and necessary equipment. Thus, a less than optimal combination of all factors of production and/or ineffective management results in an inefficient utilization of the bed capacity; in other words even a low bed capacity may prove to be excess capacity. Turkey presents a typical example in this respect. Bed utilization ratio has been around 55 % in the last 5 years (1992-96).

Paradoxically, most of the provinces which have a low bed figure per population are also provinces which have a low bed utilization ratio. For the 1992-96 period average bed utilization ratio was 70.1 % in Ankara, 66.4 % in İzmir and 65.7 % in Istanbul. On the other hand the same ratio was 28.9 % in Siirt, 28.3 % in Hakkari, 23.1 in Bitlis, even 14.7 % in Şırnak(15).

Low bed capacity and low utilization ratios plus the enormous regional gaps certainly limit the performance of the health system and also prevent a considerable section of the society from making use of their right to health.

ii. Medical Personnel

A well educated and highly motivated personnel is the key element in improved health services. A common mistake is to concentrate upon physicians only, when analyzing medical personnel. Although physicians are generally the most important actor in health services, it would be a

misjudgment not to appreciate the important role of other health personnel, both in cooperation with physicians and also independently.

The number of medical personnel active in Turkey in 1997 are given in Table 6. The number of physicians which was less than 51 000 in 1990 has been increasing quite rapidly in recent years. However, the number of physicians per 10 000 persons is still less than 12, or put in other terms, population per physician (876) is still too high compared with the OECD countries and also Eastern European countries. This certainly does not mean that the physician number is the sole bottleneck concerning health services in Turkey, neither does it mean that the number of physicians should be increased at any price, neglecting the quality. As a matter of fact the number of nurses reflects a more serious shortage. Population per nurse was above 850 in 1997 and the nurse/physician ratio is only about 1.

According to the Five Year Development Plan of the Government in the year 2000 the number of physicians will reach 83 500, thus lowering the population per physician to 806 and the number of nurses will reach 104 000 and the population per nurse will be less 650, consequently the nurse/physician ratio will reach around 1.25(16).

According to the 1995 data, half of the physicians are employed by the Ministry of Health, this ratio is around 2/3 for practitioners and about 1/3 for specialists. About 1/4 of the specialists are in the private sector, however this proportion is less than 7 % for practitioners. The proportion of those working in the private sector is about 2/3 for dentists, but less than 5 % for nurses and midwives(17).

The geographic distribution of health personnel is highly uneven. The gap becomes enormous in the case of specialists and dentists, but is quite small in the case of nurses and health technicians. The geographic distribution of the midwives is in favor of the less developed regions.

Data for 1995 shows that 47 % of physicians were concentrated in the 3 largest cities, which inhabit 25 % of the population. This ratio is 43 % for practitioners and 53 % for specialists. In the case of dentists and pharmacists these ratios are 51 % and 41 %, respectively(18).

As is to be expected, the less developed regions have a very disproportionate share concerning health personnel. East Anatolia Region inhabits 8.6 % of the population, but has 5.2 % of physicians and only 3.5 % of specialists. Southeast Anatolia's share in the population is almost 10 %, but 4 % in physicians and 2.8 % in specialists.

Shortage of health personnel, especially physicians, in addition to the shortage of hospital beds and equipment limits very seriously the chance to make use of the right to health.

Health Expenditures

The capacity of the health sector is in the final analysis determined by the amount of resources allocated for this sector. At a given level of development, this is a political decision. The ratio of total (public and private) health expenditures to GNP is less than 4 % in Turkey and this is considerably lower than many other countries. The OECD average for 1997 is close to 8 % and among the OECD countries the US leads with 14 %. Without doubt, a higher ratio does not necessarily mean a better health system or a higher standard of health. However the ratio in Turkey is too low and needs to be improved.

According to the findings of a detailed study carried out for the Ministry of Health, in 1992 and 1993 2/3 of total health expenditures were public and 1/3 private. In 1995 and 1996, the public share exceeded 70 % (19). In other words, in ratio to the GNP private health expenditure was 1 % and public health expenditure was 2.5 %.

Per capita health expenditure, at the current exchange rate, is slightly over \$ 100. At the purchasing power parity this is above \$ 200.

Per capita health expenditure varies greatly among public institutions. This amount is much higher in the Ministry of Defense and Pension Fund which covers the civil servants and lower in Social Security Agency and Bağ-Kur, social security institutions for workers and for people working independently.

Lack of sufficient funds causes many constraints. One of the striking examples of financial shortage is related to the health stations and health centers, both of which constitute the backbone of the health system in rural areas. Health stations are units where a midwife serves a population of 2 500-3 000 and health centers are units in which a team of health personnel (a physician, a nurse, a midwife and a health technician) serves a population of 5 000-10 000. In 1996 the number of health stations was close to 12 000 and less than half (44 %) were operating in a permanent building of their own. In the same year, the number of health centers was close to 5 200 and 62 % were giving service in their own permanent building and only 41 % had a vehicle assigned to them(20). These factors limit the level and the quality of the health services considerably.

In the last years, private health institutions using advanced technology and supplying service to upper income groups are increasing, especially in the large cities. However, their capacity is very limited compared to the needs of the population and the real solution lies in increasing the amount of the public resources allocated to health, in strengthening the primary health services and preventive services and in developing a rational and effective referral system.

NOTES

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- 2. İbid, p.3
- 3. İbid, p.247-248.
- 4. İbid, p.290.
- 5. İbid, p.489.
- 6. İbid, p,530-531.
- 7. İbid, p.421-422.
- 8. SPO, 1998 Program, Ankara, 1997, p.33
- Ministry of Health, Health Statistics 1996, p.18-19 from UNICEF, The State of the World's Children 1997.
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- 11. Ministry of Health, Health Statistics 1996, Ankara, 1997.
- 12. Sağlık Bakanlığı, Yataklı Tedavi Kurumları İs tatistik Yıllığı 1996, Ankara, 1997, p.77.
- 13. Calculated from data in Nr.12
- 14. Calculated from data in Nr. 12.
- 15. Calculated from data in Nr.12.
- 16. Ministry of Health, Health Statistics 1996, p.2.
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- 18. İbid, p.31-33.
- 19. Sağlık Bakanlığı, Toplam Sağlık Harcamaları ve Finansmanı, 1992-1996, Ankara, 1997.
- 20. Ministry of Health, Health Statistics 1996, Ankara, 1997, p.66 and p.119.

C. The Right to Housing and Shelter

1. The right to Housing in the HABITAT II Declaration and in the Turkish Constitution

The Right to Housing was one of the most widely discussed issues at the Habitat II Conference as well as during its preparatory meetings. Paragraph 11 of the Preamble of the Habitat Agenda has been the basis of the other sections of the Habitat Agenda. It states: "Everyone has the right to an adequate standard of living for themselves and their families, including adequate food, clothing, housing, water and sanitation, and to the continuos improvement of living conditions."

This statement is not new, as it is a combination of Article 25/1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the Article 11/1 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. The Habitat II Agenda makes further reference to the international instruments in its Goals and Principles section as follows: "We reaffirm and are guided by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and we reaffirm our commitments to ensuring the realization of the human rights set out in international instruments and in particular, in this context, the right to adequate housing as set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and the Convention on the Rights of the Child, taking into account that the right of adequate housing shall be realized progressively. We reaffirm that all human rights - civil, cultural, economic, political and social - are universal, indivisible, interdependent and interrelated...."

The paragraph above implies that the definition of right to housing in the Habitat Agenda was

kept within the frameworks of the existing international instruments, without adding any new meaning to this concept.

The commitments of the Governments for the realization of the right to adequate housing within the context of the Principle of Adequate Shelter for all are defined in the Habitat Agenda as follows: "We reaffirm our commitment to the full and progressive realization of the right to adequate housing, as provided for in international instruments. In this context, we recognize an obligation by Governments to enable people to obtain shelter and to protect and improve dwellings and neighborhoods. We commit ourselves to the goal of improving living and working conditions on an equitable and sustainable basis, so that everyone will have adequate shelter that is safe, secure, accessible and affordable and that includes basic services, facilities and amenities, and will enjoy freedom from discrimination in housing and legal security of tenure. We shall implement and promote this objective in a manner fully consistent with human rights standards."

The strategy for the Global Plan of Action which is designed to ensure the achievement of the two principle goals of the Conference - "adequate shelter for all" and "sustainable human settlements development in an urbanizing world"- is based on enablement, transparency and participation. As per this strategy, government efforts are directed towards establishing legislative, institutional and financial frameworks that will enable the private sector, non-governmental organizations and community groups to fully contribute to the achievement of the goals of the Conference, and enable all individuals to work with each other and with Governments at all levels, to determine their future collectively, decide on priorities for action, identify and allocate resources fairly and build partnerships to achieve common goals.

