

**T.C.
MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ
AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ ENSTİTÜSÜ**

**AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ SİYASETİ
VE
ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER ANABİLİM DALI**

**GENDER EQUALITY AS A TOOL OF EUROPEAN UNION
ANTI-DISCRIMINATION POLICIES:
COMPARING EUROPEAN UNION AND TURKEY**

YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ

İmren ARSLANOĞLU

İstanbul - 2013

**T.C.
MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ
AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ ENSTİTÜSÜ**

**AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ SİYASETİ
VE
ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER ANABİLİM DALI**

**GENDER EQUALITY AS A TOOL OF EUROPEAN UNION
ANTI-DISCRIMINATION POLICIES:
COMPARING EUROPEAN UNION AND TURKEY**

YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ

İmren ARSLANOĞLU

Danışman: Prof. Dr. Nilüfer NARLI

İstanbul – 2013



T.C.
MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ
AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ ENSTİTÜSÜ

ONAY SAYFASI

Enstitümüz AB Siyaseti ve Uluslararası İlişkiler Anabilim Dalı Yüksek Lisans öğrencisi İmren ARSLANOĞLU'nun, "**GENDER EQUALITY AS TOOL OF EUROPEAN UNION ANTI-DISCRIMINATION POLICIES: COMPARING EUROPEAN UNION AND TURKEY**" konulu tez çalışması...**01.03.2013** tarihinde yapılan tez savunma sınavında aşağıda isimleri yazılı jüri üyeleri tarafından oybirliği / oyçokluğu ile başarılı / başarısız bulunmuştur.

Onaylayan:

Prof. Dr. E. Nilüfer NARLI

Danışman

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Aylin AKPINAR

Jüri Üyesi

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Nedime Aslı ŞİRİN ÖNER

Jüri Üyesi

Onay
Prof. Dr. Muzaffer DARTAN



01/03/2013.....tarih ve 2013/11..... Sayılı Enstitü Yönetim Kurulu kararı ile onaylanmıştır.

ABSTRACT

Gender equality policies have gained importance especially in recent decades. Grass-roots movements have been a considerable element of this policy establishment process since the 1980s. The European Union (EU) has been initiating gender equality measures with a comprehensive approach under the anti-discrimination and social equality policies. Turkey on the other hand has been aiming to obtain gender equality to achieve the EU level and global level democratization policies. Due to the recent developments regarding the international human rights the gender equality policies are also undergoing a transformation phase. This process does not only include technical advancements in the form of various policy implementations, but also defining the terms “gender” and “equality”. Particularly after the 1990s, gender equality became to signify not only equal rights between women and men but also a broader approach by embracing different branches of minorities. Within this context, the EU has already taken an active stance in adapting the necessary legal transformations within the member states. This set of circumstances has created numerous counter-effects on Turkey’s gender equality regulations. Both technical developments and change on equality perceptions pose an examination for Turkey’s anti-discrimination policies during its EU membership process. At the end of this interaction between parties, the need of a certain will and resolution emerge with the ability of adaptation to technical improvements for the future of Turkey’s gender equality polices.

Keywords: Gender equality policies, anti-discrimination, the EU, Turkey

ÖZET

Toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği politikaları özellikle son yıllarda önem kazandı. Bu konuda politika oluşturma sürecinde 1980'lerdeki halk hareketleri dikkate değer bir unsur olmuştur. AB toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği uygulamalarını, ayrımcılık-karşıtı politikalar ve eşitlik politikaları altında kapsamlı bir şekilde yürütmektedir. Öte yandan Türkiye, AB seviyesindeki ve küresel seviyedeki demokratikleşme süreçlerini takip etmek amacıyla toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğini gerçekleştirmek istemektedir. Bugün konu, uluslararası insan hakları alanındaki gelişmelerle beraber küresel bir dönüşüm içerisindedir. Bu dönüşüm, sadece teknik ilerlemeleri ve uygulanan politikaların seviyesini değil, cinsiyet ve eşitlik terimlerinin kapsadığı alanı da içine almaktadır. Toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği özellikle 1990'lardan sonra sadece kadın ve erkek arasındaki farklılığı değil, diğer azınlık gruplarını da içine alacak şekilde daha geniş bir yaklaşımı ifade etmeye başlamıştır. Bu bağlamda AB, üye ülkeleri ile beraber bu dönüşüm sürecine dair aktif bir adaptasyon içinde oldu. Bu sürecin Türkiye'nin toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği düzenlemelerinde de çok sayıda etkisi oldu. Hem teknik gelişmeler hem de eşitlik algılarındaki değişimler Türkiye'nin AB üyeliği süresince ayrımcılık-karşıtı politikaları için aynı zamanda bir sınama olanağı sundu. Taraflar arasındaki bu etkileşim sonunda, Türkiye'nin toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği politikalarının geleceği için kesin bir isteğe ve kararlılığa olan ihtiyaçla beraber teknik gelişmelere adaptasyon yeteneğinin önemi ortaya çıkmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği politikaları, ayrımcılık-karşıtı, AB, Türkiye

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	i
ÖZET.....	ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iii
LIST OF TABLES	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	vii
LIST OF ANNEXES.....	viii
ABBREVIATIONS.....	ix
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER I. DEFINITION OF DISCRIMINATION AND EQUALITY	6
1.1. DISCRIMINATION AND EQUALITY	6
1.1.1. The Problem of Definitions	7
1.1.2. Classification of Definitions	8
1.1.2.1. <i>Direct and Indirect Discrimination</i>	10
1.1.2.2. <i>Institutional Discrimination</i>	11
1.1.2.3. <i>Other Discrimination Types</i>	11
1.1.2.4. <i>Social inclusion</i>	12
1.1.3. Gender and Gender Equality	12
1.1.4. Definitions in the International Legal Sources	14
1.1.4.1. <i>Definition of Discrimination in the International Legal Sources</i> ...	14
1.1.4.2. <i>Gender Discrimination in the International Legal Sources</i>	17
1.2. DEFINITION OF DISCRIMINATION AND EQUALITY IN THE EUROPEAN UNION	19
1.2.1 Historical Background of the EU Anti-discrimination Practices	19
1.2.2. Legal Definitions in the European Sources	22
1.2.2.1. <i>Primary Legislation</i>	22
1.2.2.2. <i>Secondary Legislation</i>	24
1.3. DEFINITION OF DISCRIMINATION AND EQUALITY IN TURKEY	26
1.3.1. Historical Background of Turkey’s Anti-discrimination Practices	26
1.3.2. Legal Definitions in Turkey’s Sources	28
CHAPTER II: ANTIDISCRIMINATION POLICIES AND GENDER EQUALITY	32
2.1. INEQUALITIES AND ANTI-DISCRIMINATION POLICIES FROM THE EU GENDER PERSPECTIVE	32
2.1.1. Policy Tools of the EU Gender Equality	36
2.1.1.1. <i>Positive Discrimination</i>	38
2.1.1.2. <i>Gender Mainstreaming</i>	40
2.1.1.3. <i>Sustainable Development</i>	42
2.1.1.4. <i>Acquis Communautaire</i>	43
2.1.2. Participation and Representation of Gender in the EU.....	44

2.1.2.1. <i>Political Representation</i>	44
2.1.2.2. <i>Political and Social Participation</i>	47
2.1.3. <i>Actors and Institutions</i>	48
2.1.3.1. <i>European Parliament</i>	48
2.1.3.2. <i>European Commission</i>	48
2.1.3.3. <i>Civil Society</i>	49
2.1.3.4. <i>Other Actors and Institutions</i>	50
2.1.4. <i>EU Gender Equality Policies and Problematical Issues</i>	50
2.2. INEQUALITIES AND ANTI-DISCRIMINATION POLICIES FROM TURKEY’S GENDER PERSPECTIVE	52
2.2.1. <i>Policy Tools of Gender Equality in Turkey</i>	55
2.2.1.1. <i>Positive Discrimination</i>	56
2.2.1.2. <i>Gender Mainstreaming</i>	57
2.2.2. <i>Participation and Representation of Gender in Turkey</i>	57
2.2.2.1. <i>Political Representation</i>	58
2.2.2.2. <i>Political and Social Participation</i>	60
2.2.3. <i>Actors and Institutions</i>	62
2.2.3.1. <i>Government Bodies</i>	64
2.2.3.2. <i>Civil Society</i>	65
2.2.3.3. <i>Other Organizations</i>	66
2.2.4. <i>Gender Equality in Turkey and Problematical Issues</i>	67
CHAPTER III: CHANGING POLICY MECHANISMS IN GENDER EQUALITY AND THE ROLE OF NEW STAKEHOLDERS.....	69
3.1. GLOBAL MOVEMENTS AND POLICY CHANGES	69
3.1.2. <i>The Role of Non-governmental Organizations</i>	71
3.1.3. <i>Internationally Changing Concepts</i>	72
3.1.4. <i>Policy Change of International Actors</i>	76
3.1.4.1. <i>International Actors</i>	76
3.1.4.2. <i>European Union</i>	77
3.2. SITUATION IN THE EU COUNTRIES AND TURKEY	79
3.2.1. <i>Gender Equality in Finland</i>	80
3.2.1.1. <i>Background on Finland</i>	80
3.2.1.2. <i>Contemporary Finnish Policies on Gender Equality</i>	82
3.2.1.2.1. <i>Recent Policies</i>	82
3.2.1.2.2. <i>Civil movements</i>	83
3.2.2. <i>Gender Equality in Poland</i>	85
3.2.2.1. <i>Background on Poland</i>	86
3.2.2.2. <i>Contemporary Polish Policies on Gender Equality</i>	89
3.2.2.1.1. <i>Recent Policies</i>	89
3.2.2.1.2. <i>Civil Movements</i>	90
3.2.3. <i>Gender Equality in Turkey</i>	91
3.2.3.1. <i>Background on Turkey</i>	92
3.2.3.2. <i>Contemporary Turkish Policies on Gender Equality</i>	94
3.2.3.2.1. <i>Recent Policies</i>	94
3.2.3.2.2. <i>Civil Movements</i>	96
CHAPTER IV: OVERALL EVALUATIONS	99

4.1. EVALUATIONS OF EU GENDER EQUALITY AND LISBON PROCESS	99
4.1.1. EU Gender Equality Policies	99
4.1.2. Lisbon Process and Future of Gender Equality	102
4.2. EVALUATIONS ON EU COUNTRIES GENDER EQUALITY	103
4.2.1. Evaluation of Gender Equality in Finland	103
4.2.2. Evaluation of Gender Equality in Poland	105
4.2.3. Evaluation of Gender Equality in Turkey.....	106
4.2.4. Comparing Three Countries	107
4.3. CURRENT PROBLEMS, IMPLEMENTATIONS AND NEEDS	112
4.3.1. Evaluation of Global Movements	112
4.3.2. Need of New Policies	113
4.3.3. Need of New Stakeholders	114
4.4. TURKEY’S CANDIDACY PROCESS AND INTERACTION WITH THE EU MEMBERSHIP	115
4.4.1. Changing Concepts and Turkey.....	115
4.4.2. Future and EU Membership.....	116
CONCLUSION	121
ANNEX.....	140

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1:	European Parliament since its Establishment - Overall Situation between 1979 and 2006	46
Table 2:	Percentage of Women without Education by Region in Turkey	53
Table 3:	Reasons for non-enrolment Urban/Rural Residence and Sex (%), 1999	54
Table 4:	Number of Female Candidates of Political Parties in 2002 and 2007 Elections	59
Table 5:	General Situation of Gender Equality in Turkey	61
Table 6:	Organisational Structure in Turkey for Development and Implementation of Women's Policies	63
Table 7:	Major Achievements and Challenges of the EU Gender Architecture	100
Table 8:	Trajectory of Gender Equality for the Three Countries	108
Table 9:	Parameters of Progress under the EU Harmonisation	109
Table 10:	What is needed to be achieved?	111

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1:	Unemployment and Employment rates in the European Union	33
Figure 2:	Pay Gap between Women and Men in Unadjusted Form in the EU Member States 2010	34
Figure 3:	Women and Men in National Parliaments (single/lower houses), 2011	35
Figure 4:	Early Leavers from Education and Training in the EU Member States – 2010	36
Figure 5:	Representation of Women in National, Regional and Local Assemblies, 2008	45
Figure 6:	In your opinion, which stakeholders/organizations actors have contributed most to progress in the area of gender equality?	49
Figure 7:	Would you say enough effort has been made to gender equality?	51
Figure 8:	Proportion of Female Deputies (1935 – 20007)	58
Figure 9:	Change on International Economic Opportunities and Their Effect on Female Employment – International Trade Correlated with Women Participation	70
Figure 10:	The Number of Countries Those Have Ratified CEDAW Has Risen in All Regions to Reach 187, of 193 in 2011	70
Figure 11:	Components of Gender Equality Index - Three Dimensions and Five Indicators	73
Figure 12.a:	European Equality Timeline	74
Figure 12.b:	The Equality Stool	75
Figure 13:	Finland Country Profile - Evolution 2006 – 2012	81
Figure 14:	Poland Country Profile - Evolution 2006 – 2012	87
Figure 15:	Poland Long-term Unemployment Rate by Gender	88
Figure 16:	Turkey Country Profile - Evolution 2006 – 2012	93
Figure 17:	Global Transformations on Gender Equality and Turkey’s Position ...	116
Figure 18:	Female Employment Rates EU and Turkey	118
Figure 19:	Current Gender Equality Concepts for Turkey and the EU	119

LIST OF ANNEXES

Annex 1: Attitude towards Gender Equality: Means by Country	140
Annex 2: Mainstreaming Across Five Issue Areas	141
Annex 3: Overall Ranking of 25 EU Member States on the European Union Gender Equality	142
Annex 4: Women at Governance Level in Turkey: Parliament and Local Authorities	143

ABBREVIATIONS

AÇEV	: Mother Child Education Foundation
AKP	: Justice and Development Party
AT	: Austria
BE	: Belgium
BG	: Bulgaria
CDEG	: Council of Europe Steering Committee for Equality between Women and Men
CEDAW	: Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women
CEEC	: Central and Eastern European Countries
CFREU	: Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union
CHP	: Republican People's Party
CJEU	: Court of Justice of the European Union
CY	: Cyprus
CZ	: Czech Republic
DAW	: United Nations Division for Advancement of Women
DE	: Germany
DGSW	: Directorate General on the Status of Women
DK	: Denmark
DPT	: Turkish State Planning Organization
EC	: European Commission
ECHR	: European Convention on Human Rights
EE	: Estonia
EEA	: European Economic Area
EEC	: European Economic Community
EES	: European Employment Strategy
EIGE	: European Institute for Gender Equality
EL	: Greece

ENOW	: European Network of Women
ERDF	: European Regional Development Fund
ES	: Spain
ESF	: European Social Fund
EU	: European Union
EUROMED	: Euro-Mediterranean Partnership
EWL	: European Women's Lobby
FEMM	: European Parliament's Committee on Women and Gender Equality
FEOGA	: European Agricultural Guidance Guarantee Fund
FI	: Finland
FR	: France
GAP	: Turkey South-eastern Anatolia Project Regional Development Administration
GATT	: General Agreement on tariffs and Trade
GEI	: Gender Equality Index
GEM	: Gender Empowerment Measure
HDI	: Human Development Indicators
HU	: Hungary
IE	: Ireland
ILO	: International Labour Organization
IMF	: International Monetary Fund
INSTRAW	: United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
IT	: Italy
KA-DER	: Association for the Support of Women Candidates
LGBTs	: Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transvestites
LT	: Lithuania
LU	: Luxembourg

LV	: Latvia
MT	: Malta
NGO	: Non-Governmental Organization
NL	: Netherlands
OAS	: Organization of American States
OAU	: Organization of African Unity
OECD	: Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development
OIC	: Organisation of Islamic Cooperation
PL	: Poland
PT	: Portugal
RO	: Romania
SE	: Sweden
SK	: Slovakia
SL	: Slovenia
SME	: Small and Medium Enterprises
TCE	: Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe
TEU	: Treaty of the European Union
TFEU	: Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union
UDHR	: Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UK	: United Kingdom
UN	: United Nations
UN Women	: United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women
UNDP	: United Nations Development Programme
UNECE	: United Nations Economic Commission for Europe
UNFPA	: United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	: United Nations Children's Fund

UNIFEM : United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women

WIDE : Women in Development Europe's

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this comparative study is to analyse Turkey's EU harmonization reforms in the field of gender equality and to determine their impact on achieving gender equality. This study does not only focus on the question of gender equality but also covers a set of questions including different fields of gender; women and equalities. Democratic conditionality is the strategy of the EU to encourage candidate states to comply with its democracy and human right standards, referred to Copenhagen criteria. Soon after the EU recognised Turkey a candidate state in 1999, Turkey began executing reforms, including those of gender equality, under the EU harmonisation process that began in 2001.

Gender equality has been on the agenda of a wide number of international movements for a long time. These discussions originate from the internationalization of women's rights after the 19th century after a century long struggle for political rights. During this period main problem was the equality of women versus men, mainly in the work life field. After the Industrial Revolution with the advent of more developed social systems, the notion of equality became more comprehensive. Consequently, the needs of the new world order and its social policies globally changed. This transformation of definitions did not only include new regulations and rulings, but also the perceptions towards notions started to change gradually. Today the term 'gender' does not only imply discrimination of 'women' from men but also includes other excluded groups, by interfering traditional 'men's roles within society.

Considering the recent developments within the EU and especially what comes to the Treaty of Lisbon, the EU is encountering a significant change regarding gender equality policies. From Turkey's side, since from the foundation of the Republic, women's rights have been on the agenda. The young republic executed reforms that provided gender equality at work and in political participation despite several discriminatory measures and practices prevailed. Today, partly due to the strong women movement and partly due to the international treaties (including CEDAW) signed, the governments have attention to the issue of gender equality. However the question

remains whether Turkey is able to carry on these endeavours in the way that the EU does, or is there a real political/social will towards this goal.

Although Turkey's relations with the EU has been relatively passive in recent years, the policies of the current government does include promotion of social participation to political life via NGOs or other social movements. Several questions arise at this point: Firstly; till how far Turkey is able to continue its equality policies between women and men? Considering the conservative composition of the government policies and the traditional components of Turkey's past, this issue seems rather limited. Secondly; apart from the narrow approach on gender equality including only women and men as the faction groups, contemporary developments does include other excluded groups such as sexual minorities (LGBTs). Does Turkey possess enough flexibility concerning the discussions on policy making process, or is there enough room to create a change on perceptions in this field? Thirdly; Today's need of change on perceptions does not only require a definitive will on understanding the other, but also there is a need for activating men to leave their long lasting social and political realm as main powers. Moreover, this is also valid in their social relations with women. E.g. regulations on women's participation in working life call men to actively participate on so-called traditional duties such as child-caring. For a country such as Turkey, will it be possible to raise this issue within gender equality policies? Again, when one takes into account the recent policy developments and political motives of the current government; this topic stays within its social limits.

Notions of equality and discrimination are broadly discussed in the first chapter of this study for the aim of bringing a clear understanding of political concepts. The grouping of the definitions is also described in order to evaluate the periods and their links with the geographies. Definitions by the European Union, Turkey and other international sources are included for this goal. The historical background of the countries, international organizations and their legal sources are also evaluated along with discrimination definitions.

After describing the conceptual framework and anti-discrimination policies, the gender equality is evaluated within second chapter in order to analyse practical gender

equality-related issues both in the European Union and Turkey. In addition, the gender equality perspectives of both sides are analysed under the same titles. Political representation systems, the level of political participation in the EU and Turkey included with their actors and institutions.

After the general analyse of the situation, contemporary movements on gender equality field are included with EU countries in third chapter. The aim in this part is to portray today's changing concepts of equality, discrimination, gender and women rights. This transformation phase on policies is also included with important international actors' stances on this issue, e.g. United Nations, United States of America will be included as examples with their recent policy changes.

Third phase of study also includes concrete examples from beginning parties of the EU and Turkey. So that Finland and Poland are included as two different cases from the European Union. Finland with its high level social policies stands as a good example on gender equality and Poland on the other hand stands as a relatively conservative state with its different political past.

Turkey will also be included in third part with its policies and practices; therefore the difference among states and their policy mechanisms will be described in more concrete terms. Eventually, Turkey's gender equality policies and developments will be examined in the context of the recent international developments with the question of 'does Turkey possess enough dynamics on gender equality field during its long EU membership process?' Or 'does Turkey really lack a sufficient level of gender equality after considering the EU case countries of Finland and Poland?'.

Considering the recent international movements in the field of gender equality, the notions of 'gender' and 'equality' both are on constant change. Recent anti-discrimination policies are being shaped according these transformations in a broader way. As an example; gender equality has been included in the EU's agenda by associating 'gender's value as labour, within labour market. Today women's movements are far away from discussing the work conditions. The non-governmental organizations' competences include: social rights, political participation, representation,

education, and protection from violence – all of which are far away from work conditions.

In addition to the constant growth on women rights and movements, the notion of ‘gender’ has also been subjected to transformation. Today the term ‘gender’ does not only indicate the difference between women and men concerning sexual difference. Today’s more detailed anti-discrimination regulations and human rights include a broader range of minority types, which include different sexual minorities such as lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transvestites or the so-called LGBTs.

From this point of view the term ‘gender’ is considered as a socially constructed notion, contrary to biologically formed. Thus, new developments in the field of LGBT rights both in highly developed countries (e.g. Finland) or in relatively new members of the EU (e.g. Poland) protect the rights of these groups and promote their participation to the social and political life.

The question at this point arises to evaluate Turkey’s level of adaptation on this international change of mindset. Comparing with the European Union, Turkey has a relatively conservative historical structure; also its Islamic background and deeply rooted traditional values might prevent Turkey to obtain a sufficient level on taking the necessary legal steps in policy making. This fact is not only valid for newly emerged gender types. As a patriarchal society, Turkey still has serious problems regarding ensuring women’s rights. Most of these topics that Turkey currently deals with (e.g. equal education of men and women, equal participation of men and women to political life...) are rather self-evident issues in the EU countries. Considering this difference between the EU and Turkey, further changes on gender equality policies including other excluded groups (LGBTs) requires a longer adaptation process with a strong political will.

Besides these contemporary practical developments, Turkey will also face the legal changes within the European Union. The Lisbon Process and its evaluation with a gender perspective raise the issue of broader women participation to the political field.

Although Turkey has long been trying to change the general gender imbalance within the political arena, situation still lacks behind the European Union level.

Despite this disadvantaged situation between Turkey and the EU, there are still subjects that remain problematic for both sides. Gender violence, multiple discrimination and wide gender gap on certain work and social areas are other prominent issues for both Turkey and the European Union. However considering the situation of women in Turkey's east and south-east parts (e.g. honour crimes), there is still more to do in Turkey to achieve the gender equality.

Finally, the last chapter includes general evaluations under the Lisbon process and evaluates both Turkey and the European Union by using the two cases of Finland and Poland. The aim of this part is to present a clear overview on Turkey's stance regarding the gender equality and to estimate the level of policy change that Turkey may follow during its EU membership process.

A wide set of data has been used for this research. Secondary sources include; journals, evaluation documents of the international organizations and statistical analyses. Furthermore, Interviews conducted with different NGOs from Turkey and Finland are also used in the final chapter. Since the main goal of this research is to determine the flexibility of current gender policies in line with future international developments in Turkey, NGOs provide a valuable source of information. Their demands for policy changes and the answers they gave exposed practical examples of the countries' gender equality policies. Interviews also show the future perspectives of Turkey and Finland which help to understand the differentiation between Turkey and the EU.

CHAPTER I. DEFINITION OF DISCRIMINATION AND EQUALITY

This chapter explains the notions of discrimination and equality. Moreover, the differences regarding the definitions and types of discrimination that feed gender inequality are analysed here. Several questions rose during this part of the study; firstly, the problematic of applying a ‘genuine equality’ was brought up. Secondly, ‘what exactly constitutes discrimination and what does not?’ constituted an important question. Gender and gender equality policies are being analysed within the framework of these questions. Initial definitions, their historical background and the position of global organizations show the interaction between the social perceptions and legal definitions.

1.1. DISCRIMINATION AND EQUALITY

Discrimination and equality are the basic concepts of gender equality. The act of ‘discriminating’ someone brings together the result of ‘otherization’ and constitutes a battle field between the two groups. In daily life, these initial steps of discrimination reveal as practical problems related with today’s human rights. For example during a job application or education process an individual may be subjected to unfavourable treatment without an acceptable reason indicated, on the grounds that he/she belongs to a certain group¹.

This process mainly starts with prejudices, stereotypes and not making an attempt to understand the ‘other’. The more discrimination is formed in a developed way, the more one observes its structured forms in the society. At this point, laws, legal agreements, services or other practices of the state put evidently one group in a relatively worse/better situation than others². Discrimination does not only increase, it also contains different types of implementations. In this chapter, the classification of

¹ Finland Ministry of ‘Employment and Economy, “Equality and Preventing Discrimination in Working Life”, 2007, http://yhdenvertaisuus-fi-bin.directo.fi/@Bin/bd7f7436103b437fe8cf55da558ea0e7/1353145927/application/pdf/115104/Moni_muotoisuusopas_en.pdf (10.11.2010), pp.11-18.

² Ibid.

different definitions and gendered version of discrimination with international legal sources are explained in order to give a complex picture of the phenomenon.

‘Equality’ means the same treatment of every part of the society regardless of their situation of belonging to a group (e.g. ethnic origin, race, gender, age, or disability can be a factor for grouping). The idea behind this basic definition of the term is not easy to ensure in practice. Because the societies and governments do not possess the same dynamics, it becomes more complicated to apply a genuine equality³. For example physically different groups may not have access to the same opportunities as the others do. In this case, government as the distributor of power is responsible in ensuring equality of disabled groups in terms of reaching an opportunity⁴. But these kinds of solutions sometimes raise criticisms in the term of questioning the quality of services. This is very common in cases of quota implementations of gender equality field as it will be discussed in detail in the following chapters.

1.1.1. The Problem of Definitions

It is important to clarify what exactly constitutes discrimination and what does not; differentiation in public treatment is not considered as discrimination as long as these differentiations carry a vital importance for their beneficiaries but the beneficiaries should not be able to participate to the social system without this exception⁵.

Considering diversified nature of discrimination and delicacy of equality policies, it is not surprising to see the problems that the regulation process faces. Equality or non-discrimination practices did not start with the ultimate aim of practicing human rights. Although this became the eventual result under globalization, the object at the beginning derived from economic imperatives. Karon Monaghan explains the human rights aspects of anti-discrimination policies as the final evaluation of market regulations:

³ Ibid.

⁴ Alda Facio, Martha I. Morgan, “Equity or Equality for Women? Understanding CEDAW’s Equality Principles”, *Alabama Law Review*, 2009, Vol.60 No.5, Alabama, pp. 1134-1170.

⁵ Finland Ministry of Employment and Economy, ‘Equality and Preventing Discrimination in Working Life’, 2007, http://yhdenvertaisuus-fi-bin.directo.fi/@Bin/bd7f7436103b437fe8cf55da558ea0e7/1353145927/application/pdf/115104/Moni_muotoisuusopas_en.pdf (10.09.2010), pp.11-18.

“The early equality and non-discrimination guarantees were rooted in economic imperatives, rather than founded, as with modern equality guarantees, in respect for human dignity and democratic values, no doubt informed their content. Equality guarantees found in other constitutional orders have been afforded more progressive meanings such as to at least provide the opportunity for tackling structural and entrenched forms of inequality and disadvantage. The development of such principles is usually founded in respect for fundamental rights and human dignity in particular”⁶.

This changing process also leads to a differentiation of definitions. The term ‘equity’ is an example of this change, emerged with a need of a clearer explanation of difference between women and men. The term ‘Equality’ explains the same treatment towards different groups ‘Equity’ on the other hand indicates treatments while accepting their difference by nature. ‘Equity’ is a prominent notion in the field of gender equality. This term accepts the main difference between women and men that derives from their biological difference, however their social rights and the differentiation of the way they practice their rights is explained with the term ‘equity’. For example; equal participation of women and men is a promoted practice in today’s working systems; however, women may need to use different working schedules because of being pregnant or giving birth. In this case the flexibility that should be applied on working hours may be explained with equity of women and men rather than equality. Thus, if equality is the ultimate goal as an anti-discriminative tool, then equity poses its ethic aspect which in fact goes beyond equality⁷.

Interaction between different types of definitions and historical changes bring together evolution in equality. On the other hand, differentiation of geographies causes attribution of different meanings to similar cases. This is the case even in today’s globalized common notions.

1.1.2. Classification of Definitions

Discrimination types vary broadly. This diversity includes both horizontal and vertical parameters. For example, several groupings within society include depth and level of discrimination. Direct or indirect application of discrimination includes the

⁶ Karon Monaghan QC, “Equality and Non-discrimination”, *Juridical Review*, 2011, Hart Publishing, Oxford, pp.418-428.

⁷ Alda Facio, Martha I. Morgan, “Equity or Equality for Women? Understanding CEDAW’s Equality Principles”, *Alabama Law Review*, 2009, Vol.60 No.5, Alabama, pp. 1134-1170.

density of action. The first type of grouping includes concrete characteristics of groups; these variables are as follows;

- *Ethnic and national origin* indicate the racial aspect of otherization, different ethnic groups and their off springs create fractions in the society⁸.
- *Religion* sets groupings around beliefs and believing systems, this type of discrimination is particularly valid in public spheres of societies.
- *Age* discrimination is generally observed in working life, e.g. job applications or other means of professional life may limit the participation according to age, and this may cause an unfair exclusion of certain groups⁹.
- *Disability* creates impaired people's limited participation to most of the social life, this does not only constitute an injustice in working life or in the services field, but also excludes these individuals from basic needs of daily life¹⁰.
- *Health* may be a discriminative reason according to two aspects; firstly, shortcomings in public spheres may cause exclusion just as in the case of disable people, secondly, health problems may cause an unfair situation during these people's recruitment processes.
- *Sexual orientation* includes sexual minorities of LGBTs, and these people's participation to every part of life.
- *Gender* indicates being women or men and under the recent political developments; although gender has an aspect of including other sexual minorities, their right of participation to all parts of daily life does not legally protected in all countries.

⁸ Hugh Collins, "Discrimination, Equality and Social Inclusion", *The Modern Law Review*, 2003, Vol. 66 No. 1, pp.16-43.

⁹ Finland Ministry of Employment and Economy, "Equality and Preventing Discrimination in Working Life", 2007, http://yhdenvertaisuus-fi-bin.directo.fi/@Bin/bd7f7436103b437fe8cf55da558ea0e7/1353145927/application/pdf/115104/Moni_muotoisuusopas_en.pdf (10.09.2010), pp.11-18.

¹⁰ Ibid.

- *Differences of Opinion* may also cause political discrimination, although any sort of political or social thoughts are encouraged to be discussed, in the public sphere this is not always the case for some countries¹¹.
- *Language* may pose a discriminative element when use of mother tongue is not supported in the public sphere. Hindrances in job applications and education opportunities can be considered as examples of this.
- *Other* sorts of discriminations are varied, the more societies become complex, the more factions and grouping types become diversified, e.g. financial situations, family relations or participation to associational activities are common examples of daily discriminative attitudes¹².

So far, different discrimination types and possible groupings have been introduced. However, the process of discrimination also requires an evaluation. This process determines the direction and level of separation of varied groupings.

1.1.2.1. Direct and Indirect Discrimination

Direct discrimination indicates an explicit form of a type of discrimination that was introduced in the previous chapter. This process also has an effect on next versions of discrimination process that eventually cause strong separations between parts; Hugh Collins's explanation on this continuum goes as follows:

“For instance, the normal role of child care performed by women puts them at a competitive disadvantage in seeking better jobs, which are typically designed with hiring rules that favour work experience and set requirements of long hours of work. This combination of formal institutional rules (the terms of employment) and informal social norms (women taking primary responsibility for childcare) results in a predictable pattern of exclusion of women from the better jobs, as evidenced in the continuing disparity between average rates of pay for men and women”¹³.

Indirect discrimination on the other hand may be defined in the following forms. Indirect discrimination may also be revealed during the solution process of discrimination, as it criticized for equal treatment or affirmative action policies¹⁴.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Hugh Collins, “Discrimination, Equality and Social Inclusion”, *The Modern Law Review*, Vol. 66 No. 1, 2003, pp.16-43.

¹⁴ Ibid.

Affirmative action practices aim to solve discriminative actions in the field of administration (e.g. quota measures). Women's participation in political life via affirmative action has been criticized due to its effect on qualified male candidates and with bringing under-valued persons in charge of important duties. From the same point of view, during a job application process, equal treatment policies may cause an unfair treatment for participants with some disadvantages, e.g. economically disadvantaged groups may not have the same education quality as their peers have in the same field.

1.1.2.2. Institutional Discrimination

More complex and developed versions of discrimination is present in institutionalized form. Although this is not the final goal for administrations, systematically formed discrimination is prevalent in business schools, private sector, hospitals and other important sectors related with employment¹⁵. To better deal with these unfair situations, systems develop active solutions such as positive action. For example, a person with an under represented immigrant background within the society may be favoured in recruitment process, but as discussed above, it is crucial in this phase not to lead a discriminative process towards other groups¹⁶.

1.1.2.3. Other Discrimination Types

De Facto discrimination is a prevalent form of discriminative attitudes. Despite all these legal provisions and political measures, the existence and continuation of discrimination is referred as de facto discrimination¹⁷. This is usually the case in gender issues. Although the legal regulations and improvements are in practice, today women earn lower salaries than men¹⁸.

Multiple-discrimination is a result of this complex structure of discrimination. Basically it refers the situation of being discriminated on more than one grounds, e.g.

¹⁵ James W. Vander Zanden, *Sociology the Core*, New York: Mc Graw Hill, 1990, pp.185-219.

¹⁶ Finland Ministry of Employment and Economy, "Equality and Preventing Discrimination in Working Life", 2007, http://yhdenvertaisuus-fi-bin.directo.fi/@Bin/bd7f7436103b437fe8cf55da558ea0e7/1353145927/application/pdf/115104/Moni_muotoisuusopas_en.pdf (10.09.2010), pp.11-18.

¹⁷ David Robertson, *A Dictionary on Human Rights*, London: Europa, 1997, pp.5-219.