In the section on the Global Plan of Action of the Habitat Agenda, following the definition of adequate shelter, and the statement of recognition that adequacy may vary from country to country, the ways in which Governments ensure adequate housing for every member of the society is described as: "Since the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, the right to adequate housing has been recognized as an important component of the right to an adequate standard of living. All governments without exception have a responsibility in the shelter sector, as exemplified by their creation of ministries of housing or agencies, by their allocation of funds for the housing sector and by their policies, programs and projects. The provision of adequate housing for everyone requires action not only by Governments, but by all sectors of society, including the private sector, non-governmental organizations, communities and local authorities, as well as by partner organizations and entities of the international community. Within the overall context of an enabling approach, Governments should take appropriate action in order to promote, protect and ensure the full and progressive realization of the right to adequate housing...."

The actions that Governments should take include, but not limited to:

- a) Providing by law that there will be no discrimination in housing,
- **b)** Providing legal security of tenure and equal access to land among all, including women and those living in poverty,
- **c)** Adopting policies aimed at making housing habitable, affordable and accessible for all,
- (i) Expending the supply of affordable housing through appropriate regulatory measures and market incentives,
- (ii) Increasing affordability through provision of subsidies and rental and other forms of housing assistance to people living in poverty,
- (iii) Supporting community based, cooperative and non-profit rental and owner-occupied housing programs,
- (iv) Promoting supporting services to the homeless and other vulnerable groups,
- (v) Mobilizing innovative financial and other resources public and private for housing and community development,

- (vi) Creating and promoting market-based incentives to encourage the private sector to meet the need for affordable rental and owner occupied housing,
- (vii) Promoting sustainable spatial development patterns and transportation systems that improve accessibility of goods, services, amenities and work,
- **d)** Effective monitoring and evaluation of housing conditions, including the extent of homelessness and inadequate housing, and in consultation with the affected population, formulating and adopting appropriate housing policies and implementing effective strategies and plans to address those problems.

International cooperation and coordination are required to enable all states to fulfill the goals of the Conference. This would require an enabling international environment and integrated approaches at national and international levels. An enabling international environment would mobilize national and international financial resources from all sources for shelter provision and sustainable human settlements development, promote transfer of technology and expertise in support of the implementation of plans of action of all States, ensure and facilitate technical cooperation by utilizing existing information networks as well as by establishing new cost-effective global information networks on human settlements, and promote international cooperation of public and private institutions, including local authorities, non-governmental organizations, communitybased organizations, private and cooperative sectors operating in adequate shelter and sustainable human settlements development.

International coordination, which would be carried out by the relevant bodies in the UN System, would monitor and review progress made in the direction of fulfilling the goals of the Habitat II Conference, and facilitate the exchanging of views on the experiences of individual governments.

The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights has not yet been signed or

ratified by the Republic of Turkey. However, Turkey is among 65 countries that have some definition of the right to housing in their constitutions. Article 57 of the Turkish Constitution states that, "The State takes necessary measures, in accordance to a plan which considers characteristics of cities and environmental conditions, to meet the housing needs of the people, and supports mass housing initiatives". This article acknowledges the State's responsibility to enable every family to have adequate housing, without requiring the State to actually provide the housing. This is in line with the approach to the right to housing in the Habitat Agenda, including commitments of governments and the global plan of action for the realization of the goal of adequate shelter for all.

2. Housing Supply in Turkey

There has been a continuous increase in the supply of housing during the last forty years in Turkey. Both housing project initiations and completions have increased five folds during this period (Table 1). The biggest rise in construction permits occurred after the enactment of the Housing Development Act in 1984. In 1985, an unprecedented amount of financial resources was provided to the housing sector from the Housing Development Fund (HDF), which was created by this law. The revenue for this fund came from a special tax levied on certain goods and services. The referred fund was instrumental in bringing housing project initiations to the level of 500 000 dwelling units in 1987, which was as much as twice of the previous peak in 1979. Although financial support to the housing sector from the HDF decreased after 1989, annual construction initiations exceeded 500 000 during the 1993-1995 period. Construction permits were issued for 454 000 dwelling units in 1996 and for 458 000 dwelling units in 1997. Since 1985, the fact that construction initiations exceeded annual housing needs indicates that the construction industry in Turkey is well developed, and that

Table 11 Housing Need, Housing Construction Initiation and Housing Completions During the 1955-1997 Period in Settlements Having Municipal Administration.

Years	Increase in the Number of	Number of Dwelling Units	Total Housing Need	Total Construction Permits		Total Occupancy Permits	
	Households	Decrease	(A)	(B)	(B)/(A)	(C)	(C)/(A)
		d from the			%		%
		Stock					
1955-59	319.190	137.000	456.190	268.110	59,0	n.a.	n.a
1960-64	467.077	176.000	643.077	285.843	44,5	n.a.	n.a
1965-69	614.462	225.000	839.462	513.314	61,2	251.994	30,0
1970-74	534.973	293.000	827.973	827.193	99,9	412.998	49,8
1975-79	900.363	354.000	1.254.363	1.111.340	88,6	563.862	44,9
1980-84	1.070.744	485.000	1.555.745	866.984	55,7	610.004	39,2
1985-89	1.162.000	599.000	1.761.000	2.036.272	115,6	993.876	56,4
1990-94	1.379.039	662.934	2.041.973	2.318.857	113.6	1.243.662	60,9
1995-97	917.104	418.673	1.335.777	1.433.293	107.3	831.164	62.2

Sources: UN Conference on Human Settlements - Habitat II, Turkey: National Report and Plan of Action, June 1996, p.30; Turkish Economy, Statistics and Analysis, March-April 1998, State Institute of Statistics.

there is a sufficient number of dwelling units capable of meeting the housing needs through formal channels.

Housing completions in terms of the number of occupancy permits, on the other hand, have been about half of the housing starts in most years, and could meet as much as 62 % of the housing need. It is further known that many dwelling units are used without proper occupancy permits, either because they exceed the rights by adding more stories than which are specified in the project, or builders choose to avoid fees for the occupancy permits if the buildings are already connected to infrastructure networks. In the former case builders of such housing would be subject to monetary penalties, and excessive parts of construction must be removed before occupancy permits are issued. In the latter case however, builders do not need occupancy permits for the connection of their buildings to infrastructure networks, and separate deeds for newly built dwelling units are not required either. Therefore, more dwelling units are completed than those, which are included in occupancy permit statistics. But, even if unregistered completions were added to the number of occupancy permits which are included in Building Statistics, this total would most likely be considerably shorter than the needed number of dwelling units each year.

Even though, since 1985, annual housing starts have exceeded the annual housing need, housing starts to housing need ratio fluctuates sharply around 1.0 between cities. In the 1990-1993 period average ratios for 16 provinces were less than 1.0, which means that in a given province the number of dwelling units with construction permits is less than the needed number of dwelling units. These provinces were Adana, Adıyaman, Ağrı, Batman, Bayburt, Bingöl, Bitlis, Diyarbakır, Gaziantep, Gümüşhane, Hakkarı, İstanbul, Kars, Mardin, Siirt and Şırnak. With the exception of Adana and İstanbul, all the above provinces are in Eastern and SouthEastern Anatolian Regions. These provinces were also

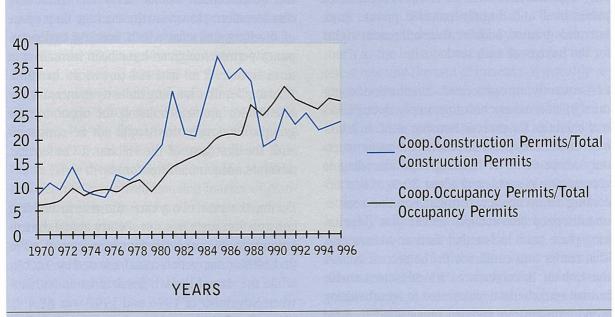
among the 23 provinces where the ratio of housing completions to housing need ratio in the 1990-1994 period was less than 60.9, which was the national average for this period. The new ones in this list are Bayburt, Bursa, Erzincan, Muş, Ordu, Tunceli, Urfa and Van. Four provinces that are not in the Eastern and South-Eastern Anatolian Regions are Adana, Bursa, İstanbul and Ordu.

There is an inequality in the supply of authorized housing between provinces as evidenced by high ratios of housing start to housing need and housing completions to housing need in some provinces and very low in others. In coastal provinces where building second homes has an important share in new housing supply, and in provinces where subsidized credits and other incentives that are provided by public institutions are utilized by cooperatives and other house builders effectively, housing supply exceeds the need.