¹⁸ Ibid.

being discriminated because of sex, ethnicity and economic situation which is very common case of immigrant women¹⁹. The more identities become diversified the more multiplied form of discrimination becomes common, and this makes harder to determine separate identities and intervene to the situation²⁰.

1.1.2.4. Social inclusion

Social inclusion is supposed to be the general treatment of these policies. Diversity management within a collaborative approach makes possible to create cohesion among all these groups and fractions. Hugh Collins explains the role of social inclusion with being the ultimate goal or outcome of the implementation of justice, including equality of resources, equality of chance for individuals to reach their goals, also leads social cohesion²¹. Apart from its legal aspect of creating an equal participation of all parties, social inclusion also determines the ethic aspect of non-discriminative policies.

1.1.3. Gender and Gender Equality

Gender constitutes a huge element within all types of discriminations. Importance of this subject firstly reveals from its constantly changing nature. Nowadays gender equality does not have the same meaning as it did at the early days of women movements. Therefore the notion gender is a living concept which is open for influences by historical movements, geographies, cultures and many other local and international factors. Linda Nicholson explains this multi-layered set of definitions with the problematic of 'interpreting gender' and indicates its two side results; first, the term gender has a contrasting effect on the term sex while exposing the difference between

¹⁹ Finland Ministry of Employment and Economy, "Equality and Preventing Discrimination in Working Life", 2007, http://yhdenvertaisuus-fi-bin.directo.fi/@Bin/bd7f7436103b437fe8cf55da558ea0e7/1353145927/application/pdf/115104/Moni_muotoisuusopas_en.pdf (10.09.2010), pp.11-18.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Hugh Collins, 'Discrimination, Equality and Social Inclusion', *The Modern Law Review*, Vol. 66, No. 1, 2003, pp. 16-43.

biological sex and socially constructed gender; second, gender has a role on influencing social roles by organizing sexual differences²².

Since this changing nature of gender has a concrete effect on gender equality policies (e.g. labour markets), the importance of definitions and their origins become vital to understand²³. At this point, Linda Nicholson emphasizes gender as being a typical thought that refers individual's behaviour and therefore their personality. Thereafter Nicholson explains the change of values in their historical contexts²⁴. Throughout history, gender has been explained with sex difference between women and men. This setting has also had an effect on historically rooted perceptions of equality. That is why even today, it is not surprising to see gender equality discussions as turning around the same point that women, the weaker group, try to overcome men's hegemony but nothing more. Another aspect of this static approach is the prevailing effect of definitions from developed parts of the world to developing countries. This brings together the problematic of a fixed definition which may not fit into receiver country's local perceptions. A basic example of this situation is western values being prevalent in eastern parts of the world which is also the case between the European Union and the CEECs during social policy adaptations²⁵. Although the EU tries to implement its rather developed gender equality policies to the CEECs, in some cases the country adapting policies may not even be familiar with the meaning of a new concept, or the worse, the new concept may mean something totally different than its initial goal.

Considering these differentiations on meanings and local effect on labels, gender and gender equality can not be defined in a purely biological manner²⁶. This has also been a determinant for definitions during the so-called radical feminist movements of the 1970s'; characteristic of this period was the struggle for abandoning classical concept of feminism that shapes women's role over men's power, repeats women as

²² Linda Nicholson, "Interpreting Gender", *Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, Vol.20 No.1, 1994, pp.79-105.

²³ William P. Bridges, "Rethinking Gender Segregation and Gender Equality: Measures and Meanings", *Demography*, Vol.40 No.3, 2003, pp. 543-568.

²⁴ Linda Nicholson, "Interpreting Gender", *Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, Vol.20 No.1, 1994, pp.79-105.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

only being similar identities, and to bring a new understanding that includes and accepts the differentiations among women²⁷.

The complex question of interpreting women also explained with the notion of ‘gender stratification’²⁸. ‘Stratification’ refers institutionalized version of discrimination and inequality, and asks women’s eligibility to be accepted as a minority group²⁹. According to sociologist Jessie Bernard women possess following features that make them eligible to count as a minority group;

- “1. Historically women have encountered ‘prejudice and discrimination’
2. Women possess ‘physical and cultural traits’ that distinguish them from men, the dominant group
3. Through the efforts of the women’s liberation movement and consciousness-raising groups, women have increasingly become a ‘self-conscious social group’ characterized by an awareness of oneness
4. Membership is involuntary, since gender is an ascribed status that is assigned to person at birth”³⁰.

Therefore women, as initial definitions of gender are able to be counted as a minority group within the society just as other minority groups which have been explained within discrimination types. Despite their clear and definite situation of being systematically discriminated, women still lack a sufficient implementation of equality policies from states. From gender equality aspect on the other hand, vagueness still remains under needs of contemporary developments.

1.1.4. Definitions in the International Legal Sources

1.1.4.1. Definition of Discrimination in the International Legal Sources

Academic descriptions explain historical evaluation of otherization in the society. Although these explanations provide an insight on current anti-discrimination policies, there is still need of an understanding towards legal base of these movements. This legal base also exposes the beginning of international recognition and acceptance of discrimination. Initial regulations of anti-discrimination were mostly related with race, ethnic origin, age, disability and then sexual orientation, prominently in the field

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ James W. Vander Zanden, *Sociology the Core*, New York: Mc Graw Hill, 1990, pp.185-219.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

of labour market, education, healthcare and other social fields afterwards³¹. Thus, one can evaluate development of these liberties with their linkage to economic goals rather than social needs. International human rights approach reveals after the advent of United Nations and Second World War. Global need of peace and a broader concept of justice have led to anti-discrimination movements and legal definitions have launched under these post-war circumstances.

International sources contain definitions of discrimination, non-discrimination or equality from a state-centric approach and aim to bring a clear explanation to distribution of power. These statements are initially addressed with civil liberties and citizenship in the international sources. ‘Civil liberties’ refer basic explanation of relationship between individual and state in process of civil society’s formation³². ‘Citizenship’ notion again explains this relationship of state and individual in its formal and binding version³³. Civil liberty or citizenship aspects of equality policies are particularly important to explain the legitimacy of these notions on international arena.

After initial statements regarding with civil liberties and citizenship, local definitions have effects on legal definitions. Local definitions were shaped around regional and political groupings with bottom-up movements. The United Nations, the Council of Europe, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and The Organization of American States (OAS) have all brought legal statements that explain discrimination. Thus, in order to understand global distribution of all these statements ‘Definitions of the International Organizations’ and ‘Definitions of the Regional Organizations’ may pose two separate groups³⁴.

Definitions of the International Organisations are mainly cumulated in the United Nations Documents. Since the Organization stands as main pillar of international relations mechanism, its statement of faith in fundamental human rights means a sound guarantee for all participators³⁵. The UN system includes this promise in not only its

³¹ European Commission, “The Fight against Discrimination and the Promotion of Equality – How to Measure Progress Done”, 2008, pp.60-82.

³² David Robertson, *A Dictionary on Human Rights*, London: Europa, 1997, pp.5-219.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Mehmet Semih Gemalmaz, *Ulusalüstü İnsan Hakları Belgeleri*, İstanbul: Alkım, 2000, pp.139-199.

³⁵ David Robertson, *A Dictionary on Human Rights*, London: Europa, 1997, pp.5-219.

own declaration, but also in declarations of its sub-organizations e.g. the International Labour Organization (ILO) provides its support on international and national labour markets and has a concrete effect with anti-discrimination and equality policies³⁶.

Following list of the United Nations Agreements on Human Rights include discrimination as a stated legal item in its regulations. The most prominent one is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) which refers to anti-discrimination in its broadest concept and influences main legal approaches of other UN bodies.

- *Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)* is the first international document that includes the term ‘human rights’³⁷. Two articles of this document directly indicate discrimination in social and economic fields:
 - “Article 7
All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination
 - Article 23/2
Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work”³⁸.
- *Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* indicates discrimination in the fields of international law, propaganda, children rights, and civil equality³⁹.
- *Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* indicates discrimination as a prohibited ground on the field of basic economic, social, cultural rights⁴⁰.
- *Convention against Torture*.
- *Convention on the Rights of the Child* prohibits discrimination against children and asks its member states to provide appropriate conditions for their live⁴¹.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ United Nations, “The Universal Declarations of Human Rights”, <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml>, (12.10.2012).

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, “United Nations International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights”, <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/ccpr.htm> (12.10.2012).

⁴⁰ Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, “International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights”, <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/cescr.htm> (12.10.2012).

⁴¹ Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, “Convention on the Rights of Child”, <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/crc.htm> (12.10.2012).

- *Regional Organizations' definitions on discrimination* include prohibition of discrimination in different regional structures of the world⁴².
- *European Convention on Human Rights*, as the fundamental treaty guarantees the protection of human rights in Europe, this document secures this protection without any sort of discrimination⁴³.
- *Organization of American States Documents*.
- *Organization of African Unity Documents*.

1.1.4.2. Gender Discrimination in the International Legal Sources

International developments in women rights and gender equality place gender discrimination as a separate title to analyse. During formation process of international sources women issues have been covered under 'sex discrimination', by counting among other types of discriminations. After the rise of feminism around 1970s, institutional involvement of women movements to the UN structure started. International Women's Movement petition to the UN triggered process of a series of conferences on this issue⁴⁴.

The four global women's conferences and the Beijing Process afterwards had a principal effect not only on international UN policies, but also on Member States' national policies. Timeline of this policy evaluation is as follows;

- 1975 United Nations First World Conference on Women in Mexico City with the theme of 'full gender equality, full participation of women in development and women's contribution to peace'⁴⁵.
- 1980 United Nations Second World Conference on Women in Copenhagen with the theme of 'sufficient involvement of women in the society as a right and responsibility and equal opportunities'⁴⁶.

⁴² Mehmet Semih Gemalmaz, *Ulusalüstü İnsan Hakları Belgeleri*, İstanbul: Alkım, 2000, pp. 139-199.

⁴³ Council of Europe, "European Convention on Human Rights", http://www.echr.coe.int/NR/rdonlyres/D5CC24A7-DC13-4318-B457-5C9014916D7A/0/CONVENTION_ENG_WEB.pdf (13.10.2012).

⁴⁴ Women for Women's Rights (WWHR) – New Ways Association, "Birleşmiş Milletler'de Kadının İnsan Hakları ve Türkiye'nin Taahhütleri", İstanbul: Euromat, 2009, pp.19-40.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

- 1985 United Nations Third World Conference on Women in Nairobi with the theme of ‘birth of a globally feminist strategy’⁴⁷.
- 1995 United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing adopted the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action which is current principal legal source for advancement of women⁴⁸.

As a result of these global developments the UN has also founded institutions and agreements which served as cornerstones for today’s developments. In 1979 Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) established for the aim of regulating the increasing demand and energy of women movements through professional involvement of the NGOs and other actors to the process⁴⁹. After this principal legal regulation, the UN formed following bodies to its organizational structure, and in 2010 United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empower of Women (UN Women) merged them under its authority⁵⁰.

- Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW)
- International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW)
- United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM)

Despite broad definitions of discrimination in the international legal sources, it is still hard to find a clear cut explanation on distinction between women and gender. At the end, contemporary character of gender stands as a separate subject to protect and to analyse in most of the international sources. Considering today’s recent movements and notions of gender equality, does the EU and Turkey possess the same understandings towards these definitions or is it possible to find a global coherence among local and global perceptions?

⁴⁶ United Nations, “The Four Global Women’s Conferences 1975 - 1995: Historical Perspective”, <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/followup/session/presskit/hist.htm> (10.08.2012).

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Henry J. Steiner, Philip Alston and Ryan Goodman, *International Human Rights in Context*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, pp.175-180.

⁵⁰ UN Women, “About UN Women”, <http://www.unwomen.org/about-us/about-un-women/> (10.08.2012).

1.2. DEFINITION OF DISCRIMINATION AND EQUALITY IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

The European Union has increasingly become an important actor of international politics in its historical evolution process. This progress had an effect on the EU's global stance as a policy maker and also pushed the EU to take advanced measures on its inside politics. Attitude of the global policy makers towards human rights became an urge for the EU to contain new developments.

Apart from these global interactions, the EU itself had a transformation of policies with its enlargements. As the EU institutions has begun to develop more progressive commitments to fundamental rights, the scope of equality guarantees and their content in the EU law have improved.

Within this continuum, the more EU developed, the more it governed in a more democratic way. Inclusion of internationally accepted fundamental rights such as European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) and United Nations Conventions on discrimination are examples of this democratization⁵¹. Before these modifications, the EU has included principle of equality as general principle of its foundation and decisions of the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU) remained rather formalistic⁵². This situation has also been subjected to criticisms with the EU's reluctant stance on human rights⁵³. Historical background of the EU anti-discrimination policies and their legal evaluation therefore provided an insight on the EU's perception of gender equality and discrimination.

1.2.1 Historical Background of the EU Anti-discrimination Practices

European anti-discrimination policies were shaped under initial economic goals of the European Economic Community (EEC)⁵⁴. Also the constitutional principles of

⁵¹ Alda Facio, Martha I. Morgan, "Equity or Equality for Women? Understanding CEDAW's Equality Principles", *Alabama Law Review*, 2009, Vol.60 No.5, Alabama, pp. 1134-1170.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ The European Networks of Legal Experts in the Non-Discrimination Field, "European Anti-discrimination Law Review", 2011,

Treaty of Rome; liberty, democracy and non-discrimination have influenced by the international economic movements. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) are examples for beginning of this logic⁵⁵. Thus, it is important to consider this perception at starting point to gain a good insight of today's European perspective on gender discrimination.

Economic and market-centred urges of this conjuncture primarily brought racial, economic and other sort of discriminative actions rather than gender. When it comes to gender in this period, the main problems were long lasting international women issues such as violence, women trafficking, sexual harassment which were actually posing criminal cases rather than a social human rights abuse.

In line with other anti-discrimination measures, gender equality regulations also launched under need of labour support. Treaty of Rome was modelled with goals of abolition of common tariff barriers, free movement of goods, services and to create a common market. At the end, this situation resulted with an incoherency between the goals of gender equality and economic development. At this point, Johanna Kantola indicates the perception of 'cheap female workers' during formation process of Equal Pay and Equal Treatment directives⁵⁶. According to Kantola this was the main reason of lack of domestic changes despite Article 119 of the Treaty of Rome, she explains this situations under male-dominant characteristic of policies:

"It is clear, however, that the origins of Article 119 were embedded in economic rather than social justice concerns. Countries with equal pay principles were thought to be in an unfair position in market competition when compared to those countries that paid lower wages to women. The interests of women were not raised in the debate. Article 119 was a piece of legislation by men, drafted in all-male working groups to which women had no success and no channels of influence. Furthermore, it dealt with equal pay for equal work and not with the broader and more important question of equal pay for equal value"⁵⁷.

This ambivalent nature of gender equality policies prevented a real change for a long time. However policy-making process continued with rising feminist movements

http://ec.europa.eu/justice/discrimination/files/antidiscrimination_law_review_12_en.pdf
(10.09.2012).

⁵⁵ Alda Facio, Martha I. Morgan, "Equity or Equality for Women? Understanding CEDAW's Equality Principles", *Alabama Law Review*, 2009, Vol.60 No.5, Alabama, p. 1134-1170.

⁵⁶ Johanna Kantola, *Gender and the European Union*, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010, pp.26-49.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

in the 1970s. The peak point of these developments was well-known Defrenne Case between flight attendant Gabrielle Defrenne and Sabena Airlines. Ms Defrenne's complaint was about being less paid than her male colleagues which was an abuse of her right to equal treatment on the grounds of gender under the article 119 of the Treaty of the European Community⁵⁸. After the European Court of Justice's approval on this case, firstly the latter legal regulations have widened by including gender equality, than intensification of policies brought Social Action Programmes and finally elimination of former discriminative national legislations followed the process⁵⁹.

Social movements kept increasing during the Cold-War in 1980s. High unemployment and deregulation brought the emergence of soft law measures to deal with grassroots demands. Guidelines, recommendations, action plans established a broader women's network, finally 1987 Single European Act ensured appropriate legal base to introduce new social policies⁶⁰. In 1983 European Network of Women (ENOW) was established to organize women movements and had a considerable effect on women's lobbying in Brussels⁶¹. This process was also associated with the EU's efforts of creating coherence among its social policies and with its will to create a convergence from an economically-driven union to a social union⁶².

Despite this acceleration of bottom-up movements at the European level, 1990s faced with a slow-down on progress. Centre-right governments of this date were lacking of a strong political will on gender equality⁶³. Feminist critiques, on the other hand focused on the neo-liberal urges of positive action measures and blamed the 'gender-blind' attitude of new regulations during the European integration⁶⁴. Today gender

⁵⁸ Rachel A. Cichowski, "Women's Rights, the European Court and Supranational Constitutionalism", *Law and Society Review*, Vol.38, 2004, <http://aei.pitt.edu/3023/1/CichowskiPanel10A.pdf> (14.09.2012), pp.1-37.

⁵⁹ Dina Vaiou, "Women's Work and Everyday Life in Southern Europe in the Context of European Integration" in Maria Dolores Garcia-Ramon and Janice Monk (ed.), *Women of the European Union*, London: Routledge, 1996, pp.31-61.

⁶⁰ Johanna Kantola, *Gender and the European Union*, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010, pp.26-49.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Elenor Kofman and Rosemary Sales, "The Geography of Gender and Well-fare in Europe", in Maria Dolores Garcia-Ramon and Janice Monk (ed.), *Women of the European Union*, London: Routledge, 1996, pp.2-30.