Cooperatives, which are non-governmental organizations have been producing housing for their members since the mid-1930s. Although they have always been favored in the allocation of credits from public funds, their share in housing supply has rarely exceeded 10 per cent until the first Housing Development Law was enacted in 1981 (Figure 1). The second Housing Development Law allowed for credits with low and fixed interest rates mostly to cooperatives. Due to this legislative and financial support, the share of in housing starts went up to 37.5 % in 1986. The number of cooperatives that started housing projects also increased rapidly, from 523 in 1983 to 2 810 in 1987. This jump in numbers implies that credit support to the housing sector from public sources enabled cooperatives, as a form of non-governmental organization to have a much greater role in housing supply.

With rising inflation in the second half of the 1980s, a subsidized interest rate in HDF credits, lead to a rapid rise in credit demand and a decrease in the value of the credit repayments. From





Sources: State Institute of Statistics, Building Construction Statistics, for the years 1970-1996; T.R. Prime Ministry, State Planning Organization (1998) - Main Economic Indicators, June 1988

1988 onwards, an increasing part of the HDF incomes were transferred to the National Budget, leaving the Housing Development Administration (HDA), which was established to manage the HDF, unable to meet its financial commitments. Decreasing credit support to cooperatives and reduced subsidy in HDF credits by the middle of 1989 could be the reasons for the decline in the share of cooperatives in housing starts. Since 1990, the share of cooperatives in housing starts came down from 31-37 % in the 1986-1989 period to 18-26 %. In 1996, the number of cooperatives that started to build housing was 2052. In 1997, this figure is likely to increase as much as the growth rate of the cooperative activity in housing starts.

The share of cooperatives in housing completions has been increasing without being much affected from the cycles in construction permits. Contrary to the recent trend in housing starts, the number of completed dwelling units by cooperatives is increasing. From 1989 on, the share of occupancy permits by cooperatives increased from 18-21 % in the 1985-1988 period to 24-31 %. During the past five years the variation has been less, as it remained between 26.3 and 28.7 %.

Unauthorized construction has been the principal way of filling the gap between housing need and housing supply. The share of unauthorized housing in the urban housing stock is estimated to be 23 % in 1996 (1). The forms of unauthorized housing include "gecekondular" built on publicly owned land; housing built without construction permits on privately owned land which is illegally parceled; , and, all types of dwelling units which are built on formally registered parcels but not in accordance to construction permits. Unauthorized construction is carried out not only for meeting the housing need of people by their own initiatives, but also as an investment opportunity. This uncanny investment incentive comes from the Building Amnesty Laws, which have been enacted many times in the past, and which have led to the expectation that new ones would

definitely be enacted in the future. Furthermore, the most recent such amnesty, dated 1984, not only legalized land tenures, of both appropriated public land and illegally parceled private land, but also granted additional development rights for the holders of such land.

Consequently, unauthorized construction continues in cities where housing supply through formal channels far exceeds housing need. In Istanbul, unauthorized construction of houses meets only about 80 % of housing need according to construction permits, and about 30 % of that according to occupancy permits. For this reason, unauthorized construction activity has been taking place more in Istanbul than anywhere else. This comes into conflict with the second goal of the Habitat II Conference, which is sustainable human settlements development in an urbanizing world. Among the invaded public land to build squatter housing, forestry and protection zones of reservoirs that provide potable water to İstanbul have taken an increasing share in recent years.

3. Housing Affordability

The State Institute of Statistics does not compile data on real estate prices. In absence of official data on the price of housing, results of interview surveys are used to calculate the housing price to income ratio. In a survey in 1993, this ratio is calculated as 5.3 for Ankara, 5.0 for İstanbul, 5.2 for Bolu, and 6.3 for Manisa (2). These figures imply that housing is relatively expensive in Turkey, in the virtual absence of a long-term mortgage finance system capable of providing affordable financial terms for medium-to-low income households.

Using the results of the 1994 Income and Consumption Expenditures Survey and average supply price of housing in 1994, housing price to income ratio remains under 5 for dwelling units without central heating, with up to 80 m2 in floor space, on average urban incomes(3). For a dwelling unit without central heating, with 100

m² in floor space, price to income ratio is greater than 5 when average incomes of tenants up to the 60-percentile income level are taken into consideration. However, the average floor space of dwelling units for which building and occupancy permits are given have been increasing in time; from 105 m² in 1984 to 118 m² in 1996. This implies that housing industry is increasingly oriented to produce housing for upper income groups. Obviously this would not be consistent with the first goal of the Habitat II Conference, which is adequate shelter for all.

During the past two years, the rise in building construction costs has run slightly above the inflation rate. Between the fourth quarter of 1996 and 1997, construction costs increased by 91.3 %, while the rise of the wholesale price index, between November of 1996 and 1997 was 88.4 %. The rates of change within the same intervals of 1995 and 1997 were 254.7 % and 249.6 %, respectively (4). The rising share of land cost could be a more important factor in rapidly growing urban areas than the increase in construction cost which would adversely affect housing affordability of lower income households.

Private rental housing is more affordable for most households due to rent control which is regulated by the decision of the Appeals Court on the annual rent increase. This decision defines rent increase by a fraction of the rate of change of the Wholesale Price Index. In the second half of the 1990s, rents are allowed to increase by about 70 % of the rise in the Wholesale Price Index. As the duration of tenancy increases, the difference between the rent paid by the tenant and the market rent of the dwelling unit also increases. The landlord may then ask a court decision for an upward adjustment of the rent to the market rate, but courts are unlikely to make decisions for full adjustments.

The rent to income ratio for private rental housing is calculated, using the results of the 1994 Income and Consumption Expenditures Survey of the State Institute of Statistics. The ratio for

private rental housing ranges between 5.8 % for Adana and 16.4 % for Ankara. Total housing expenditures of tenants which include utility bills and repair and maintenance expenditures take between 15 % and 20 % shares in household incomes in the 19 cities where the survey was undertaken. However, this ratio for the lowest income group, which is defined according to quintile distribution is 30.03 % in Bursa and 24.25 % in Samsun. For the upper income groups the same ratio is as low as 7 % in Samsun and 12 % in Bursa. Since there is a big difference in rent levels between the authorized housing market of planned housing settlements and unauthorized housing market which comprises "gecekondu" and other unauthorized settlements, lower income groups shift to the latter if they can not find affordable rental housing in the former.

A housing finance system within the financial market has not been adequately developed in Turkey. High inflation, high nominal as well as real interest rates, lower returns for long term savings and high public sector borrowing requirements are the primary factors for the absence of a mortgage finance system that provides credits for house buyers at affordable terms. Although about two-thirds of the authorized housing is produced by mostly small capital house builders in Turkey (who are called yap-satçı), their customers do not have access to any long-term and affordable credits. Commercial banks provide short-term loans to house buyers (with two or three year repayment periods) at about 7 % per month interest rate. Obviously, such a credit system can only serve the highest income section of the population.

In 1981 and 1984, Housing Development Laws were enacted to provide financial support to the housing sector, as mentioned above. The Social Security Organization, which has provided credits since 1950 to cooperatives established by the people registered to its pension system, had to be relieved from this obligation due to heavy financial losses caused by the difference between low and fixed credit interest rates and high inflation rates. In 1989, the Dual Indexed Credit System was introduced by the HDA to make credit terms affordable for most medium to low income earners. The credit debt had to be increased in the Dual Indexed Credit System balance as much as the inflation rate plus the agreed real interest rate and the rate of increase of monthly repayments indexed to the wage rate increase. The HAD has implemented this system as single indexed, which means that balance of debts and repayments are increased every six months by the rate of wage increases in the public sector. For many years, real interest rate of credits were either zero or negative. This credit system, which is highly affordable, requires adding new financial sources continuously to the Fund, but which has, since 1988, left the real value of financial assets, that the HDA commands, to decrease continuously. As a result, both the amount of credit per dwelling unit and the total number of dwellings that get credits from the HDA each year have been decreasing. Approved credit applications in 1990 were 116 162, which was equal to 30,5 % of the number of building permits that were issued that year, whereas in 1994 approved credit applications were 33 376, being equal to 6,4 % of the number of building permits issued. However, 6 296 of the approved credits were from the Eastern and SouthEastern Anatolian Regions, as the HDA had introduced a by-law providing incentives to applications from these regions. This by-law could help stimulate authorized housing production in that part of the country which lags well behind national averages in terms of human development indicators.

In 1997, the total number of dwelling units which were given credits by three banks dealing with housing credits, namely Emlak Bankası, Vakıflar Bankası and Pamukbank, under various programs and funds was 53 729. This figure includes above mentioned HDA credits, 7 393 dwelling units financed under disaster mitigation programs, European Settlement Fund credits for 1 400 dwelling units, credits related to some welfare programs and short term housing credits provided by these three banks.

Central and local governments provide subsidies to enable people to acquire housing. The primary form of the central government subsidy is on the interest rates of credits which are provided from public funds. The Ministry of Redevelopment and Resettlement has undertaken many projects which are called "Squatter Housing Prevention Areas" (SHPA), in accordance to the Squatter Housing Law, numbered 775. Large tracts of land are developed, and serviced parcels are allocated to low income earners at lower than market prices. More recently, larger parcels in already developed project sites are sold to cooperatives which are established by low income earners. The Ministry also built a small number of social rental housing for low income earners. Such projects were stopped in the first half of the 1980s, and houses were sold mostly to their occupants.