⁶³ Johanna Kantola, *Gender and the European Union*, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010, pp.26-49.

⁶⁴ Simon Duncan, "Diverse Worlds of European Patriarchy", in Maria Dolores Garcia-Ramon and Janice Monk (ed.), *Women of the European Union*, London: Routledge, 1996, pp.61-74.

equality is still one of main policy fields of the EU. The EU has launched more developed programmes and projects in the last decades. However the need of further legal regulations still keeps its existence.

1.2.2. Legal Definitions in the European Sources

1.2.2.1. Primary Legislation

European Union primary law on discrimination developed upon the Treaty of Rome through the amendments of enlargement process. Currently, main source of the EU referring discrimination and equality are; last version of the Treaty of the European Union (TEU), the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU), and the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (CFREU). Provisions related with equality and gender equality provide a broad explanation of EU anti-discrimination perception. However these provisions have also been criticized with their concerns on intra-community competition rather than human right concerns of the Union.⁶⁵ Specific provisions of the EU primary legislation addressing equality are as follows:

Provisions in the Treaty of the EU;

- *Article 2 of the TEU* ensures the EU's respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality and to the rule of law⁶⁶.
- *Article 3 of the TEU* ensures the EU's responsibility to take an active stance towards social exclusion and discrimination also includes equality between women and men among others⁶⁷.
- *Article 9 of the TEU* defines the EU bodies' responsibility to provide an equal service to all citizens⁶⁸.
- *Provisions in the Treaty on the Functioning of the EU;*
- *Article 2 of the TFEU* calls the EU to eliminate inequalities and promote equality between men and women⁶⁹.

⁶⁵ Karon Monaghan QC, "Equality and Non-discrimination", *Juridical Review*, 2011, Hart Publishing, Oxford, pp.418-428.

⁶⁶ Official Journal of the European Union, "Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union", <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2008:115:0013:0045:EN:PDF> (18.08.2012).

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

- *Article 10 of the TFEU* reminds the same responsibility in the EU's policy making and implementation process⁷⁰.
- *Article 19 of the TFEU* empowers the EU to take appropriate action to combat discrimination⁷¹.
- *Article 153/1/j* actively promotes EU to take an action on anti-discrimination⁷².
- *Provisions in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU*;
- *Article 1, 3/1 and 4 of the CFREU* ensure equality as principal human dignity and integrity⁷³.
- *Article 20, 21 and 22 of the CFREU* state individuals' equality before law, prohibit discrimination on any ground and promote the Union's diversity⁷⁴.
- *Article 24 and 26 of the CFREU* include children, cultural differences and disability aspect of equalities⁷⁵.

Despite this broad inclusion of equalities and anti-discrimination statements, primary legislation of the EU is still criticized with being insufficient in terms of bringing adequate solutions. Karon Monaghan compares the EU with better developed examples of similar structures and emphasizes the EU's shortcomings in practice;

"There remain, however, areas where the EU approach to equality falls behind those seen in more progressive constitutional settlements (South Africa and Canada being key examples). The approach of the CJEU to positive discrimination has been somewhat formalistic and restrictive. ... The EU principle of equality does not, in principle, preclude positive action. Article 2(4) of the original Equal Treatment Directive 76/207 contained provision (albeit without particularity⁶⁶) for positive action, as do the newer directives. However, the CJEU has to date demonstrated a considerable lack of enthusiasm for such provisions"⁷⁶.

⁶⁹ Official Journal of the European Union, "Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union", <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2010:083:0047:0200:en:PDF> (20.08.2012).

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Official Journal of the European Union, "Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union", http://www.europarl.europa.eu/charter/pdf/text_en.pdf (22.08.2012).

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Karon Monaghan QC, "Equality and Non-discrimination", *Juridical Review*, 2011, Oxford: Hart Publishing, pp.418-428.

As a constantly evolving organism the EU has been trying to catch up with contemporary needs of the gender equality field through supplementary legislations and amendments. These regulations have been helping the EU to bring exact solutions to each problem. Another impulse of these amendments was the EU's aim of following international level of human rights developments. Today after the Lisbon Process, the EU exposes its foremost affiliation to this goal.

1.2.2.2. Secondary Legislation

Secondary legislations of the EU expose its progressive stance on gender equality policies. The continuum of these legal developments both provides a well-detailed concept of equality and let the EU follow international human rights movements⁷⁷. The EU's prominent secondary legislations on equality and their amendments between 1970s till 2000s also show direction of this continuum:

- *Directive 75/117 EEC Equal Pay (amended by Directive 2006/54/EC)* entails elimination of discrimination on grounds of sex with regards to all aspects of remuneration and assures equal pay for equal working value⁷⁸.
- *Directive 26/207EEC Equal Treatment (amended by Directives 2002/73 EC and 2006 53 EC)* ensures equal treatment to men and women in terms of accession to employment, career opportunities and working conditions⁷⁹.
- *Directive 79/07 Social Security: Equal Treatment for men and women* ensures the principle of equal treatment in social security field and eliminates discrimination between people and women and men⁸⁰.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Europa, "Equal Pay", http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/employment_and_social_policy/employment_rights_and_work_organisation/c10905_en.htm (22.10.2012).

⁷⁹ Europa, "Equal Treatment as Regards Access to Employment, Vocational Training and Promotion", http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/employment_and_social_policy/equality_between_men_and_women/c10906_en.htm (22.10.2012).

⁸⁰ Europa, "Social Security: Equal Treatment for Men and Women", http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/employment_and_social_policy/equality_between_men_and_women/c10907_en.htm (22.10.2012).

- *Directive 86/378 Occupational Pension Schemes (amended by Directive 96/97/EC)* gives a clear definition to ex-Article 119 of the EC Treaty in term of equal treatment application to men and women⁸¹.
- *Directive 86/13 EC Agriculture Treatment, Directive 92/85 EC Pregnant Workers, Directive 92/34 EC Parental Leave* include specific regulations of gender equality on specific working fields⁸².
- *Directive 2004/113 EC Goods and Services* regulates equality between women and men to access and supply goods and services⁸³.
- *Directive 2000/43/EC implementing principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of racial or ethnic origin* is also called as ‘Race Directive’ addresses discrimination connected to racial and ethnic origin⁸⁴.
- *Framework Directive 2000/78/EC establishing a general framework for equal treatment in employment and occupation* addresses discrimination related with religion, belief, disability, age, sexual orientation, in the sphere of employment and occupation⁸⁵.
- *Recast Directive 2006/54/EC* brings together seven equality directives on occupation, employment and adopts new concepts of discrimination⁸⁶.

As it is evidently stated in the EU directives, the scope of regulations on equality were initially stated in 1975’s Equal Pay Directive, this concept was including equality of women and men among all other types of discriminations. Then in 2000s the grounds of discrimination have been stated in a clearer way, thus gender equality and women’s discrimination could found a sound base to develop further policies. On the

⁸¹ Europa, “Occupational Pension” Schemes’, http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/employment_and_social_policy/equality_between_men_and_women/c10908_en.htm (24.10.2012).

⁸² Johanna Kantola, *Gender and the European Union*, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010, pp.91-111.

⁸³ Eur-lex, “Council Directive 2004/113/EC of 13 December 2004 Implementing the Principle of Equal Treatment Between Men and Women in the Access to and Supply of Goods and Services” <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:32004L0113:EN:HTML> (24.10.2012).

⁸⁴ Eur-lex, “Council Directive 2000/43/EC of 29 June 2000 Implementing the Principle of Equal Treatment Between Persons Irrespective of Racial or Ethnic Origin”, <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:32000L0043:en:HTML> (24.10.2012).

⁸⁵ Susanne Burri and Sacha Prechal, “EU Gender Equality Law”, Belgium: European Commission, 2008, pp.6-21.

⁸⁶ Karon Monaghan QC, “Equality and Non-discrimination”, *Juridical Review*, 2011, Oxford: Hart Publishing, pp.418-428.

other hand, under recent initiatives such as well-known ‘Recast Directive’, gender equality regulations have found chance to gather together and point out the need of separate legislations for this field.

1.3. DEFINITION OF DISCRIMINATION AND EQUALITY IN TURKEY

1.3.1. Historical Background of Turkey’s Anti-discrimination Practices

Historical backgrounds of discrimination and gender equality in Turkey have developed through different flows than the European Union. Europe has experienced the establishment of women rights as a variation of human rights. The main document on this issue was Magna Carta that paved the way for further documents of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and European Convention of Human Rights (ECHR). On the European Union side these developments were initially shaped under the EU’s economic goals and then progressively had a focus on women issues.

Women rights in Turkey have developed through Turkey’s political transformation process at the beginning of republican period. Before the republican establishment, Turkish women of the Ottoman Empire have been governed under the Law of Islam and Sharia. Within this imperial structure, the inequality of women was in an institutionalized situation. Women were the evident second class population in all parts of social life⁸⁷. The advent of women being in search of a social justice or at least questioning their situation was realized at end of 18th century within nationally and politically changing contexts of Turkey⁸⁸. However, this era’s feminism has been highly criticized by keeping the traditional ties inherited in newly emerging women movements.

Fatmagül Berktaş evaluates initial women movements of Turkey with their continual links to the Ottoman traditions (e.g. emphasizing society’s needs instead of

⁸⁷ Fatmagül Berktaş, “Kadınların İnsan Haklarının Gelişimi ve Türkiye”, *Sivil Toplum ve Demokrasi Konferans Yazıları*, No: 7, 2008, http://stk.bilgi.edu.tr/docs/berktay_std_7.pdf (01.08.2011), pp.1-28.

⁸⁸ Fariba, Zarinebaf-Shahr, “Osmanlı Kadınları ve 18.Yüzyılda Adalet Arama Geleneği” in Madeline C. Zilfi (ed.), *Modernleşmenin Eşiğinde Osmanlı Kadınları*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000, pp. 241-255.

individual's) and calls this period's feminism as 'patriarchal feminism'⁸⁹. Moreover, this attitude was not abandoned during the republican revolutions. Endeavours on establishing a new state and its newly identified citizens brought women as representatives of these new values⁹⁰. As a result, even after the end of Ottomans' fundamentalist approach, during the modernization process of Turkey, early women movements remained in a limited protective frame.

This is the main characteristic difference between the European women movements and Turkish women movements. Despite economic goals of the EU at the beginning, European gender equality policies have always been including woman as an individual and have been guaranteeing her rights within this approach. However, top-down identification of social movements kept its existence in Turkey. This situation also brings together a problem of creating an independent, critical consciousness towards main problem of discrimination⁹¹.

Apart from this principle divergence, historical timeline of Turkey's anti-discrimination measures are as follows:

- *1935 - First International Congress of Women* was held in Istanbul under the theme of peace and security in all over the world⁹².
- *1948 - Post World War Era Policies* promoted associative life and international societies⁹³.
- *1950's - First multi-party elections* promoted women to take an active role in participation to politics via Turkish Women Association⁹⁴.
- *1960's - Scope of democratic rights and freedom broadened.*
- *1980's - Feminist movements and organizations deepened.*

⁸⁹ Fatmagül Berktaş, "Kadınların İnsan Haklarının Gelişimi ve Türkiye", *Sivil Toplum ve Demokrasi Konferans Yazıları*, No: 7, 2008, http://stk.bilgi.edu.tr/docs/berktay_std_7.pdf (01.08.2011), pp.1-28.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Mustafa Sanal, "Factors Preventing Women's Advancement in Management in Turkey", *Education*, Vol.128 No.3, 2008, pp.380-391.

⁹² CHP Kadın Kolları, "İlk Kadın Kongresi", <http://chpkadin.chp.org.tr/2012/02/04/ilk-kadin-kongresi-18-26-nisan-1935/> (27.10.2012).

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Women's Dialogue on EU, "Women's Journey in Turkey", Belgium: Women's Initiative for Turkey in the European Union, pp. 11-55.

- 1990's - *General Directorate for Women's Affairs* established under the ministry of labour⁹⁵.
- 2000's - *Equality policies in line with the EU membership process*⁹⁶.

In parallel with the EU's involvement to global equality movements, Turkey has actively participated to the international human rights developments. Both parties' sign on the agreements of the UN, IMF, and GATT ensured their long term commitment to human rights and anti-discrimination practices. However, considering the EU's urge of providing a countable equality in terms of participation to the labour market, Turkey has mainly been urged by its own multi-layered and rather complex political issues. That is why both discriminative actions and their measures have shaped differently in both sides⁹⁷.

Within this historical and sociological context, today Turkey's main problems on equality consist of its deeply rooted historical perceptions. Particularly during the EU membership process, Turkey has been launching a broad set of regulations related with social equality. However implementation phase of these regulations has been problematic because of the conservative attitudes.

1.3.2. Legal Definitions in Turkey's Sources

Legal definitions on gender equality also indicate the evolution of regulations and direction of transformations in Turkey. Just as the EU, Turkey has been gradually involved in global developments. Main axes of these involvements were Turkey's long lasting will to be engaged in western level of development. However Turkey's inside dynamics too had an effect on direction of these steps. Basically, working life,

⁹⁵ European Parliament, "Gender Equality in Turkey", <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/document/activities/cont/201204/20120424ATT43808/20120424ATT43808EN.pdf> (30.10.2012).

⁹⁶ Women's Dialogue on EU, "Women's Journey in Turkey", Belgium: Women's Initiative for Turkey in the European Union, pp. 11-55.

⁹⁷ Heinrich Böll Stiftung Foundation, *The Debate on Gender Mainstreaming in Turkey*, İstanbul: Sena, 2007, pp.67-109.

education, family-religion-society and politics were the four principal pillars of these regulations⁹⁸.

First important legal regulation on gender equality was women's right to vote and stand for vote in Turkey. This right was granted in 1935 as a sign of importance of gender equality for the new Republic of Turkey. According to EU sources this was also the indicator of Turkey's progressivist stance on the international fora because Turkish women were first to have this level of social right among most of the developed countries⁹⁹.

Although Turkey has posed a prominent stance in terms of representative participation, initial years of the Republic have formed through varied problems. Equality in marriage, polygamy and rights related with heritage were some of these issues. Following timeline exposes prominent problems and their legal solutions since the early republican era till 2000's;

- 1839 - *Imperial Rescript (Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu)* accepted the principle of equality¹⁰⁰.
- 1876 - *The Fundamental Rights* were regulated in the first constitution¹⁰¹.
- 1923 - *Republican Reforms* enabled women to participate public sphere¹⁰².
- 1985 - *Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)* signed by Turkey.
- 1995 - *Beijing Declaration* was signed by Turkey.
- 2001 - *The principle of 'Equality between spouses' was included in the Constitution*¹⁰³.
- 2002 - *CEDAW Optional protocol* was approved.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Women's Dialogue on EU, "Women's Journey in Turkey", Belgium: Women's Initiative for Turkey in the European Union, pp. 11-55.

¹⁰⁰ Zehra Odyakmaz Altınbaş, "Anayasalarımızda Kadın Hakları", *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi*, Vol.14 <http://atam.gov.tr/anayasalarimizda-kadin-haklari/> (14.10.2012).

¹⁰¹ Ibid..

¹⁰² Gülnihal Bozkurt, "Türk Kadınının Hukuki Durumu", *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi*, Vol.34 <http://atam.gov.tr/turk-kadininin-hukuki-durumu/> (14.10.2012).

¹⁰³ Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "The Right of Women, Gender Equality and Struggle with Violence against Women" http://www.mfa.gov.tr/the-right-of-women_-gender-equality-and-struggle-with-violence-against-women.en.mfa (14.09.2012).

- 2003 - *Turkish Penal Code Article 462* regulated the crimes of honour and narrowed its scope¹⁰⁴.
- 2004 - *Article 10 of the Constitution* amended and obliged the state to provide the equality between women and men.

As it was the case in most of the international feminist movements, Turkish women too pushed the limits of law in the 1980's. The goal of movements in this period was to get better participated in social life. Another aspect of these movements was women's will to have an independent stance apart from state protectionism, which was actually imposing their roles and duties within the society¹⁰⁵. Turkey's signing of Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) was realized under these bottom-up pressures.

After Turkey's sign on CEDAW, women movements gained strength and definitions in the national legal sources amended. Especially definitions in Turkish Penal Code and Civil Law had an important meaning for rural areas. However strong traditional ties and conservative perceptions posed obstacles for developments; e.g. 2001 legal amendment on Civil Law was accepted as a cornerstone but it was still lacking from accepting women as autonomous individuals while keeping state protectionism¹⁰⁶.

Today, in the process of the EU membership, Turkey introduces a better commitment and a structured form of gender equality and human rights. Legislations, constitutional law and more specific legislations aim to create a sufficient base to the EU's legal adaptations. Following articles of Turkish law are examples of this base;

- *Constitutional law article 10* ensures equality before law without any sort of discrimination on the grounds of race, sex, religion¹⁰⁷.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Fatmagül Bertay, "Kadınların İnsan Haklarının Gelişimi ve Türkiye", *Sivil Toplum ve Demokrasi Konferans Yazıları*, No:7, 2008, http://stk.bilgi.edu.tr/docs/berktay_std_7.pdf (01.08.2011), pp.1-28.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi, "Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Anayasası" http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/anayasa/anayasa_2011.pdf (14.11.2012).

- *Constitutional law article 41* indicates family as the main element of society based on equality between spouses and holds state as responsible of its protection¹⁰⁸.
- *Constitutional law article 42* ensures compulsory primary education for girls and boys¹⁰⁹.
- *Constitutional law article 90* indicates the priority of international law before national law¹¹⁰.

Although recent amendments of Turkish legal structure aim to catch coherence with the EU's legal structure, there are still deficiencies by means of catching global level of gender equality. Participation to the decision making mechanisms, studies on upgrading women's statute are found inefficient by some of the non-governmental organizations¹¹¹. The good side of Turkish gender equality legal framework is the existence of diversified dynamics of the society. This pushes the continuum of equality demands and civil organization works in line with international non-governmental and governmental developments. However policy-making processes, political actors and institutions still stay at the centre of all transformations.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi, "Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Anayasası" http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/anayasa/anayasa_2011.pdf (14.11.2012).

¹¹¹ Women for Women's Rights (WWHR) – New Ways Association, "Birleşmiş Milletler'de Kadının İnsan Hakları ve Türkiye'nin Taahhütleri", İstanbul: Euromat, 2009, pp.19-40.

CHAPTER II: ANTIDISCRIMINATION POLICIES AND GENDER EQUALITY

After determining the conceptual framework, anti-discrimination policies and gender equality evaluated as a separate chapter to analyse. This chapter aims to examine existing conditions, missing points, possible future policies and good practices for European Union and Turkey. Policy tools such as positive discrimination and gender mainstreaming have been widely criticized with their advantages and disadvantages. Political participation and representation, political actors and institutions and other problematical issues helped to understand similarities and differences between EU countries and Turkey.

2.1. INEQUALITIES AND ANTI-DISCRIMINATION POLICIES FROM THE EU GENDER PERSPECTIVE

European Union Gender Equality policies have been shaped under the EU's wide perception on equality and discrimination. Since the EU possesses a broad range of social elements, its equality definitions and non-discriminative measures require involvement of all these parameters. Gender equality policies as tools of EU anti-discrimination measures are part of this broad concept. Thus, gender equality policies too require adjustment of all existing definitions in a coherent way.

Gender equality problems and policies take their forms under different conditions. International movements, attitudes of the governments and policy-makers on equality and local variables are the main elements that shape gender equality issues. Within this set of determinants firstly the EU's internal factors at local and inter-community level has an effect on gender equality policies¹¹². Member states' national policies, their degree of modernization, their level of education and their adaptation to the EU's governance systems are called as 'endogenous makeup' to describe the EU's ability to bring the best policy for gender equality¹¹³.

¹¹² Jürgen Gerhards, Mike. S. Schäfer and Sylvia Kämpfer, "Gender Equality in the European Union: The EU Script and its Support by European Citizens", *Sociology*, Vol.43, 2009, pp.515-534.

¹¹³ Ibid.

The EU's gender equality perception was initially shaped under economic conditions. However, despite long lasting economic regulations on gender equality field, inequality between women and men is still visible in the labour sector today. European Commission progress report on equality between men and women exposes recent ten year's employment and unemployment rates and the on-going inequality¹¹⁴. (See figure 1).

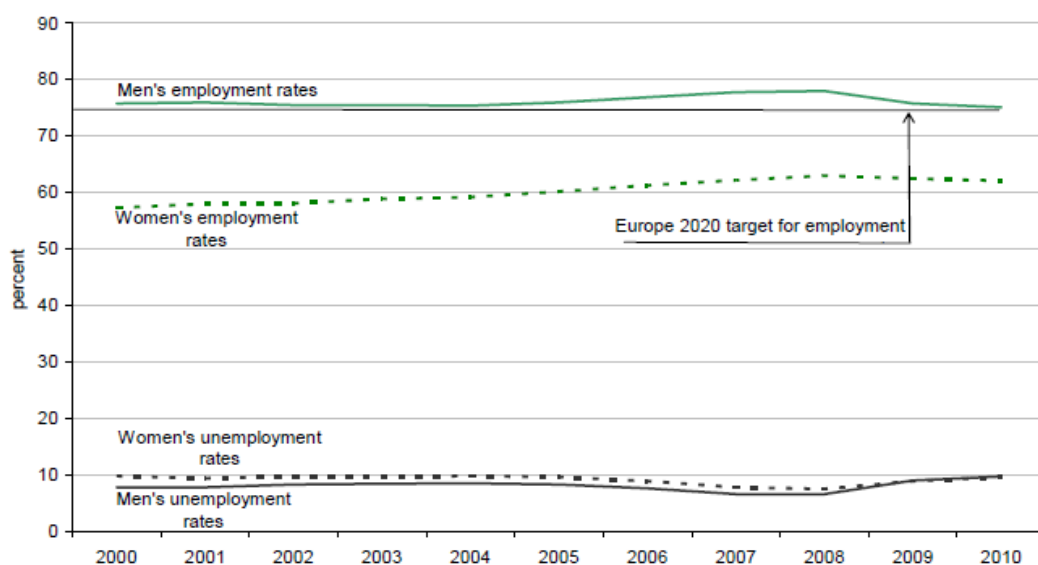


Figure 1: Unemployment and Employment rates in the European Union

Source: European Commission, “Commission Staff Working Document on equality between women and men”, *Eurostat*, 2011, http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/swd2012-85-gendereq_en.pdf (14.11.2012), p.4.

In line with the inequality on labour sector, the EU still has pay gaps for male and female workers. This problem has been tried to get under control with the Equal Pay Directive, but recent studies show existence of this issue for all member states¹¹⁵. (See figure 2).

¹¹⁴ European Commission. “Commission Staff Working Document on Equality between Women and Men”, *Eurostat*, 2011, http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/swd2012-85-gendereq_en.pdf (14.11.2012), p.4.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

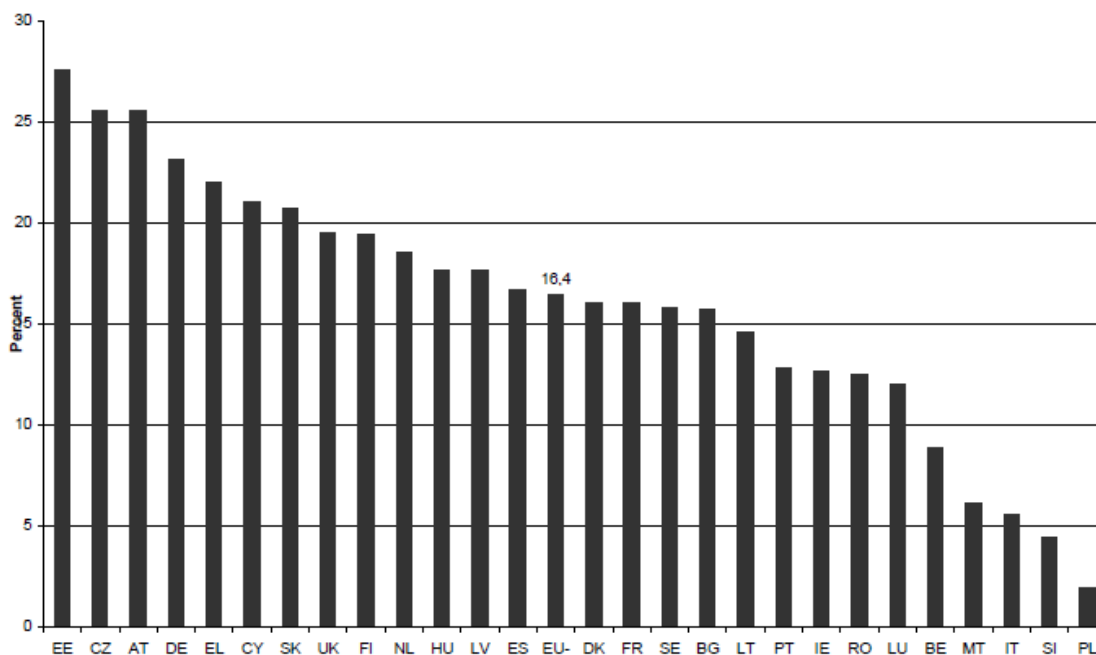


Figure 2: Pay Gap between Women and Men in Unadjusted Form in the EU Member States 2010

Source: European Commission, “Commission Staff Working Document on Equality between Women and Men”, *Eurostat*, 2011, http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/swd2012-85-gendereq_en.pdf (14.11.2012), p.9.

The EU’s perception of gender equality has changed throughout its enlargements. Within this process, equality between men and women became a priority for the EU and the scope of these policies widened. The EU’s initial work-place oriented approach, in time, extended to the politic sphere by women’s involvement to decision making procedures and finally included more social policies¹¹⁶. At the end of this process, gender equality initiatives became strong enough to count within the EU’s priority tasks¹¹⁷.

However, considering the national parliaments of the European Union, the level of women’s inclusion varies among member states. In the Northern Countries such as Finland, Sweden, Netherlands and Belgium the proportion of women seats can reach around %40s in the national assemblies, but these numbers fall %20s in the less

¹¹⁶ Jürgen Gerhards, Mike. S. Schäfer and Sylvia Kämpfer, “Gender Equality in the European Union: The EU Script and its Support by European Citizens”, *Sociology*, Vol.43, 2009, pp.515-534.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

developed countries of the CEECs, particularly in Hungary, Czech Republic¹¹⁸. The situation points to the lack of coherence among the EU countries. (See figure 3).

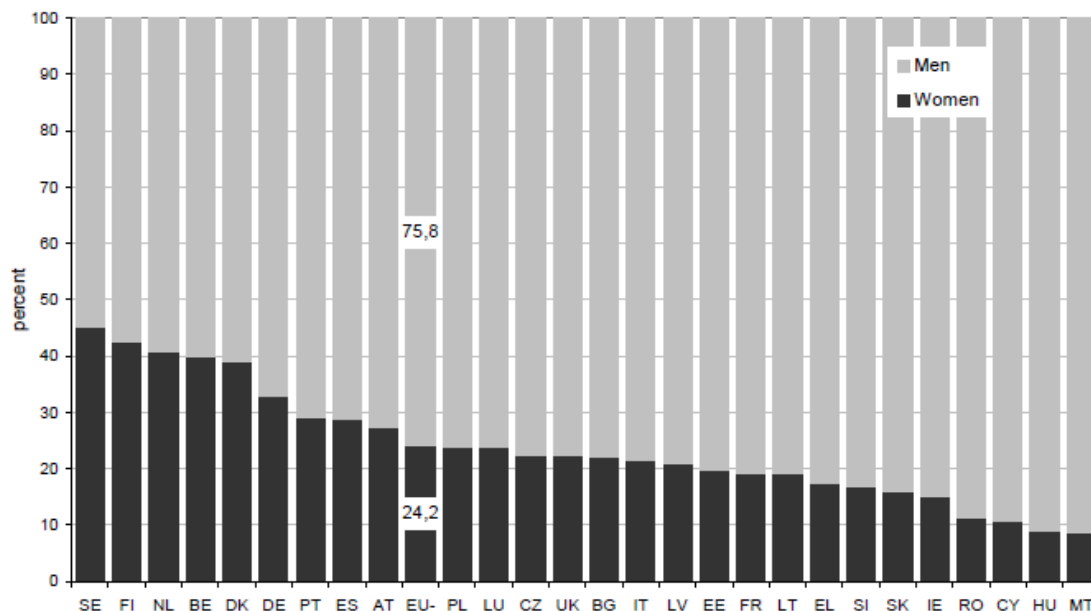


Figure 3: Women and Men in National Parliaments (single/lower houses), 2011

Source: European Commission, “Commission Staff Working Document on Equality between Women and Men”, *Eurostat*, 2011, http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/swd2012-85-gendereq_en.pdf (14.11.2012), p.12.

Education policies included in the EU’s rather recent policy initiatives by indicating social aspect of the gender policies. This was also accepted as a sign of the EU’s policy progress on gender equality¹¹⁹. However, women’s participation to the education sector also varies among European countries. Following figure explains the percentage of the EU Member States’ early leavers from education and training as a sample of this issue¹²⁰. (See figure 4).

¹¹⁸ European Commission, “Commission Staff Working Document”, 2011, http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/swd2012-85-gendereq_en.pdf (14.09.2012).

¹¹⁹ Jürgen Gerhards, Mike. S. Schäfer and Sylvia Kämpfer, “Gender Equality in the European Union: The EU Script and its Support by European Citizens”, *Sociology*, Vol.43, 2009, pp.515-534.

¹²⁰ European Commission. “Commission Staff Working Document on equality between women and men”, *Eurostat*, 2011, http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/swd2012-85-gendereq_en.pdf (14.09.2012), p.12.

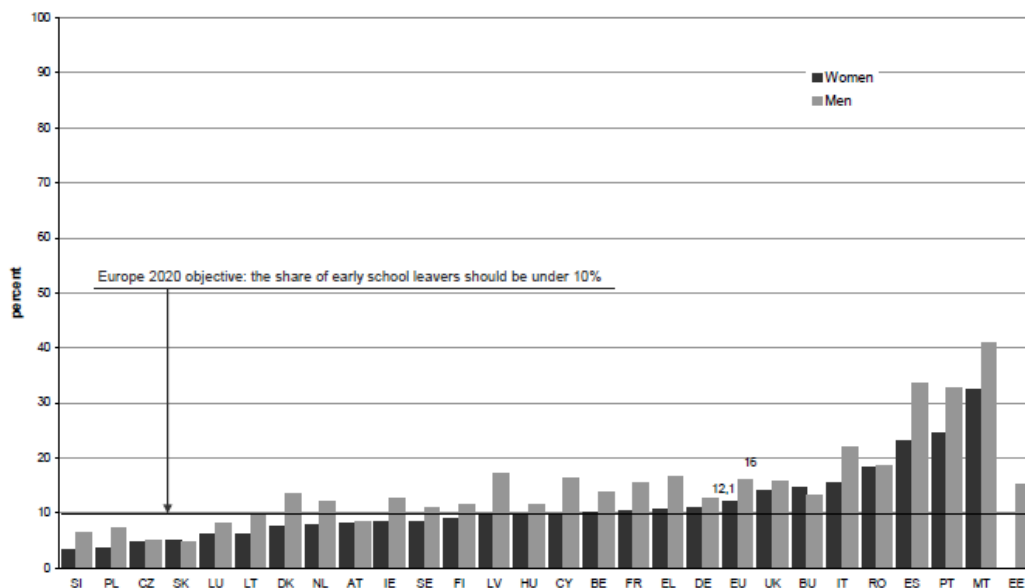


Figure 4: Early Leavers from Education and Training in the EU Member States – 2010

Source: European Commission, “Commission Staff Working Document on Equality between Women and Men”, *Eurostat*, 2011, http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/swd2012-85-gendereq_en.pdf (14.11.2012), p.19.

The EU’s gender equality perspective and policy concept is developed but still requires policy improvements. This situation particularly reveals while considering differences among Member States. Overall evaluation of the EU’s facts on gender equality also provides an overview of whole countries and their level of developments on particular titles¹²¹. (See annex 1). Participation to social and political life, employment and unemployment rates, care activities and gender violence are on-going titles of the EU gender policy regulations. However contemporary titles of gender equality today have been changing and requiring further implementations.

2.1.1. Policy Tools of the EU Gender Equality

European Union policies for gender equality have been changed with its main treaties. Amendments to the EU’s principal articles also show transformation process of the Organization’s equality concept. Treaty of Amsterdam Article 3, Article 13, Article 137 and Article 141 expose these policy modifications and changing policy tools.

¹²¹ Jürgen Gerhards, Mike. S. Schäfer and Sylvia Kämpfer, “Gender Equality in the European Union: The EU Script and its Support by European Citizens”, *Sociology*, Vol.43, 2009, pp.515-534.

The EU's main tools to provide this policy transformation consist of a broad range of instruments. Principally European Employment Strategy (EES) and European Structural Funds are the main tools of gender equality. European Employment Strategy has been directed by European Commission and ensures social inclusion and social protection¹²². European Structural Funds, function under Seventh Framework Programme and provide principles of equality within the EU's new project initiatives¹²³.

Financial tools of the EU's gender equality regulations aim to bring practical solutions to existing problems. EES, European Structural Funds or other technical programs have a considerable effect on markets' equality conditions. Nevertheless, these tools are not sufficient to reach whole aspects of the gender equality field. Since equality itself is a social and dynamic concept, the EU maintains its regulations throughout multi-layered policy tools to get in-place results.

Gender trainings, gender equality indexes, following world polities and keeping effective monitoring on member states are some of these multi-layered tools¹²⁴. The EU's prominent tools on gender equality have been; positive discrimination (affirmative action), gender mainstreaming, sustainable development and at some points the EU's membership conditions¹²⁵. Multi-layered characteristics of these policies also provide assessment and evaluation of their long term usage¹²⁶.

The EU gender equality measures were initiated with Equal Pay Directive, by including every individual's right at the same level. These rights are treated in a broader and more qualified way through positive discrimination and gender mainstreaming measures¹²⁷. This continuum of policies also addressed as the EU's three ideal-typical

¹²² European Commission, "Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion Policy Framework", <http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=753&langId=en> (16.10.2012).

¹²³ European Commission, "FP7: Future of the European Union Research Policy", http://ec.europa.eu/research/fp7/index_en.cfm (16.10.2012).