Municipalities have been empowered to initiate and develop SHPA. However, municipalities prefer to develop, mostly publicly owned land, in accordance to other legislation which had been enacted for this purpose prior to the Squatter Housing Law. This is mainly because allocation and selling conditions of developed parcels in accordance to the former legislation are not subject to the restrictions of the parcels in SHPA. Consequently, land can be sold to upper income people on the basis of clientelist or political considerations, usually at much lower than market prices. Such projects do not necessarily ensure that the most deserving will be the beneficiaries. Since the financial crisis of 1994, most municipalities have refrained from undertaking land development projects.

4. Concluding Remarks

The right to housing was one of the most pressing issues of the Habitat II Conference, but it did not find any added definition in the Habitat Agenda, beyond those that had been included in various UN documents. The Global Plan of Action for the realization of the first goal of the Conference, which is adequate shelter for all, also covers the actions that States have to take for the attainment of the right to housing. The obligations of the State, which are defined in the Turkish

Constitution in connection to meeting the housing need in the society are similar to those enumerated in the Habitat Agenda, in the sense that the State is not made responsible for the provision of housing for every household, other than taking the necessary measures to enable every household to have adequate shelter.

The housing industry in Turkey is well developed, and has the capacity to produce a sufficient number of dwelling units needed each year. Throughout the 1990s, annual housing starts have exceeded the needed number of dwelling units, but there exist great differences in housing supply between regions. In coastal provinces many dwelling units are built as second homes, whereas in certain cities local authorities and cooperatives use the opportunities and incentives provided by the government, thus resulting in a larger number of houses produced in those settlements.

In recent years about a quarter of authorized housing is produced by building cooperatives. As a non-governmental organization, cooperatives enable their members to acquire owner occupied housing at lower cost, compared to market prices of similar dwelling units. In recent years, cooperatives have been well organized and have acquired political leverage. For this reason, they can utilize most of the incentives and subsidized credits, and have had priorities in purchasing land which is sold at lower than market prices after having been developed by central or local governments. Cooperative unions develop large tracts of land, usually in collaboration with municipalities. Out of 986 000 dwelling units which have been financed by the HDA during the last 14 years, 888 000 of them were produced by cooperatives.

However, in recent years the need to introduce new legal measures has arisen in order to protect interests of large numbers of cooperative members in the case of mismanagement or malpractice of management committees of their cooperatives. Many cooperatives are now managed by professional managers who do not have any other occupation. Supervision of the construction of cooperative housing also requires stricter measures than existing ones, since cooperative housing has suffered heavier damages in recent earthquake disasters compared to other buildings.

Although the housing industry is well developed, housing affordability remains a very serious challenge for the medium to low income earner. This is one reason for unauthorized construction which has been taking place even in cities where housing supply exceeds the need. Another reason is the possibility of making big gains by invading publicly owned land and building on land which is owned by the builder himself at much higher densities than that would be permitted. Since the last building amnesty law which was enacted in 1984, tenure rights of hundreds of thousands dwelling units have not been legalized, but eviction proceedings are not carried out either. New legislation for the regularization of all unauthorized dwelling units is not considered as legitimate in the society. Therefore, a new approach is needed which would be both just and socially acceptable.

Improvement of housing affordability to medium-to-low income earners should have utmost priority. Local authorities can develop enabling policies that reduce the supply cost of land and acquisition of housing. Utilizing small savings of people who plan to acquire housing in the future, as well as of other savers could create a housing finance system. Subsidy policies need to be redefined in order to target subsidies to the most deserving households.

Monitoring shelter conditions is needed, as available statistics are not sufficient for this purpose. National monitoring is also required for taking part in international monitoring of the progress of the principles of the Habitat Agenda, which is carried out under the guidance of the UN Center for Human Settlements.

NOTES

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The Right to Cultural and Artistic **Attainment**

A. The Extent of Cultural **Development in Turkey:** Access to Artistic and **Cultural Services**

ne of the major challenges of development is capturing the human dimension and not confining development goals to the economic realm alone.

The latter model wherein economic growth is an end in itself often yields a social model and a human element, which is not consistent with the tenets of sustainable human development. Nations, who have become well aware of the fact that social development can not be realized with economic growth alone, have often aimed at promoting cultural wealth and development in line with gains they have made in the economic fields.

Cultural development necessitates long term planning. Indeed, as the ultimate aim of cultural development is the advancement and the change of the individual human being, the development planning in this realm should perhaps be even of a longer duration than that in the economic development fields. Sustainable human development is ultimately targeted to the advancement of the individuals who make up the society at large. Great material wealth - an individual may attain - will not necessarily translate into his/her personal advancement if s/he can not reach a cultural and intellectual development level. No doubt, individuals of a nation besieged by poverty of culture and poverty of the mind are unable to conceive of the human dimensions of development nor of speaking out for the protection of their own rights, including their right to development. Therefore, ending the widespread deprivation of the intellect and the poverty of the mind of individuals constitutes a first step in the direction of human development.

The most comprehensive definition of culture, inter alia, is the definition which considers culture

as the way of life of, and, the total of material and spiritual values created by humans. While areas in which the human being defines his/her way of life and values run the gamut from sports and religion to the humanities and politics, this chapter will focus on the field of arts alone for the sake of convenience. In so doing, the close interrelationship between the arts and politics as well as the democratization of all fields of culture will be considered.

In preface to this discussion, it should be noted that culture - taken to mean the way of life of societies and the totality of values they produce - is specific to each nation and the culture of each nation differs from the other: while there exists no hierarchy of cultures among nations. Thus, if no hierarchy of cultures can be considered, the question arises in relation to the measurability of cultural advancement. Therefore, it shall be beneficial in this regard to shed some light on what is meant by cultural advancement or development. As indicated above, hierarchies of culture among societies, nations or ethnic groups can not be established; however, that there does exist a "high" and "low" culture in any given society must also be reckoned with.

"Low" culture is produced and consumed in all societies independently of the values of universal culture. The concept of "high" culture, on the other hand, carries the stamp of creativity and authenticity as well as recognizable aesthetic value. The concentration of artistic and cultural productivity in the realm of "high culture" is often indicative of the cultural development level of a given society.

Popular culture is the chosen culture of the people because it is the easiest to access. The main mandate of cultural development, on the other hand, should be to enable people, if they so chose, to access the high culture which is also a product of that very same society. In other words, the objective of cultural development is not to impose the consumption of high culture on the people, but rather to enhance the quality of cultural outputs of the society while enlarging the choices; and, the pool of cultural consumers.

If the quality improvement of the cultural outputs of the society is taken to be an indicator of cultural development, the other side of the coin is increase in the quantity of cultural outputs and consumption. In other words, another indicator of cultural development is the increase in the number of arts organizations and the number of art consumers. This quantifiable indicator is observed in the number of theatre houses, cinemas, artistic and scientific publications, music releases, and galleries as well as in the number of people who use such services.

In Turkey, there seems to be a decline in the demand for works of art in recent decades. According to the results of a survey (PIAR, 1998), the Turkish youth choose to meet their cultural needs mostly from television broadcasts. The survey shows that 49.3 % of young persons between the ages of 18 to 30 are regular television viewers, whereas only 11 % of that age group read art magazines. According to the results of the same survey, leisure activities of young persons among that age group are as follows: 93 % watch television, 55.9 % read books, 45 % engage in sports, 47.7 % go to the cinema, 27.5 % go to the theatre and 27.6 % go to the concerts. Sustainable Human Development as a development model which aims to offer opportunities for the development of the minds of individuals and the social advancement of each human element can not be achieved in an environment where 44% of the population does not read books and where over 70% of the population has not been to a concert or to a theatre.

In our day and age, the products of high culture can not and are not confined to certain social and/or economic segments of the society. The advancements in communication and technology have put an end to elitism of cultural outputs. But at the same time, the case of Turkey also illustra-

tes that the most economically privileged segments of the society and the so called middle classes, suffer from cultural deprivation and the proverbial poverty of the mind

Technological advancements which should in theory enhance multi culturism and accessibility of the products of high culture have instead promoted mono culturism and the hegemony of the low cultures. This state of affairs has left developing countries with limited options: They either must surrender to widespread cultural deprivation or lack of choices in this regard, or they will have to find means of providing equal opportunities to all their citizens to access the products of high culture in their own societies. This latter way out is possible only if it is conducted in a pluralist manner without coercing people to appreciate only certain cultural outputs. Cultural pluralism and democracy of cultural production and consumption must be observed. In other words, opportunities for accessing different and all kinds of cultural and artistic products must be provided, while ensuring that the individuals are enabled and equipped to choose and evaluate these cultural and artistic products.