¹²⁴ Janneke Plantenga, Chantal Remery, Hugo Figueiredo and Mark Smith, "Towards a European Union Gender Equality Index", *Journal of European Social Policy*, Vol.19 No.19, 2009, pp. 20-33.

¹²⁵ Europa, "Roadmap for Equality between Women and Men (2006-2010)", http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/employment_and_social_policy/equality_between_men_and_women/c10404_en.htm (16.10.2012).

¹²⁶ European Commission, "Tools for Gender Equality", <http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/tools/> (16.10.2012).

¹²⁷ Mark A. Pollack and Emilie Hafner-Burton, "Mainstreaming Gender in the European Union", *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 7, No. 3, 2000, pp.433-456.

approaches to gender issues¹²⁸. From this point of view EU gender equality can be placed on an evolution process that mainly takes its shape from Positive Discrimination and Gender Mainstreaming.

2.1.1.1. Positive Discrimination

Positive discrimination is also called as ‘reverse discrimination’, ‘preferential treatment’, and ‘positive action’ or ‘affirmative action’ as a policy tool of European gender equality¹²⁹. Positive discrimination aims to abolish individual’s disadvantaged position of reaching social opportunities just because of belonging to an under-represented group.

Positive discrimination aims to reduce this situation of inequality through legal regulations which facilitate disadvantaged minority groups’ participation to the society (e.g. political quotas). As a continuation of the EU Equal Pay Directive, positive action measures initially launched under the Goods and Services Gender Directive which was also determining the concept of citizenship and notion of European identity within a social inclusion framework¹³⁰.

Measures of positive discrimination have also been a result of the EU’s political attitude change with the Maastricht Treaty¹³¹. The EU’s new pillar structure Justice and Home Affairs paved the way to a new political sphere on gender equality by getting out of its former economic borders¹³².

Positive discrimination as a tool of EU gender equality has been used for a broad range of social policies. Education was the main field that the EU aimed to reduce

¹²⁸ Mark A. Pollack and Emilie Hafner-Burton, “Mainstreaming Gender in the European Union”, *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 7, No. 3, 2000, pp.433-456.

¹²⁹ Eurofound, “Positive Action/Positive Discrimination”, <http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/emire/SWEDEN/ANCHOR-POSITIVS-Auml-RBEHANDLING-SE.htm> (16.10.2012).

¹³⁰ Annick Masselot, “State of Gender Equality Law in the European Union”, *European Law Journal*, Vol.13 No.2, March 2007, pp.152-168.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Mark A. Pollack and Emilie Hafner-Burton, “Mainstreaming Gender in the European Union”, *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol.7, No. 3, 2000, pp.433-456.

gender gap between women and men, then political spheres included in positive discrimination to ensure women's participation¹³³.

Although positive discrimination has a progressive approach on gender equality, it has also been widely criticized. Main criticisms on positive action have been caused with its results. Since quotas lead women's easier election to any social opportunity, this brings together elimination of qualified male candidates as an indirect discrimination.

This situation has also been referred as an eventual shift of emphasis from 'equality on accession conditions' to an 'opportunity to equality on results and outcome'¹³⁴. This kind of criticisms actually point out the ambiguous efficiency of positive discrimination tool.

Scholars mainly indicate similar problematical aspects of positive discrimination, under different titles. Dogmar Schier calls imbalanced results of positive action measures as 'asymmetric character of sex discrimination', explains its group specific disadvantages of one sided policies and indicates multidimensional aspect of gender policies;

"Discrimination may be described as distinction, whether intentional or not but based on grounds relating to the personal characteristics of the individual or group, which has the effect of imposing burdens, obligations or disadvantages on such individual or group not imposed upon others, or which withholds or limits access to opportunities, benefits and advantages available to other members of society"¹³⁵.

Another criticism of positive discrimination arises with its indirect discriminative effects with an emphasis on systematic nature of inequalities;

"Direct discrimination mechanisms are premised upon the basis that the victim of discrimination is being denied an individual right for no good reason. While indirect discrimination can, in addition to safeguarding the individual's rights, also serve to remove practices that harm everyone in a protected group, some still see the law as premised upon the creation of equal *opportunities* which does not guarantee equality of *results* because the

¹³³ Jürgen Gerhards, Mike. S. Schäfer and Sylvia Kämpfer, "Gender Equality in the European Union: The EU Script and its Support by European Citizens", *Sociology*, Vol.43, 2009, pp.515-534.

¹³⁴ Mark A. Pollack and Emilie Hafner-Burton, "Mainstreaming Gender in the European Union", *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol.7, No.3, 2000, pp.433-456.

¹³⁵ Dogmar Schiek, "Equality as a Right: Lessons to be Learned from EC Sex Equality Law for a Multi-Dimensional EC Anti-Discrimination Law" in Erna Appelt and Monika Jarosch, *Combating Racial Discrimination Affirmative Action as a Model for Europe*, New York: Berg, 2000, pp. 239-259.

problem of discrimination is more deeply rooted in society which has historically denied rights to certain groups, known as ‘systematic’ discrimination”¹³⁶.

Evelyn Ellis brings third criticism of positive action through its insufficient philosophical base and indirect results;

“... However, even if it were unfailingly rigorous, the concept of indirect discrimination in itself is essentially a non-dynamic, non-redistributive one. Although it seeks to take note of the hidden obstacles facing protected groups of people and to set them aside where they are irrelevant to the matter in hand, it does nothing to dismantle those obstacles or to change customarily stereotyped roles”¹³⁷.

Although positive discrimination is an efficient gender equality tool in terms of creating concrete results, today this policy still proceeds with doubts. Even the policy-makers mention these controversial aspects in their public speeches¹³⁸. As a result of these criticisms, the EU gender equality policies, in time, will be extending to bring more social and less problematic solutions to gender equality.

2.1.1.2. Gender Mainstreaming

Gender mainstreaming brings a holistic approach to equality policies. Just as positive discrimination, gender mainstreaming too aims to bring concrete solutions but instead of asserting a clear-cut answer to the problem, policy mainstreaming targets a long-term process of implementation.

This policy tool has initially revealed in the international fora with a new policy perception. The UN Third World Conference on Women 1985 in Nairobi brought the goal of integrating women to the development programmes as an economic and social value¹³⁹. The Fourth World Conference on Women 1995 in Beijing has explicitly supported this initiative with the UN Platform for Action¹⁴⁰.

¹³⁶ Dogmar Schiek, “Equality as a Right: Lessons to be Learned from EC Sex Equality Law for a Multi-Dimensional EC Anti-Discrimination Law” in Erna Appelt and Monika Jarosch, *Combating Racial Discrimination Affirmative Action as a Model for Europe*, New York: Berg, 2000, pp. 239-259.

¹³⁷ Evelyn Ellis, *EU Anti-Discrimination Law*, New York: Oxford, 2005, pp. 112-117.

¹³⁸ Europa, “Gender Imbalance and Positive Discrimination”, *Euronews*, 28.01.2010 <http://www.euronews.com/2010/01/28/can-positive-discrimination-the-gender-imbalance-in-europe/> (17.10.2012).

¹³⁹ Council of Europe, “Gender Mainstreaming Conceptual Framework, Methodology and Presentation of Good Practices”, May 1998, http://www.gendermainstreaming-planungstool.at/_lccms_/downloadarchive/00003/Europarat.pdf (17.10.2012).

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

First definition of gender mainstreaming at the EU level came from the Commission of the European Communities in 1996. This definition explained gender mainstreaming as a systematic integration of separate social policies for the goal of promoting gender equality at all levels of policy-making; included mobilization of all general policies starting from planning phase to implementation phase¹⁴¹.

Thus, first time within all equality policies, gender mainstreaming addressed the gender dimension into all EU policies and this has caused to label this policy tool as a ‘revolutionary concept’¹⁴².

Just as positive discrimination, gender mainstreaming too exposes the EU’s change of attitude towards gender equality. Amendments to the Maastricht Treaty and EU enlargements towards northern developed countries urged the Union to bring this change¹⁴³. At the end, this transformation paved the way to a multiple approach of Equalities that eventually has included in the Amsterdam Treaty.

Under this change of perceptions, gender mainstreaming has successfully been launched within European equality policies. The EU’s five issue areas; structural funds, employment, development, competition and science show the considerable efficiency of this policy tool in the 2000s¹⁴⁴. (See annex 2). Nevertheless, the EU’s complex structure of decision making procedures and its multi-layered institutional characteristics have a negative effect on its in-place efficiency. Pollack and Hafner-Burton ask in their study;

“...Indeed, we suggest that there are not two but three institutional needles’ eyes through which gender mainstreaming must pass: (1) the supranational level of the Commission bureaucracy, in which the majority of DGs have little or no experience in adopting a gender perspective; (2) the intergovernmental level of the Council, where any proposed policies must garner a qualified majority, or even a unanimous vote among the member governments; and (3) the member state level, at which both binding non-binding EU provisions are implemented according to the ‘gender order’ of each respective members state. To what extent has the

¹⁴¹ Mark A. Pollack and Emilie Hafner-Burton, “Mainstreaming Gender in the European Union”, *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol.7, No.3, 2000, pp.433-456.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Council of Europe, “Gender Mainstreaming Conceptual Framework, Methodology and Presentation of Good Practices”, May 1998, http://www.gendermainstreaming-planungstool.at/_lccms_/downloadarchive/00003/Europarat.pdf (17.10.2012).

¹⁴⁴ Mark A. Pollack and Emilie Hafner-Burton, “Mainstreaming Gender in the European Union”, *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol.7, No.3, 2000, pp.433-456.

Union been able to overcome these three hurdles and institute a real policy of gender mainstreaming in the four years since the Commission's 1996 Communication?"¹⁴⁵.

Another criticism on gender mainstreaming emerges in parallel with the EU's institutional complexities and questions its efficiency;

"The effect of mainstreaming on Community institutions is mixed. On the one hand the Commission undertook to increase the participation of women in the EU institutions (the number of women in committees and expert groups has increased somewhat as a result), establishing a Commissioner's Group on Equal Opportunities chaired by the President, and training Commission staff on the impact of Community policies on Gender Equality. However women remained underrepresented in the discussions leading up the Constitutional Treaty and mainstreaming was also marginalised in the White Paper on Governance,¹⁴⁶ and had less of an impact on the Council and the Court of Justice"¹⁴⁷.

Finally Evelyn Ellis points out the need of broader complementary measures while supporting gender mainstreaming tools;

"It is also widely recognized that non-discrimination and equality law must be complemented by wider measures of social policy, designed to relieve historical and other types of disadvantage and promote social inclusion. There can be no doubt that the EU today wields enormous power in this area, in particular through its Employment Strategy and the deployment of its Structural Funds. However one especially noteworthy way in which the EU today gives voice to the promotion of equality is through 'mainstreaming'¹⁴⁸.

Gender mainstreaming has been efficiently used in the EU's five issue areas since the beginning of this initiative. Today still gender mainstreaming possesses a wider scope, including pension systems, poverty and health-care issues¹⁴⁹. Considering the contemporary developments, the concept of gender equality today requires innovative policy tools.

2.1.1.3. Sustainable Development

Apart from extensive tools of positive discrimination and gender mainstreaming, the EU also implements long term development programs to ensure persistence of these policies. European Social Fund (ESF), European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), European Agricultural Guidance Guarantee Fund/Fonds Européen d'Orientation et de Garantie Agricole (FEOGA) and also the EU's

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Damian Chalmers, Christos Hadjiemmanuil, Giorgio Monti and Adam Tomkins, *European Union Law – Text and Materials*, New York: Cambridge, 2006, pp. 910-926.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Evelyn Ellis, *EU Anti-Discrimination Law*, New York: Oxford, 2005, p.112-117.

¹⁴⁹ European Commission, "Manual for Gender Mainstreaming", Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2008, pp.7-22.

Employment Strategy work in line with EU sustainable development strategy and include gender equality as part of their development policy¹⁵⁰.

The EU's long term commitment to gender equality through sustainable development is also a continuation of Recast Directive approach that aims to compile all gender equality policies in a parallel line¹⁵¹. Considering the international developments on gender equality policies, particularly the UN measures on equality of access to resources or longevity of development policies, the EU exposes its will of coherence with international developments¹⁵².

2.1.1.4. Acquis Communautaire

European Union gender equality policy proceeds with different essential policy tools. Positive discrimination, gender mainstreaming, EU programs and sustainable development tools are important measures for this. However the existence of these tools solely is not enough to provide their progressive continuation. At this point Annick Masselot indicates the EU's acceptance criteria as a tool of creating consistent and clear concept towards EU gender equality policy, while also being a tool of democracy¹⁵³.

Thus, the EU as an upper power possesses the capability of initiating democracy throughout the candidate countries over the 'Community Acquis'¹⁵⁴. Accession procedure basically requests candidate countries to adopt the EU's existing legislative framework, its provisions, directives and European Court of Justice Decisions. This request also includes the EU's legislations on gender-related issues; such as equal pay, equal treatment, maternity or parental leave¹⁵⁵. From a wider point of view in long term, this gives to the EU a chance to gather all equality policies in a systematic way and also reinforces its global role as a policy initiator.

¹⁵⁰ European Commission, "FP7: Future of the European Union Research Policy", http://ec.europa.eu/research/fp7/index_en.cfm (16.09.2012).

¹⁵¹ Annick Masselot, "State of Gender Equality Law in the European Union", *European Law Journal*, Vol.13 No.2, March 2007, pp.152-168.

¹⁵² Janneke Plantenga, Chantal Remery, Hugo Figueiredo and Mark Smith, "Towards a European Union Gender Equality Index", *Journal of European Social Policy*, Vol.19 No.19, 2009, pp. 20-33.

¹⁵³ Annick Masselot, "State of Gender Equality Law in the European Union", *European Law Journal*, Vol.13 No.2, March 2007, pp.152-168.

¹⁵⁴ Irna van der Molen and Irina Novikova, "Mainstreaming Gender in the EU-Accession Process: the Case of the Baltic Republics", *Journal of European Social Policy*, Vol. 15, 2005, pp. 139-156.

¹⁵⁵ United Nations Development Programme, "Gender and EU Enlargement – Potential and Progress", <http://www.undp.org.tr/PF/Newsletter/ENG/2008/01/GenderAndEu.html> (18.10.2012).

2.1.2. Participation and Representation of Gender in the EU

Political, social participation and representation of all citizens have gradually been improved in the EU. Within this progress, the EU has been increasing not only the numbers of these participators, but also their diversity. Nevertheless, in parallel with the EU's gender equality tools, its social and political participation structures are too criticized for lacking of coherence¹⁵⁶. More, the complexity of EU legal structure and lack of connection among these bodies have been indicated as a reason of the EU's 'democratic deficit'¹⁵⁷.

2.1.2.1. Political Representation

The initial steps of women's representation in the EU's political mechanism were in the 1990s. Participation at the EU level developed through three important periods; first, 1991 Third Action Programme on Equal Opportunities initiative of experts network 'Women in Decision-Making', second, 1996 Council Recommendation on the promotion of gender balance in decision-making process and third, 2000 Commission Report initiative of a new definition of balanced representation¹⁵⁸. The EU had a considerable progress on women's participation to the politics with these initiatives. However, effectiveness of these strategies has been mentioned as questionable with their limited impact on national level changes¹⁵⁹. (See figure 5).

¹⁵⁶ Jacqueline Hale, "A New Narrative for Europe", *Euroobserver*, 18.10.2012, <http://euobserver.com/opinion/117904> (18.10.2012).

¹⁵⁷ Annick Masselot, "State of Gender Equality Law in the European Union", *European Law Journal*, Vol.13 No.2, March 2007, pp.152-168.

¹⁵⁸ Johanna Kantola, *Gender and the European Union*, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010, pp. 50-73.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

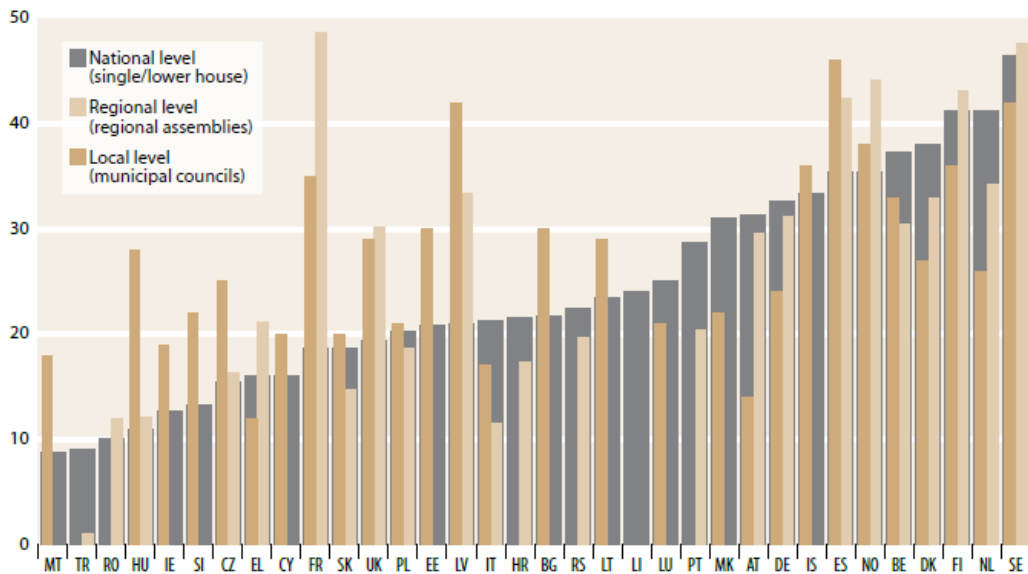


Figure 5: Representation of Women in National, Regional and Local Assemblies, 2008

Source: European Commission, “Women in European Politics – Time for Action”, Brussels: European Communities, 2009, p.24.