1. Education and Cultural **Development:**

The most telling indicator of cultural development in a country is the educational levels and advances registered in providing opportunities for access to cultural services. Although in 1997, Turkey adopted 8-year compulsory basic education, its educational indicators continue to lag behind all industrialized countries and other developing ones. Individuals who have limited access to education can not develop culturally. It should be noted that numerical data in reaching a conclusion to that effect would not suffice. Qualitative datasare as important in gauging educational attainment successes. Even if compulsory education in Turkey was brought up to 12 years, that alone would not enhance the quality of education, unless the content of the currently implemented education system was also changed. At any rate, extension of compulsory education to 8 years should be regarded as positive step but still, a lot remains to be done.

Education programs in Turkey should be redrawn in conformity with the callings of the 21st century. The main problematic with the present educational curricula in Turkey has repeatedly been identified by experts as its focus on rote learning. Courses provided as per the official curricula are far from motivating students for accumulating knowledge, calling for speedy reform of the content of the curriculum itself whereby young persons are inspired to appreciate and consume products of art and culture. Furthermore, "limited specialism" characterizes most of the tertiary education services. Young persons are not to be expected - in their limited specialized learning - to broaden their general cultural attainment nor to personally advance in terms of their social responsibilities

Education of democracy and pluralism is excluded from the education policy at large. Since the foundation of the Republic, there has been no marked change in the culture and art policies of governments. As was expressed in the first government program of 1920, "Our chief aim in educational affairs is to provide our children with an education of religious and nationalist sentiments, and to promulgate textbooks in conformity with national interests, the particular requirements of our country and to have books written by scholars of history, literature and sociology, who will take every precaution to observe our nation's lofty ideals".

Such an education policy, as espoused by the state practically unchanged since the 1920s, greatly hinders opportunities for the youth to have access to universal cultural values and to become consumers of quality works of art. In order to achieve this, art courses must be more comprehensively and extensively integrated into the official curricula. Presently, the relevant national autho-

rities are revising the national education curricula so as to make necessary changes in accordance with the requirements of 8-year compulsory education. Therefore, it is a very opportune time now to introduce more effective arts and humanities education courses into the curricula which will not only broaden the minds of the young, but will also directly support cultural development. Furthermore, such educational focus on arts and the humanities will enable the youth, via the medium of theatre, music and the fine arts, to attain increased self-confidence and opportunities to "express themselves freely". This will in turn support the democratization process in Turkey, enhance good governance and promote sustainable human development. No society can become democratic if the members of that society do not have the means or the abilities to express themselves.

2. The Role of the State and Opportunities for Cultural and Artistic Attainment

Opportunities for cultural and artistic attainment in Turkey are very limited. These limited opportunities can be divided into the following two groups for the sake of discussion.

- i. Opportunities for artistic production
- ii. Opportunities for public consumption of art.

The Turkish government takes very limited responsibility for providing these above referred opportunities, which in turn prevents artists and consumers of art from making due progress. As a result, the government's contribution to cultural development remains at low levels. If product development is desired, the best move will be to create "demand" for the product. Creation of demand, of course, lies in the activities geared towards developing educational and intellectual capacities of people.

Opportunities available to young persons who desire to participate in artistic production are only

confined to tertiary education institutions that provide art education. The number of art schools has considerably increased in the last few years, through private universities. However, since the number of scholarships granted by these universities is limited, art education increasingly becomes the privilege of the well to do. Education opportunities or scholarships granted by the state to the poor have been on a downward trend, contrary to expectations as set out in the early years of the Republic. The practice of "awarding scholarships to highly gifted young people for arts education abroad", which was initiated in the early periods of the Republic and which yielded very successful results, has now been abandoned. These state provided scholarships - which allowed for Turkey to raise universally acclaimed artists - should be increased and expanded to include not only students of music but also of other artistic fields such as the fine arts, theatre, cinema, design and architecture. The advancement mission, as pronounced by the founders of the Turkish Republic, does not mean only catching up with scientific and technological advances. Rather, future generations must be empowered with the intellectual capacity to follow universal developments in culture and the arts; and, thereby form new ideas of their own.

Measures for supporting artists are far from adequate in Turkey. As is the case with some industrialized countries, artists should be subsidized at least with low interest credits or with relatively low rent housing. The tax exemptions for artists and their sponsors under the presently formulated 1998 Tax Act can be considered to be a positive step in this regard.

The percentage of public expenditures earmarked for culture in Turkey shows a downward trend on an annual basis. In European countries, the public funding for culture reaches 1 % of the overall national budget. The same figure for Turkey is around 0.3 %. Furthermore, of the already limited public expenditures for culture, most goes to support state personnel. In order to eliminate the

predicaments of the centralized governments' limitations on cultural productivity, the responsibilities and authorities of the municipal governments in this regard should be enhanced, while the constructive and supportive role of the state is revived.

The pending Bill of Local Administrations Act, presently being considered by the Turkish Parliament, seems to support the empowerment of local governments in the issues of culture and also seems to support the prescriptions of this essay. However, concerns have been raised that the Bill in question gives undue authority to the organs of central government - such as the provincial administrations, governorates etc. - at the local levels, therefore, not truly contributing to better governance at local levels. Furthermore, if cultural organizations are not given autonomy, it shall make very little difference in terms of cultural advancement even if the municipal governments are further empowered by the pending bill. Maintaining cultural organizations under either the provincial administration's or the municipal government's authority will detract from their effectiveness and their capacity for contribution to cultural attainment. The latter case - whereby cultural organizations are placed under the authority of popularly elected municipal governments – also runs the risk of promoting provincial tastes and sensibilities as opposed to the intended freedom of artistic expression and creativity. In many regards, such a development would be to take the situation from bad to worse. A case in point, are the cinemas presently owned by municipalities in Turkey. In most provinces, these cinema houses have been rented out for commercial purposes. In the industrialized countries of Europe, on the other hand, buildings or estates in possession of municipal governments are allocated for activities of artistic value, contributing to artistic and cultural advancement of the community. For instance, municipal governments in Sweden, have built up the biggest chains of cinema houses in this country.

Opportunities offered in the sphere of artistic consumption are also very limited. Most of the opportunities offered in this regard are under the monopoly of the state and their efficiency is debatable. Instead of allocating state facilities to non-governmental organizations and in turn demanding high quality artistic activities to be performed, the state either commissions its own institutions to perform at these facilities, or demands high rental rates for non-state external use. For instance, galleries and halls of state owned Atatürk Cultural Centers in Istanbul and Ankara are not efficiently used owing to the reasons stated above. The state's main goal in regard to use of such facilities should not be to generate income but to ensure that such facilities are used to the satisfaction of the cultural needs of general public.

There are presently 38 cultural centers in various provinces of Turkey, and 102 cultural centers are under construction. Almost all these cultural facilities are under state ownership and allocated for public use, however, a large number of them have had to cease services owing to managerial difficulties. For instance, the Malatya Cultural Center, in Eastern Anatolia, has been handed over to the local university, and the cultural centers in the less developed provinces of Tunceli and Bingöl also in the same region have been converted into schools.

Each of these provincial cultural centers staff 15 to 20 persons employed by the General Directorate of State Theatres, the State Opera and Ballet, and the Directorate of Fine Arts. The local directors of these provincial cultural centers are responsible to the provincial governorate with underpinnings of red tape and bureaucracy, resulting in severe limitations to the culture and art services they provide. Even if efficiency of these centers' operations could be secured, under the current circumstances, cultural production will be confined to the official state policy, precluding the desired output of free art and free minds. Furthermore, the financial resources allocated for such cultural centers have been dissipated. These facilities should be placed under the guidance of local, municipal governments while their substantive autonomy is secured.

Centralized structure in the area of theatre also begs speedy change. Theatres working under the General Directorate of State Theatres are in operation at 12 provincial centers. İn the 1997-1998 season. State Theatres have lifted their curtains in the provinces of Sivas, Erzurum, Van and Konya in eastern and central Anatolia, and this year, the above number will be raised to 16. Raising the number of theatres or tour performances in Anatolia will not have a dramatic effect on cultural development of Anatolian people. What remains to be done is to ensure a tradition of theatre to take root locally by means of "City Theatres and Conservatoires". No matter how many good artists travel to these provinces, lasting results cannot be achieved unless people of that particular region are directly associated with artistic activities.

The number of public libraries affiliated to the Ministry of Culture is 1 330, housing some 10 048 201 books and staffing 3 544 persons. Owing to security concerns in the Southeast Anatolia region and the accompanying personnel deficiencies, 300 libraries out of the referred 1 330 are closed. The municipal libraries are very rare and have very limited resources.