Evolution brings different levels of progresses among different country groups. At the national level, the EU’s Northern countries, Finland, Sweden and Belgium expose a high level of women participation, nevertheless this situation is not the same in the CEECs, and their low level adaptation is also a result of differentiation on definitions and interpretations¹⁶⁰.

The EU’s own mechanisms on gender equality expose more or less the same level of women’s participation. Since 1970s, participation of women to the parliamentary system has been almost 50% increased¹⁶¹. (See table 1).

¹⁶⁰ Johanna Kantola, *Gender and the European Union*, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010, pp. 50-73.

¹⁶¹ Inter-Parliamentary Union, “Women in Politics: 60 Years in Retrospect”, 01.02.2006, http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/wmninfokit06_en.pdf (18.10.2010).

Table 1: European Parliament since its Establishment - Overall Situation between 1979 and 2006

Elections	Seats	Men	Women	% of women
06.1979	410	341	69	16.8 %
06.1984	518	433	85	16.4 %
06.1989	518	415	103	19.9 %
06.1994	567	420	147	25.9 %
01.1995	626	453	173	27.6 %
05.2000	626	432	194	31.0 %
03.2005	732	510	222	30.3 %
02.2006	732	510	222	30.3 %

Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union, “Women in Politics: 60 Years in Retrospect”, 01.02.2006, http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/wmminfokit06_en.pdf (18.10.2010).

Despite this numerical progress, quality of increase on women’s political participation was evaluated with women’s insufficient existence in terms of policy-making. Their drawback on taking leading roles was also considered as a public – private divide on participation¹⁶².

Another problem on women’s political participation is lack of diversity on representation which leads to a multiple-discrimination and further marginalization of already existing groups (e.g. ethnically discriminated, less educated women)¹⁶³. This situation also reflects key debates of the feminist theory since early women movements which have an effect on EU gender policies. (See chapter I).

Current progresses and problems on women’s participation to the political system also indicate the level of distribution of power and its use. For this reason the EU today maintains its endeavours on a balanced representation while promoting gender equality.

¹⁶² Jacqueline Heinen, “Gender - Social and Political Citizenship in Eastern Europe”, *Theory and Society*, Vol. 26 No. 4, Special Issue on Recasting Citizenship, August 1997, pp. 577-597.

¹⁶³ Johanna Kantola, *Gender and the European Union*, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010, pp. 50-73.

2.1.2.2. Political and Social Participation

In line with its political representation policies, the EU also maintains social and political participation policies for gender equality. Achieving a balanced participation in all parts of society is one of the EU's broadest goals¹⁶⁴. While following international community's policy developments, the Organization also aims to bring an 'intergenerational' solidarity through social and political participation policies¹⁶⁵.

The goal of equal participation of the whole society also brings together equal sharing of time, work sphere, money, etc... The UNDP measures on equal participation indicate importance of economic participation and power on economic sources¹⁶⁶. The EU's employment strategy (EES) also mentions the link between equal participation and economic welfare and also shows unemployment as a sub-dimension of gender equality, which eventually effects decision making power¹⁶⁷. However considering the wideness of social policies, economic measures have effects on different set of fields which vary from payments to socio-economic power. The EU Gender Equality Index (GEI) states gender equality as a fundamental value for every separate field and aims to evaluate the whole tableau¹⁶⁸. (See annex 3).

Overall ranking of the EU 25 member states on the European Gender Equality Index exposes Finland at the top of the list, with highest proportions at all social policy fields. (See annex 3). Other Northern countries follow Finland; main developed countries such as France, Germany follow Northern Countries. The CEECs, just as in the political representation, stay in a rather low row; just before Malta Cyprus and Greece that pose the lowest ranges.

¹⁶⁴ Janneke Plantenga, Chantal Remery, Hugo Figueiredo and Mark Smith, "Towards a European Union Gender Equality Index", *Journal of European Social Policy*, Vol.19 No.19, 2009, pp. 20-33.

¹⁶⁵ European Commission, "The European Women's Lobby Brings a Gender Equality Perspective to Intergenerational Solidarity", <http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=89&langId=en&newsId=1296&furtherNews=yes> (18.10.2012).

¹⁶⁶ Janneke Plantenga, Chantal Remery, Hugo Figueiredo and Mark Smith, "Towards a European Union Gender Equality Index", *Journal of European Social Policy*, Vol.19 No.19, 2009, pp. 20-33.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ European Institute for Gender Equality, "Rationale for the Gender Equality Index for Europe", <http://www.eige.europa.eu/content/rationale-for-the-gender-equality-index-for-europe> (22.10.2012).

2.1.3. Actors and Institutions

2.1.3.1. European Parliament

European Union gender equality policies contain a broad set of policy-makers from different levels. EU's development degree on policy-making mechanism also shows its institutionalization on gender field¹⁶⁹. Just as national parliaments, the European Parliament too has a considerable impact on new policy initiatives via its committees.

Within 20 EU Parliamentarian Committees, the European Parliament's Committee on Women and Gender Equality (FEMM) is the only body that is responsible for women's policy agenda in the EU¹⁷⁰. This committee was initiated in 1979 as an ad hoc committee and provided increase on women representation from 5 per cent to 16 per cent, and improved the scope of EU policy making on gender¹⁷¹.

2.1.3.2. European Commission

European Commission acts as the executive body of the EU and representative of its interests. The Commission undertakes new policy and legislation initiatives on different subjects. Comparing with the Parliament, the EC has a wider spectrum of policy agencies on women's interests¹⁷². Through its multi-level work, the Commission has a considerable role on the EU's diversity management and consensus on issues¹⁷³.

The Commission has launched its initiatives on gender equality with 1982 Advisory Committee on Equal Opportunities for Men and Women with representatives from civil society and governments of the member states¹⁷⁴. The EC today includes

¹⁶⁹ Jürgen Gerhards, Mike. S. Schäfer and Sylvia Kämpfer, "Gender Equality in the European Union: The EU Script and its Support by European Citizens", *Sociology*, Vol.43, 2009, pp.515-534.

¹⁷⁰ European Parliament, "Women's Rights and Gender Equality", <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/committees/en/femm/home.html> (22.10.2012).

¹⁷¹ European Parliament, "Women in the European Parliament", [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/publications/2011/0001/P7_PUB\(2011\)0001_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/publications/2011/0001/P7_PUB(2011)0001_EN.pdf) (22.10.2012).

¹⁷² Johanna Kantola, *Gender and the European Union*, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010, pp.76-102.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

gender equality rights under employment, social affairs and equal opportunities titles¹⁷⁵. 2015 Strategy for Equality between Women and Men widens this scope with including equality in decision-making, gender equality in external actions, gender-based violence and economic independence¹⁷⁶.

2.1.3.3. Civil Society

In parallel with the rising feminist movements, civil society's involvement to the political systems has been increased in the 1980s. These civil society movements also had an effect on functioning of the EU and its advisory or legislative bodies¹⁷⁷. In collaboration with different stakeholders from governments, private sectors and non-governmental bodies, women movements had a considerable impact on European politics. According to public surveys, this impact has not only been visible with number of Women's NGO's, but also with their influence on progress¹⁷⁸. (See figure 6).



Figure 6: In your opinion, which stakeholders/organizations actors have contributed most to progress in the area of gender equality?

Source: European Commission, "Gender Equality in the EU in 2009", *Eurobarometer* http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_326_en.pdf (22.10.2012), p.110.

¹⁷⁵ European Commission, "Employment and Social Rights", http://ec.europa.eu/policies/employment_social_rights_en.htm (22.10.2012).

¹⁷⁶ Europa, "Strategy for Equality Between Women and Men 2010-2015", http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/employment_and_social_policy/equality_between_men_and_women/em0037_en.htm (22.10.2012).

¹⁷⁷ Annick Masselot, "State of Gender Equality Law in the European Union", *European Law Journal*, Vol.13 No.2, March 2007, pp.152-168.

¹⁷⁸ European Commission, "Gender Equality in the EU in 2009", *Eurobarometer*, http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_326_en.pdf (22.10.2012), pp.113.

European Women's Lobby (EWL) founded as the biggest feminist network of the EU in the 1990s; aimed to provide a gender perspective and women's participation to the European politics¹⁷⁹. Existence of women NGOs has a particular impact on bringing to the EU a bottom-up approach in policy-making, creating a more equitable distribution of power even among different women minorities (e.g. ethnic, economic, sexual), and finally preventing multiple-discrimination.

2.1.3.4. Other Actors and Institutions

The EU gender equality policies also cover policy programs, European Court of justice decisions and the EU's action programs. The ECJ has an important role on implementation and improvement of equality policies. Thus, in practice, the Commission and the Parliament decisions maintain through the ECJ's existence. The ECJ intervenes to process when national courts can not decide on a certain issue and provides concrete policy change¹⁸⁰.

In line with their level of development, some EU countries have further level gender equality policies and employ distinct policy actors or institutions. Sweden Equal Opportunities Ombudsperson and Northern Ireland Equal Opportunities Commission provide this kind of advanced policies to ensure gender equality¹⁸¹. These institutions also expose good practice examples to other developing member states. One example of this kind of work is establishment of European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE) which has founded with Swedish initiatives and directs women programs and knowledge-raising on gender equality¹⁸².

2.1.4. EU Gender Equality Policies and Problematical Issues

European Union gender equality policies have been developed through the EU's various policy mechanisms. Diversified structure of the member states, require

¹⁷⁹ European Women's Lobby, "About Us", <http://www.womenlobby.org/spip.php?rubrique43&lang=en> (22.10.2012).

¹⁸⁰ Senem Aydın, "Avrupa Birliği'nde Kadın Hakları ve Türkiye", *İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı*, No.175, İstanbul: İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı, July 2003, pp.1-30.

¹⁸¹ Annick Masselot, "State of Gender Equality Law in the European Union", *European Law Journal*, Vol.13 No.2, March 2007, pp.152-168.

¹⁸² European Institute for Gender Equality, "A Brief EIGE History", <http://www.eige.europa.eu/content/brief-eige-history> (24.10.2012).

cohesion among different policy initiatives of the EU. Difference among developed and less developed member states has led to the revision of EU legal structure several times. However this situation has also been evaluated as insufficient ‘materialization’ of EU law and as a cause of the gap between the EU and its citizens¹⁸³. (See figure 7).

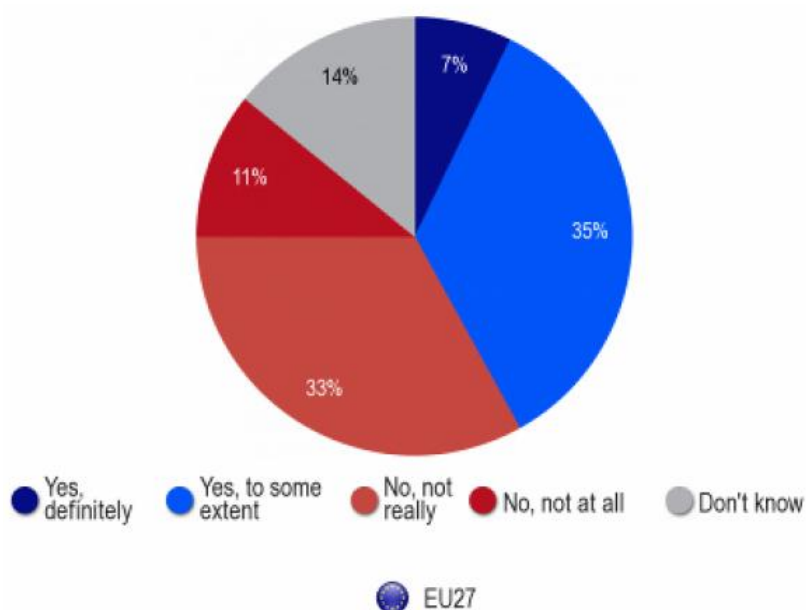


Figure 7: Would you say enough effort has been made to gender equality?

Source: European Commission, “Gender Equality in the EU in 2009”, *Eurobarometer*, http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_326_en.pdf (22.10.2012), p.113.

Eurobarometer survey shows that only 17% of the European citizens totally agree with the efficiency of the EU’s gender equality policy¹⁸⁴ (See figure 7). The rest of the positive answers include doubts about existing policies by indicating the comment ‘to some extent’ with a proportion of 35%¹⁸⁵ (See figure 7). This states more than half of the opinions on EU gender equality policies as negative¹⁸⁶ (See figure 7).

Apart from need of coherence between EU legislation and citizen opinions, EU officials’ lack of expertise is another long-lasting issue¹⁸⁷. This is also the main reason

¹⁸³ Annick Masselot, “State of Gender Equality Law in the European Union”, *European Law Journal*, Vol.13 No.2, March 2007, pp.152-168.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Mark A. Pollack and Emilie Hafner-Burton, “Mainstreaming Gender in the European Union”, *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol.7, 2000, pp.433-456.

that lays behind latter gender equality problems. The need of developing new instruments and procedures reveals as a result of this situation for the EU.

2.2. INEQUALITIES AND ANTI-DISCRIMINATION POLICIES FROM TURKEY'S GENDER PERSPECTIVE

Turkey's gender equality policies have been formed under the country's politically complex history and internal developments. This situation has also put Turkey in a separate place within the EU accession evaluations. Gerhards, Schäfer and Kämpfer explain Turkey's unique position through its specific characteristics that help understand the country's basic differentiations with the EU:

“The EU is an interesting case study for this analysis in that its member states and Turkey differ in their endogenous makeup – in their degrees of modernization, in their religious composition, and in their institutionalized gender regimes”¹⁸⁸.

As a result of this fundamental differentiation, certain gender equality problems reveal as more difficult than the EU. For example the EU has launched its gender equality policies on an economic base, while targeting to strengthen its already existing, developed market conditions. (See chapter I). But Turkey, even today, deals with more basic problems such as education and illiteracy as the main issues to solve¹⁸⁹.

Another aspect of Turkey's equality policies is its regional differences. This puts already existing problems of the country in an imbalanced distribution. (See table 2). Surveys show that underdeveloped parts of the country have around 46.4% uneducated women while this number can fall till 17% at the developed regions¹⁹⁰. (See table 2).

¹⁸⁸ Jürgen Gerhards, Mike. S. Schäfer and Sylvia Kämpfer, “Gender Equality in the European Union: The EU Script and its Support by European Citizens”, *Sociology*, Vol.43, 2009, pp.515-534.

¹⁸⁹ Hurriyet Daily News, “Report Highlights Problems in Turkey”, *Hurriyet Daily News*, 11.02.2011 <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/default.aspx?pageid=438&n=report-highlights-problems-in-turkey-2011-11-02> (24.10.2012).

¹⁹⁰ World Bank, “Bridging the Gender Gap in Turkey: A Milestone towards Faster Socio-economic Development and Poverty Reduction”, <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTECAREGTOPGENDER/Resources/TurkeyCGA.pdf> (24.10.2012).

Table 2: Percentage of Women without Education by Region in Turkey

East	46.4 %
North	28 %
South	25.2 %
Central	20.8 %
West	17 %
Southeast	55.2 %

Source: Worldbank, “Bridging the Gender Gap in Turkey: A Milestone towards Faster Socio-economic Development and Poverty Reduction”, <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTECAREGTOPGENDER/Resources/TurkeyCGA.pdf> (24.10.2012), p.37.

Together with specific problems of different regions and distinct problems of absence of development, Turkey’s situation includes more complex results. Disproportionate feature of equality policies in these cases leads to multiple discrimination. (See table 3).

Table 3: Reasons for non-enrolment Urban/Rural Residence and Sex (%), 1999

Reasons for non-enrolment	TURKEY			URBAN			RURAL		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
High costs of schooling	23.5	19.4	26.0	28.3	25.3	30.2	18.5	12.8	21.9
Lack of interest in school	22.3	23.3	21.7	18.3	19.0	17.8	26.5	28.0	25.4
Unavailability of proper school	13.0	16.7	10.7	13.3	18.4	10.0	12.7	14.9	11.5
Lack of family permission	7.1	4.1	8.9	7.1	2.5	9.8	7.1	5.9	8.0
Household chores	5.8	1.5	8.4	4.1	0.3	6.5	7.5	2.8	10.2
Need to care for younger siblings	2.4	0.5	3.6	1.7	0.9	2.2	3.1	0.0	4.7
Sickness/disability	4.4	6.3	3.2	4.5	5.1	4.1	4.2	7.6	2.5
Need to help the family in economic activity	1.4	2.5	0.7	0.5	1.3	0.0	2.2	3.8	1.2
To learn a skill trade	0.6	0.8	0.4	0.6	0.9	0.6	0.4	0.7	0.2
Failure to get along with teachers at school	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.6	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.2
Need to work for pay	1.2	2.6	0.3	1.2	2.5	0.4	1.2	2.8	0.2
Other	28.5	35.1	24.5	28.9	34.8	25.5	27.8	35	23.4

Source: World Bank, “Bridging the Gender Gap in Turkey: A Milestone towards Faster Socio-economic Development and Poverty Reduction”, <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTECAREGTOPGENDER/Resources/TurkeyCGA.pdf> (24.10.2012), p.38.