The number of regular public library users for the year 1995 was 22 478 661, which is very low in comparison with the same figures for industrialized countries. The public libraries are often viewed as remote from the public which reflects negatively on their user rate. The appeal of libraries could be strengthened by empowering local governments to manage them.

Likewise the local government management and control of other cultural services and facilities, especially in the realm of music, should be supported in order to enhance their public appeal. Also in the field of visual arts, the 44 state owned art galleries and the 3 painting and sculpture museums could be managed by local administrations whereby local artists will have easy access to these places. This will greatly enhance the creative dynamics of the communities. On the other hand, large undertakings such as a "National Museum" or the "Museum of Modern Art" would greatly benefit from direct state leadership, if not support.

In their management of cultural services and facilities, local administrations could draw on the experiences of the "Public Houses" modality which had been successfully implemented in the first decades of the Republic with the aim of spurring educational and occupational attainment opportunities in the provinces. Institutionalization of Public Houses for Culture would spur the element of competition at the local level artistic circles. The competitive element would also bring in non-governmental organizations and local businesses who would be motivated to lend support artistic projects. Gradual development of horizontal relations between the centers will result in spreading of the concept of joint artistic productions. Duties of central administration in this realm should be restricted to offering advice to local cultural centers on technical matters and lending financial support to art projects. Moreover, it seems an ideal solution to replace the make-up of current central administration known as the Ministry of Culture, with a new system of independent culture institutions, and co-ordination of these institutions can be assigned to "the High Council of Culture-Art".

There exist 163 museums in Turkey. In 72 of the museums, only archaeological and historical objects are kept and displayed. 41 of them contain only anthropological objects. The remaining 52 are classified as "general" museums. According to the statistical data, museums in the provinces outside Istanbul are not able to attract viewers. As in the case with music, theaters and the libraries, decentralization of museum management would contribute to their public attraction. Further, the museums that gained independence sho-

uld conserve and oversee their income resources by getting rid of their withdrawn structure and form new income resources such as publications, artistic activities and marketing of replicas of the objects exhibited in the museum. Co-ordination between museums can be secured under the umbrella of "National Museums Association" and a "Cultural Heritage Institution" should serve as an official monitoring body.

In Turkey, subsidies provided to artistic institutions and events fare at much lower rates than those provided to similar undertakings in industrialized countries of Western Europe where such subsidies are provided either through the state coffers or from regional and local administrations. Ironically, the private sector is often the sole supporter of artistic production in Turkey while problems persist in ensuring the limited resources are utilized in public interest. The subsidy and incentive policies adopted in most western European countries with a view to spurring art consumption should be studied for their feasibility for the case of Turkey.

3. Contributions of Non-Governmental Organizations and the Private Sector

Although public expenditure on culture - most of which is already used up in personnel spending is very limited, cultural life in the metropolitan centers of Turkey is quite rich. This is thanks mostly to the efforts of non-governmental organizations and the private sector. The internationally renowned and prestigious art festivals in Turkey are organized by non-governmental organizations such as İstanbul Culture and Art Foundation, Turkish Cinema and Audio-Visual Culture Foundation, Sevda-Cenap And Foundation, İzmir Culture Art and Education Foundation, Zeytinoğlu Education, Science and Culture Foundation, to name a few. State contribution to these activities is negligible. These foundations function with the support of donors and private sponsors. Although to date, sponsoring corporations have approached the arts with a sense of responsibility and supported high quality art productions, there are growing pressures for them to divert their support to popular culture events that attract the masses. Therefore, it is believed that it would not be right to leave the future of our cultural lives at the sole discretion of corporate managers. Cultural development can only be attained with the joint efforts of the public and private sector.

4. The Role of the Media in Expanding **Cultural and Artistic Attainment**

The most distinguishing aspect of modern art and culture is that art is no longer a privilege of the few. The media has become an important instrument for the extension of artistic production to the society at large. Advances in the past decades, in the audio-visual media have stirred up interest in art to a great extent. By means of cinema, video, television and interactive multimedia, it has become easier to gain access to art productions in distant parts of the world.

In line with technological advances, the extension of art to the masses has also had some negative impacts, which can be defined as "commercialization" of art. Artistic productions rooted in the cultural heritage of the community - "folk art"- have waned, while "commercial" values govern artistic production worldwide.

"Values" that are brought to light and promoted by the media have become an integral part of today's art. While certain publicly funded media organs in Turkey such as TRT Channel 2 continue to try at responsible broadcasting with distinguished art value, it would be very difficult to claim this for the private television and radio channels. Art and culture related airing time in private television broadcasts are negligible. Decisions handed down by the High Council for Radio and Television in respect to remedying this situation have been circumvented by magazine and paparazzi shows.

If Turkey is to be " a country of culture", measures should be taken to ensure a wide coverage of art and culture in the audio visual media. This can only be carried out by legislative measures which shall regulate the quality of aired programs. The practices and the present legislation in the industrialized countries of Western Europe could serve as an example in this regard where the private media is tasked with advancing the cultural level of the general public. Some of the measures may be cited as lending support to artistic and cultural projects, channeling some of television revenues to artistic productions and sponsoring early works of young artists. It goes without saying that support schemes should be arranged by independent agencies without external interference.

It is recommended that the current law of the High Council for Radio and Television should be substantially revised to incorporate civil society and expert participation in this Council and to eliminate its prohibitive censorship. Likewise the printed media can play an important role in extending art to the masses. Wide coverage of culture and art in printed media can be encouraged by means of incentives. For instance, what comes to mind first and foremost is to channel advertisements of public institutions regarding culture and art to the media organizations that act responsibly in matters of culture and art.

To sum up, the state, local administrations, private sector, non-governmental organizations and the media will have to work in coordination to enhance public attainment of artistic and cultural services. As in all forms of development, cultural development also begs the coordination and leadership of the state whose two primary roles in the cultural development realm can be summarized as follows:

1) Acting as a regulatory agency, taking incentive measures for enhanced public participation in production of art and culture 2) Acting as an executive agency, to hand over its some of its implementation functions to local administrations and independent institutions in order to downsize bureaucracy and to enhance efficient use of resources.

Statistical Data and Public Expenditures.

Statistical data on Turkey's cultural life is extremely limited. For meaningful planning in this regard, there is great need for the joint efforts of the State Institute of Statistics along with other national agencies. The soundness of the available data also begs further study in light of the dearth of infrastructure in Turkey for statistical measurements of artistic consumption (i.e. computerized box offices).

The 1994-95 data for cinema, theatre, opera and ballet indicate that there has been serious decline in cinema and private theater attendance over the past decade. While there were around 3 000 movie houses in Turkey in the 1970s, there are only around 350 today, and 301 as per the 1995 data. (See Table I) There is also serious decline in the number of private theaters, largely thanks to the official view in support of state theaters only.

Only 60 provinces out of 81 have cinema houses, while most of these 60 provinces have a single cinema house. Most cinema houses are concentrated in İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir, Adana, Bursa and Antalya, while those outside the first three are poorly equipped. Incentives should be provided to increase these numbers.

As for the screenings, Turkish productions constitute a very small percentage. To raise that proportion, incentives are also needed. Major American film companies exercise monopoly on Turkish cinema. Of 164 films released last year, only 10 were Turkish, while 110 were from the USA.

Tables II, III and IV below provide some statistical information on theater, opera and ballet, and museum attendance in Turkey.

The above data indicate that the theatres affiliated to local administrations have more audience.

Over two thirds of the museum revenues as presented in Table IV, and over half of the museum visitors are from the four leading museums of Topkapı Palace, the Hagia Sophia Museum, the

Mevlana Museum and the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations. This clearly indicates that the remaining 159 museums in Turkey are insignificant in their contribution to revenues.

The proposition that investments in the cultural realm should be funded from the revenues in this field runs counter to the principles of social state and social development. Such a proposition will lead to gradual loss of traditional arts and clear hegemony of commercialized popular and or populist art on Turkey's cultural life. The public investments in culture and cultural development in Turkey are insufficient and the utilization of available resources is often not efficient. The following table on the budgetary allocations of the Ministry of Culture in Turkey will illustrate this point. (See Table V)

Of the 47 trillion budget for cultural and artistic services - which is already a very limited sum and which cannot be utilized in full due to restrictions governing public expenditures, most goes to personnel expenditures. As a result, the allocations for the production and support to the production of art services remain insufficient. First and foremost, the sum set aside in the general budget for culture should be increased, and new methods should be adopted, with a view towards effective use of the available resources. For greater efficiency not only for production of cultural and artistic products, but also for utilization of available resources, the incorporation of other agents (such as the civil society, municipal governments and the private sector) into the formulation and management of a national cultural development policy is essential.

The human dimension of development can be captured when cultural and social development gains join momentum in Turkey. This shall be possible when the state cooperates more extensively with the civil society in the management of Turkey's cultural development. Also essential in this regard, is the increase of public expenditures for the arts and enhanced technical, legislative and financial support to municipal and specialized agencies who can extend cultural productivity and consumption to the entire country.

Table 1 MOVİE HOUSES

The number of movie-theatres : 363

The number of seats 153 069 21 755 The number of shows 9 399 794 The number of viewers

Table 2 THEATRES

	State Theatres	Municipality and other public theatres	Private Theatres
The number of theatres	25	17	18
The number of seats	8 119	5 401	6 836
The number of plays	180	160	49
The number of performances	3 362	3 868	1 659
The number of theatre-goers	920 196	1 182 399	322 575

Table 3 OPERA-BALLET

The number of opera houses	6	
The number of seats	3 899	
The number of works	52	
The number of performances	404	
The number of audiences	236 077	

Table 4 MUSEUMS

163 The number of museums:

The number of visitor and Revenues:

Turkish Nationals 4 661 315

Foreigners 3 320 433

Total 7 981 7

Revenues 48 438 572 678 000-TL

Table V. Ministry of Culture Budget and Allocations for 1998

The budget of the Ministry of Culture for year 1998 is TL 47.300 billion The budget earmarked for expenditures is as follows: • General management and support services	(TL million) 4 135 500
(out of the budget TL 4.135.000 million, only TL 3.5 billion is set aside for spreading	
and supporting culture-oriented educational activities)	(74.000
Development and promotion of fine arts Out of TL (14 hillion, TL 505 hillion allegated for page 200 hillion).	614 000
(Out of TL 614 billion, TL 505 billion allocated for personnel expenditures) •The Presidential Symphony Orchestra	((0.200
(Out of TL 668 billion, TL 600 billion allocated for personnel expenditures)	668 200
• The State Symphony and Chamber Orchestras	1 432 000
(Out of TL 1.432. billion, TL 1.370. billion is allocated for personnel expenditures)	1 452 000
• The State Classical Music Choirs	1 971 000
(Out of TL 1.971 billion , TL 1.932 billion, personnel expenditures)	1 7/1 000
•The State Turkish Folk Music Choirs, the Turkish Folk Music and	
Folk Dances	766 600
(Out of TL 766 billion, TL 750 billion is earmarked for personnel expenditures)	, 00 000
• The State Folk Dances, the Classical Music Choirs, the Turkish Marches and	
other music companies	1 547 600
(Out of TL 1.547. billion, 1.515 billion is allocated for personnel expenditures)	
Development and promotion services of fine arts and investment services	312 000
(Out of spending cuts, investments cannot be made)	
• Support to Private Theatres	100 000
Copyrights and Cinema Services	337 300
(TL 112 billion is allocated for personnel expenditures, TL 125 billion investment project,	
TL 100 billion is earmarked for support to art films, production and purchasing of the films)	
Monuments, museum keeping and protection services	7 959 200
(Out of TL 7.9 trillion, TL 3.5 trillion is allocated for personnel expenditures)	
Librarianship and Publication Services	6 755 350
(Out of 6.7 trillion, TL 4 trillion is allocated for personnel expenditures)	
Research and Development services of folk cultures	247 500
(Out of TL 247 billion, TL 104 billion is allocated for personnel expenditures)	
Services of the State Theatres	6 787 000
(Out of TL 6.7 trillion, TL 6 trillion is allocated for personnel expenditures)	
Services of the State Opera and Ballet	9 800 000
(Out of 9.8 trillion, TL 9 trillion is earmarked for personnel expenditures)	
Foreign Relations and European Community Coordination Services	208 000
(nearly half of it, for personnel expenditures)	
Organizations abroad	199 600
(Out of TL 199 billion, TL 159 billion is earmarked for personnel expenditures)	
• Services of culture centers	331 500
(Out of 331 billion, TL 235 billion is allocated for personnel expenditures)	
• Istanbul and Ankara Culture Centers	304 150
(Out of TL 304 billion, TL 207 billion is allocated for personnel expenditures)	
• Ankara Atatürk Culture Center	104 000
(Out of TL 104 billion, TL 67 is set aside for personnel expenditures)	
Culture centers, investment project	1 497 000
• Transfers	1 224 000
Total budget	47 207 500
Total budget	47 301 500

CONCLUSION AND POLICY PROPOSALS



The basic premise of the approach to development in this report is that human dignity can only be achieved with the enjoyment of human rights, and that foremost among those rights is the right to enjoy the fruits of sustainable human development. Unlike the received wisdom of defining development narrowly as an economic process, the concept of sustainable human development adopted here includes the broad conditions for empowering and enabling persons to enjoy social, political, cultural, educational and health-related rights, as well as economic betterment. People's access to those conditions at an adequate level and on an equitable basis is considered to be a fundamental human right.

Human rights include the freedom from both fear and want. Just as poverty ultimately represents a denial of human dignity, so the inability to achieve health, education and culture, and the inability to enjoy civil, social and political rights, through good governance, represent the curtailment of basic human rights. Governments, then, have a responsibility to promote these rights for their citizens.

Although the right to development has only been stated explicitly as a basic human right in the Declaration on the Right to Development, issued by the UN General Assembly in 1986, the idea was already implicit in the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966). Turkey is not yet a signatory of this international covenant. The first and most important proposal that comes out of this report is that Turkey make a commitment to ensure the right of development of its citizens in line with universal norms and standards.

Good governance depends on a healthy interaction between a politically involved civil society and a responsive and accountable government. Civil society is not well developed in Turkey and at the present cannot meaningfully contribute to political decision-making. The 1982 Constitution

significantly limited the right to form voluntary civic associations and other non-governmental organizations. Although the constitution was amended in 1995 to provide for a more liberal atmosphere in this regard, relevant laws have not yet been passed to create conformity with the constitutional amendments. This legislation remains as an urgent task. So does legislation which would guarantee the complete independence of the judiciary from the supervision of the executive branch.

Turkey has generally achieved an impressive rate of economic growth, but its performance in human development has not been as successful. There have been, and there still are, problems of uneven income distribution and regional and gender based disparities in social development, including health, housing and education. Policies should therefore primarily aim for improvement in these areas.

Income distribution in Turkey has become more uneven in the 1990s. Likewise, rapid economic growth has not meant an improvement in the economic and social status of women relative to men. Inequalities between men and women persist. Women generally are in jobs and occupations with lower status and pay than men. They are also hardly represented in decision-making positions.

But, despite a worsening in some of these areas, there has been relative improvement in some others. For instance, Turkey has formally committed itself to the recognition of women's rights as stated in the Vienna Conference on Human Rights in 1993 and later confirmed in the Beijing Conference on Women in 1995. Women's rights are human rights. As such, they are inalienable and inviolable. Yet, in Turkey, as in other parts of the world, violence against women threatens the most basic of human rights, the right to life. Worse, this violation routinely takes place in the home. Some legislative measures in this area have been taken with the passing of the Family

Protection Law in January 1998. Welcomed as a positive step in the direction of stopping domestic violence against both women and children, this law must be further supplemented by other legislative, economic, social and cultural efforts. Collaboration between the government and civil society organizations in this area will likely generate futher accomplishments.

Government's health, education and other welfare expenditures do not keep pace with economic growth in Turkey. Compared to countries which are at the same level of development, Turkey's health indicators reflect a poor performance. There is also significant inequality in health-related measures between regions and socio-economic classes. Turkey has made a formal commitment to providing for the right to health of its citizens, but seems to be falling short of this goal due to inadequate capacity of health services and the inefficient use of the existing capacity.

Sustaining the right to health is not only limited to the provision of medical services; it also includes the existence of favorable living, working and environmental conditions. An important factor that goes into the determination of living conditions is the availability and affordability of adequate housing. Turkey has made a commitment, as stated in the Constitution, to take the necessary measures to enable all households to meet their housing needs. Although construction is a thriving industry in Turkey and has the capacity to produce sufficient housing, it has primarily been oriented towards the demands of high income groups. High prices, combined with the absence of an adequate long-term loan system, make housing virtually unaffordable for the lower income groups, directing them towards the market for unauthorized house building. It is therefore proposed that the government make every effort to improve housing affordability for lower income groups.

Compared to many developed and developing countries, Turkey also lags behind in its allocation of resources to education. Despite the constitutional commitment to the right to education in general and to the provision of compulsory and free education at the elementary level in particular, public expenditure for education constitutes only a very small fraction of the national income, and the enrollment ratio even at the elementary level is far from 100 %. The right to education is also enjoyed unevenly between regions and genders. Female illiteracy remains a pressing problem. Increasing the compulsory elementary education from five to eight years in 1997 has also led to an increase in the investment expenditures for education. It is proposed that this effort be taken further.

Equally important is the question of the quality of education in Turkey. There is need for curricular reform to provide the students with access to universal cultural values. In recent decades there has been a decline in the demand for works of art. The state should take a more active part in supporting, through grants and other award programs, both the production and the consumption of works of art, while at the same time allowing for the autonomy of the artists. This could best be done in cooperation with civil society institutions and the private sector. It is also proposed that the current legislative framework for regulating the media be revised to incorporate civil society and expert representation and to eliminate prohibitive censorship.

Technical Annex:

Computing the Indices of the **Human Development Index**

▼he HDI is based on three indicators: longevity, as measured by life expectancy at birth; educational attainment, as measured by a combination of adult literacy (two-thirds weight) and combined primary, secondary and tertiary enrollment ratios; and standard of living, as measured by real GDP per capita (Purchasing Power Parity in US\$).

For the construction of the index, fixed minimum and maximum values have been established for each of these indicators:

- . Life expectancy at birth: 25 years and 85 years
- . Adult literacy: 0 % and 100 %
- . Combined gross enrollment ratio: 0% and 100 %
- . Real GDP per capita (PPP\$) \$100 and \$40 000 (PPP\$).

For any component of the HDI, individual indices can be computed according to the general formula: index = (Actual xi value - minimum xi value)/(Maximum xi value - minimum xi value). The HDI for a province is calculated as the arithmetic average of these three components (indices), namely life expectancy (IL), educational attainment (IE) and adjusted income (IY):

HDI = (IL+IE+IY)/3

The indices are based on the following data:

- 1. Life expectancy at birth (L): Life expectancy for the year 1996 is calculated using the Ph.D. Thesis by Şeref Hoşgör (1997) and "East-life table models".
- 2. Educational attainment (E) is composed of two indicators: literacy rate (R) and combined enrollment ratio (C). Literacy rates are taken from 1990 population census results. The 1996 figures are extrapolations of these results. Combined en-

rollment is the ratio of the number of students in primary, secondary and tertiary schools to the population between ages 7 to 21. 1995/96 figures are taken from the State Institute of Statistics (Social and Economic Characteristics of Population). However, the figures have been modified. SIS calculates the enrollment ratio of Eskişehir province assuming that all students of the "Open University" are resident in this province, which is not the case. Open University students have been redistributed in this study to all provinces according to their shares in tertiary education.

3. Adjusted per capita incomes. 1996 data on "Per Capita Gross Domestic Product by Provinces" has been taken from SIS publication "Turkish Economy, Statistics and Analysis" (January-February 1998). The first adjustment of this data has been done according to a paper prepared by Meral Dağkıran (1997). This study has provided price and volume comparisons for 19 major provinces in Turkey. It has been applied assuming similar price levels in the neighborhoods. The second adjustment has been done by the data provided by the Department of Labor Force, Services, Price Statistics and Indices Purchasing Power Parity Division (SIS). All these incomes are adjusted for the third time using the method of Atkinson as explained in the technical notes of HDR 1997.

The Gender-Related Development Index

The GDI adjusts the average achievement in each province in life expectancy, educational attainment and income in accordance with the disparity in achievement between women and men. For this gender sensitive adjustment the harmonic mean of the male and female values are calculated. The GDI also adjusts the maximum and minimum values for life expectancy, to account for the fact that women tend to live longer than men. For women, the maximum value is 87.5 years and the minimum value is 27.5 years; for men, the corresponding values are 82.5 and 22.5 years.

The calculation of the income index is not straightforward. Female and male shares of income are derived from data on the ratio of the average non-agricultural female wage to the average nonagricultural male wage and male percentage shares of economically active population aged above 12 and above. (The HDR considers the actual population aged 15 and above). The wage ratios are derived from an SIS publication: Employment and Wage Structure 1994. The publication itself does not contain data on wage rates by geographic region, however, the respective division in SIS provided kindly the unpublished wage by region data. Here wage ratio data were available only for seven geographic regions and four large towns. For each province in a region, the same wage ratio has been assumed. Before income is indexed, the average adjusted real GDP per capita of each province is discounted on the basis of the disparity in the female and male shares of earned income in proportion to the female and male population shares. The indices for life expectancy, educational attainment and income are added together with equal weight to derive the final GDI value. An illustration is provided in HDR 1997.

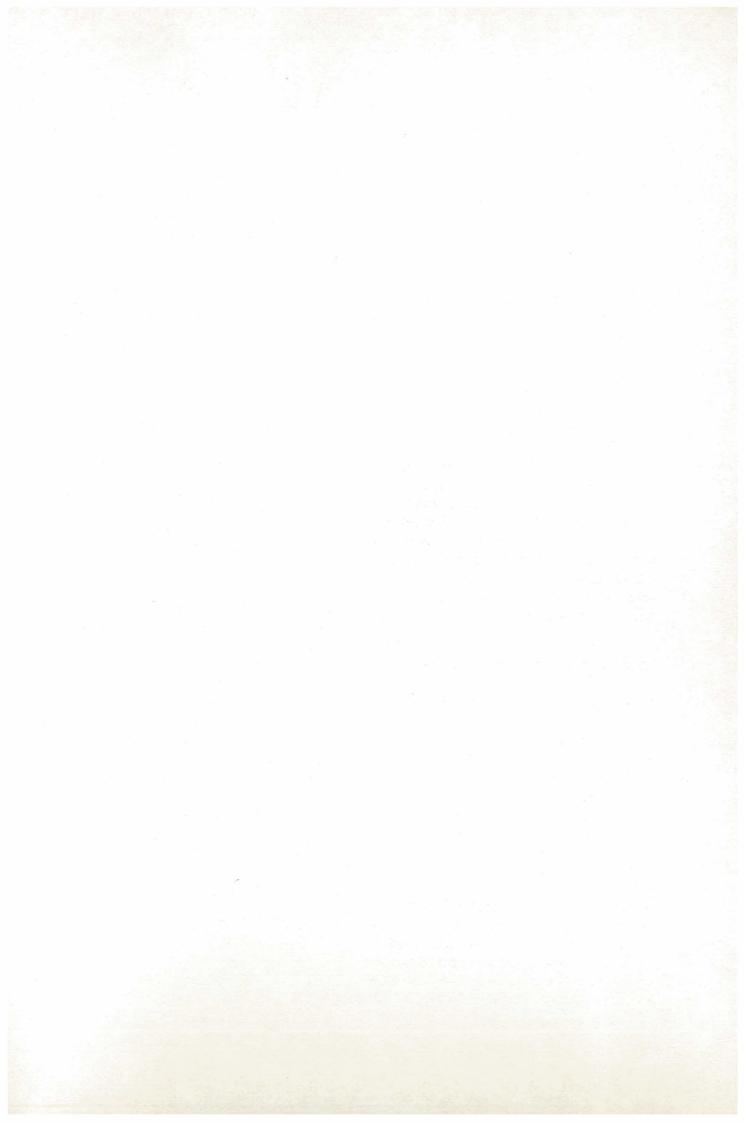
The Gender Empowerment Measure

To derive an "equally distributed equivalent percentage" EDEP for all three variables (Parliamentary representation, administrative and professional positions, share of earned income) the methodology of population weighted (1-Œ) averaging has been used. Data on parliamentary representation has been collected from the Office of the Minister President (T.C. Başbakanlık Kadının Statüsü ve Sorunları Genel Müdürlüğü verileri, Ankara, 1993). Data on employed population by occupation has been derived from 1990 census. Each variable is indexed by dividing the EDEP by 50%. The three indices (for economic participation and decision-making, political participation and decision-making, and power over economic resourcesare added together to derive the final GEM value. An illustration is provided in HDR 1997.

The Human Poverty Index

In constructing the HPI, the deprivation in longevity is represented by the percentage of people not expected to survive to age 40 (P1), and the deprivation in knowledge by the percentage of adults who are illiterate (P2). Data on survival has been derived by the help of the Ph.D. thesis of Hoşgör and "eastern life tables". The illiteracy data has been projected from 1990 census. The deprivation in a decent living standard in terms of overall economic provisioning is represented by a composite (P3) of three variables - the percentage of people without access to safe water (P31), the percentage of people without access to health services (P32) and the percentage of moderately and severely underweight children under five (P33). Data on (P3) variables were not available on provincial basis. There was information on P31 and P33 in a SIS-UNICEF (Ankara) preliminary-study (1995), yet, only for five regions. The provinces in these regions have been assigned the same regional values. Data on access to health services, as it is defined in HDR 1997 (the percentage of population that can reach appropriate local health services on foot or by local means of transport in no more than one hour) is not available in Turkey. Instead of it, a variant of this information is used. A survey of the Ministry of Health (Health Services Utilization in Turkey 1992 National Survey) provides data on eight geographic regions in Turkey about (applicants) opinion "time spent to reach physicians".

The composite variable P is constructed by taking a simple average of the P31, P32 and P33. Thus, P3 = (P31 + P32 + P33)/3. The formula for HPI = [1/3(P13 + P23 + P33)]1/3. An example is provided in HDR 1997.





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