Economic conditions, health problems, lack of transportatio etc. create different results on equality policies for women and men. Not surprisingly, this situation puts Turkey in lower rates on international statistical evaluations¹⁹¹. In the UNDP Human Development Indicators list Turkey stands as 92nd country among more than 180 countries together with its under-developed peers and far from its European neighbours¹⁹². However, in line with its dynamic internal structure, Turkey's perception towards gender equality policies has been through in a transformation with recent pro-EU policies. Current government of Turkey follows liberal rights and international movements those contain better equality policies¹⁹³. However these policies have also been criticised with their controversial aspects, accepting gender politics as a cultural issue and not perceiving them as a political issue¹⁹⁴. These perceptions towards gender may eventually lead to a differentiation on final goals of the policy tools.

2.2.1. Policy Tools of Gender Equality in Turkey

Policy tools of gender equality in Turkey primarily aim to solve its long-lasting problems. Gender-based violence, education, birth control or maternal health issues have been covered under these policies. Recent policy fields which aim to catch cohesion with EU gender policies try to reach rather social fields including political and social rights of women.

Scope of Turkish Gender Equality includes strengthening women's social statute, working life, social security, legal protection, political participation, culture and education subjects¹⁹⁵. Turkey's political mechanism in this field consists of different

¹⁹¹ United Nations Development Programme, "International Human Rights Development Indicators", 2011, <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/indicators/24806.html> (24.10.2012).

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Yeşim Arat, "Religion, Politics and Gender Equality in Turkey", *Final Research Report for Heinrich Böll Stiftung Foundation*, İstanbul: Heinrich Böll Stiftung Foundation, September 2007, pp.7-31.

¹⁹⁴ Edibe Sözen, "Gender Politics of the JDP", in Hasan Yavuz (ed.), *The Emergence of a New Turkey – Democracy and the AK Parti*, Utah: University of Utah Press, 2006, pp.258-280.

¹⁹⁵ Senem Aydın, "Avrupa Birliği'nde Kadın Hakları ve Türkiye", *İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı*, No.175, İstanbul: İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı, July 2003, p.1-30.

bodies from academic level, governmental level, non-governmental level with other union and associations¹⁹⁶.

Apart from its own policy mechanism, relations with the EU had an effect on Turkey's gender equality policy course. Country's inclusion to EU structural funds pushed implementation of gender equality tools¹⁹⁷. Incentives to microenterprise activities of women and strengthening SMEs had an important effect on labour markets¹⁹⁸. Eventually positive discrimination and gender mainstreaming have been launched to provide a broader influence on politics.

2.2.1.1. Positive Discrimination

In parallel with Turkey's relations with the EU, positive discrimination has been launched as a measure to ensure women's participation in the social and political life. Turkey's need of affirmative action policies have also been indicated by international observers. The UNDP explains Turkey's need to use positive discrimination as a solution of restrictive political stance towards women¹⁹⁹.

Use of quotas for women's political and economic participation has been the main tool to provide efficiency of this policy. However, political aspect of affirmative action implementation has been subjected to criticisms²⁰⁰. This situation of Turkey has also been explained as a differentiation on European policy implementations at national

¹⁹⁶ T.C. Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü, "Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliği Ulusal Eylem Planı 2008-2013", Ankara: 2008, http://www.kadininstatusu.gov.tr/upload/mce/eski_site/Pdf/TCEUlusaleylemplani.pdf (22.10.2012).

¹⁹⁷ Senem Aydın, "Avrupa Birliği'nde Kadın Hakları ve Türkiye", *İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı*, No.175, İstanbul: İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı, July 2003, p.1-30.

¹⁹⁸ Dilek Cindoglu, "Women's Microenterprise Activity" in World Bank, "Bridging the Gender Gap in Turkey: A Milestone Towards Faster Socio-economic Development and Poverty Reduction", 16.09.2003, <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTECAREGTOPGENDER/Resources/TurkeyCGA.pdf> (22.10.2012), pp.107-117.

¹⁹⁹ United Nations Development Programme, "Turkey Needs Affirmative Gender Policies", *UNDP Turkey Monthly Newsletter*, 15.04.2010, <http://www.undp.org.tr/Gozlem2.aspx?WebSayfaNo=2431> (22.10.2012).

²⁰⁰ Edibe Sözen, "Gender Politics of the JDP", in Hasan Yavuz (ed.), *The Emergence of a New Turkey – Democracy and the AK Parti*, Utah: University of Utah Press, 2006, pp.258-280.

level²⁰¹. Nevertheless, positive action measures today still pose an active tool on Turkish gender equality concept.

2.2.1.2. Gender Mainstreaming

Turkey's gendered equality perceptions have traditionally strong roots. This makes the implementation of gender equality policies harder than the European countries. This hardship also hinders efficiency of democratic measures²⁰². Gender mainstreaming in Turkey's policy concept, aims to ensure principle of equality into all policy areas in a systematic way, and eventually transform existing perceptions of gender. However, certain characteristics of the country pose risks to these implementations; inequalities between classes, prevalent oppressiveness in the society, nationalism, militarism, poverty and religious fundamentalism are examples of these obstacles²⁰³.

Today gender mainstreaming is an active tool of Turkey's equality policies and a political priority of its relations with the EU²⁰⁴. Implementing gender mainstreaming is a result of Turkey's interactions with both the EU and the UN. Although criticisms on Turkey's gender mainstreaming arise, there is acceleration on progressivist gender policies.

2.2.2. Participation and Representation of Gender in Turkey

Gender equality policies require separate evaluations among Turkey's social layers. Different development levels between east and west, difference at education levels difference of opportunities to reaching resources, difference in labour markets

²⁰¹ James Caporaso and Joseph Jupille "Europeanization of Gender Policy and Domestic Structural Change" in Maria Green Cowles, James Caporaso and Thomas Rose (ed.), *Transforming Europe – Europeanization and Domestic Change*, New York: Cornell University Press, 2001, pp.21-43.

²⁰² İlknur Üstün, "Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliğini Hesaba Katabiliyor muyuz?", *Civil Society Development Centre*, July 2011, <http://panel.stgm.org.tr/vera/app/var/files/t/o/toplumsal-cinsiyet-esitligi-2-basim.pdf> (24.10.2012).

²⁰³ Heinrich Böll Stiftung Foundation, "The Debate on Gender Mainstreaming in Turkey", *Heinrich Böll Stiftung – Turkey*, August 2007, http://old.boell-tr.org/images/cust_files/080107133527.pdf (24.10.2012), pp. 29-53.

²⁰⁴ T.C. Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü, "Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliği Ulusal Eylem Planı 2008-2013", Ankara: 2008, http://www.kadininstatusu.gov.tr/upload/mce/eski_site/Pdf/TCEUlusaleylemplani.pdf (22.10.2012).

(e.g. hidden unemployment of women or their uncountable contribution to economy), imbalanced proportion of inequalities and domestic violence bring Turkey a hard transformation process and the need of being determinant in policy-making²⁰⁵. Thus, political representation and participation issues require more efforts than the EU's political change process in Turkey.

2.2.2.1. Political Representation

Structure of political participation in Turkey has been changed with the republican period. Involvement of women into the politics has been increased in this time, under republican revolutions. Despite the existence of traditional resistances at this date, republican values required promotion of women's representation in the political system. These circumstances provided almost 50% presence of women deputies in Turkish political system²⁰⁶ (See figure 8). This proportion falls 10% around the 1950s, and follows an incremental line till 2007 elections²⁰⁷ (See figure 8).

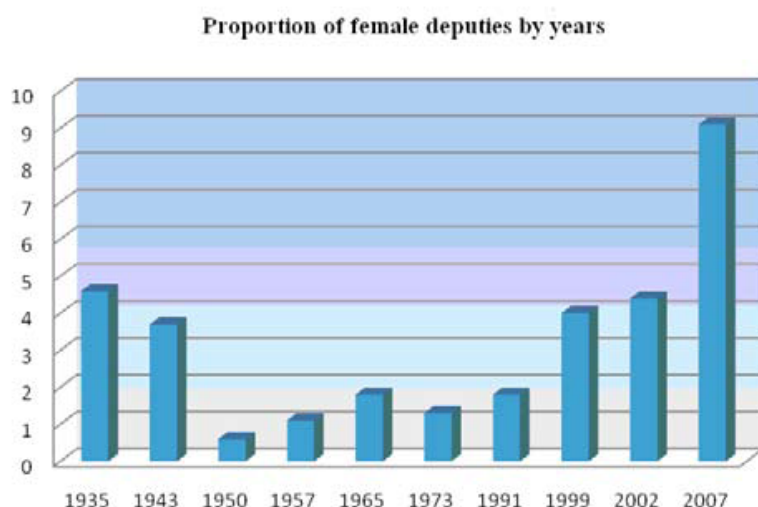


Figure 8: Proportion of Female Deputies (1935 – 2007)

Source: The Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry general Directorate on the Status of Women, "National Action Plan Gender Equality 2008-2013", Ankara: 2008, http://www.kadininstatusu.gov.tr/upload/mce/eski_site/Pdf/TCEUlusaleytemplani.pdf (22.10.2012), p.46.

²⁰⁵ Senem Aydın, "Avrupa Birliği'nde Kadın Hakları ve Türkiye", *İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı*, No.175, İstanbul: İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı, July 2003, pp.1-30.

²⁰⁶ T.C. Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü, "Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliği Ulusal Eylem Planı 2008-2013", Ankara: 2008, http://www.kadininstatusu.gov.tr/upload/mce/eski_site/Pdf/TCEUlusaleytemplani.pdf (22.10.2012).

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

Latest 2011 elections maintain this increase on women deputy proportions²⁰⁸. (See annex 4). Representation of women has also been increased within the political parties of Turkey; the number of female candidates in political parties has generally been increased in 2002 and 2007 elections²⁰⁹ (See table 4). Justice and Development Party (AKP) and Republican People’s Party (CHP) expose the highest proportions of female candidates for both of the recent elections²¹⁰ (See table 4). However, the rates of total female candidates show a low percentage²¹¹ (See table 4).

Table 4: Number of Female Candidates of Political Parties in 2002 and 2007 Elections

Name of Political Party	Total number of female candidates	Rate of total female candidates %	Number of female candidates in the first 3 ranks		Total number of female candidates for nomination	Ratio of total number of female candidates for nomination to total number of female candidates %	Ratio of total number of female candidates for nomination to the number of female candidates in the first 3 ranks %	Total number of female candidates in the last 3 ranks	Ratio of total number of female candidates to the number of female candidates in the last 3 ranks %
			2002	2007					
AKP	62	11.27	1	12	454	13.66	2.64	25	40.32
CHP	55	10.00	7	13	246	22.36	5.28	22	40.00
ANAP	88	16.00	16	25	697	12.63	3.59	52	59.09
DP	55	10.00	12	8	458	12.01	1.75	25	45.45
MHP	41	7.45	2	5	251	16.33	1.99	16	39.02
GP	119	21.64	29	30	980	12.14	3.06	49	41.18

Source: The Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry general Directorate on the Status of Women, “National Action Plan Gender Equality 2008-2013”, Ankara: 2008, http://www.kadininstatusu.gov.tr/upload/mce/eski_site/Pdf/TCEUlusaleyemplani.pdf (22.10.2012), p.47.

Increase of numbers was efficient to provide women’s involvement to higher policy-making. However, women’s participation in politics is criticised today for not

²⁰⁸ KA-DER Association for the Support of Women Candidates, “4+1 Eşittir Sıfır! Türkiye Kadın-Erkek Eşitliğinde Yine ‘Sıfır’ Çekti”, 06.03.2012, http://www.kader.org.tr/tr/down/2012_KADIN_ISTATISTIKLERI.pdf (22.10.2012).

²⁰⁹ T.C. Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü, “Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliği Ulusal Eylem Planı 2008-2013”, Ankara: 2008, http://www.kadininstatusu.gov.tr/upload/mce/eski_site/Pdf/TCEUlusaleyemplani.pdf (22.10.2012), p.48.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Ibid.

being influential enough²¹². This situation creates an imbalanced distribution of power on women's representation in Turkey. 2008-2013 National Action Plan on Gender Equality aims to include more progressivist strategies to ensure the effectiveness of women in decision-making and use of their political power²¹³. Also the EU membership process has an affirmative effect on Turkey's gender policies. This kind of amelioration is firstly expected in the education system and the gradually on political representation and participation systems²¹⁴.

2.2.2.2. Political and Social Participation

Turkey's gender equality policies have been implemented through social and political participation programs. These policies reflect both Turkey's current political tendencies, and its stance towards international policy changes. Turkey's relations with the UN have urged Turkey to implement advanced equality policies in gender field. Also the EU membership process provided a systematic structure for equality projects via European funds and programmes.

Turkey's current gender equality and social participation policies include an extensive range of fields. Different than former gender policies with a limited scope, today women's participation covers more specific areas such as environment policies and media²¹⁵. Turkish Statistical Institute surveys expose the whole portrait of this policy distribution for participation of women²¹⁶ (See table 5).

²¹² Jacqueline Heinen, "Gender - Social and Political Citizenship in Eastern Europe", *Theory and Society*, Vol. 26 No. 4, August 1997, pp. 577-597.

²¹³ T.C. Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü, "Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliği Ulusal Eylem Planı 2008-2013", Ankara: 2008, http://www.kadininstatusu.gov.tr/upload/mce/eski_site/Pdf/TCEUlusaleylemplani.pdf (22.10.2012).

²¹⁴ Senem Aydın, "Avrupa Birliği'nde Kadın Hakları ve Türkiye", *İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı*, No.175, İstanbul: İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı, July 2003, pp.1-30.

²¹⁵ T.C. Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü, "Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliği Ulusal Eylem Planı 2008-2013", Ankara: 2008, http://www.kadininstatusu.gov.tr/upload/mce/eski_site/Pdf/TCEUlusaleylemplani.pdf (22.10.2012).

²¹⁶ United Nations Development Programme, "UNDP Turkey and Gender in Development", <http://www.undp.org.tr/Gozlem2.aspx?WebSayfaNo=86> (22.10.2012).

Table 5: General Situation of Gender Equality in Turkey

Indicator	Total %	Women %	Men %
Life expectancy (at birth) in years	71.3	73.8	68.9
School life expectancy in years	11	10	12
Adult Economic Activity Rate	52	28	76
Unemployment rate	9.9	10.3	9.8
Labour force participation rate	47.8	24.8	71.3
Labour participation rate among Youth (aged b/w 15-24)	19.6	20	19.4
Adult Literacy Ratio	88.1	80.4	96.0
Non-agricultural unemployment rate	12.6	17.4	11.4
Ratio of literate women in wage employment (15-24 age group)	95.2		
Share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sectors	19.9		
Proportion of seats held by women in national parliament	9.1		
Gender related Development Index Value	0.763		
GDI Rank	79 th out of 93		
Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) Value	0.298		
	90 th out of 93		
Ratio of girls to boys in Primary education	0.95		
Ratio of girls to boys in Secondary education	0.74		
Ratio of girls to boys in Tertiary education	0.73		

Source: United Nations Development Programme, “UNDP Turkey and Gender in Development”, <http://www.undp.org.tr/Gozlem2.aspx?WebSayfaNo=86> (22.10.2012).

According to UNDP evaluation, Turkish women are able to participate in the 28% of economic life while men cover 76%²¹⁷ (See table 5). Despite progress in women literacy in recent years (% 80.4) and high level on labour participation (%20), women’s

²¹⁷ United Nations Development Programme, “UNDP Turkey and Gender in Development”, <http://www.undp.org.tr/Gozlem2.aspx?WebSayfaNo=86> (22.10.2012).

participation in the political field remains lower than it is supposed to be (%9.1)²¹⁸ (See table 5). This situation brings out the final situation as 0.298 Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), which corresponds to a ‘Medium Human Development’ level²¹⁹.

Just as their representation, current participation of women in social or political fields have been criticised for being unqualified or not being assertive enough. About their occupational participation, these criticisms also include disproportionate presence of women which eventually means lack of efficiency. For example, women’s presence in the academic field is rather higher than other fields, however when one considers the distribution of these numbers into academic branches, it reveals that women mostly prefer literature than other fields of science²²⁰. This explains existence of women in academy with less than an optimum efficiency.

Thus, social and political participation of women in Turkey follows a statistically progressive line. However, considering the quantity of numbers and results, Turkey still needs more advanced policies. The EU programmes and other international projects provide the mechanisms which Turkey needs to use for developing its existing capacity.

2.2.3. Actors and Institutions

Gender participation and representation in political and social fields require equal participation of different policy-makers. In Turkey, government stands as the principal body of equality policies and works in collaboration with policy makers from different groups of society. General Directorate on the Status of Women (DGSW) stands at the heart of this mechanism²²¹ (See table 6). General Directorate states its mission as empowerment of women in all fields of the society, developing strategies

²¹⁸ United Nations Development Programme, “UNDP Turkey and Gender in Development”, <http://www.undp.org.tr/Gozlem2.aspx?WebSayfaNo=86> (22.10.2012).

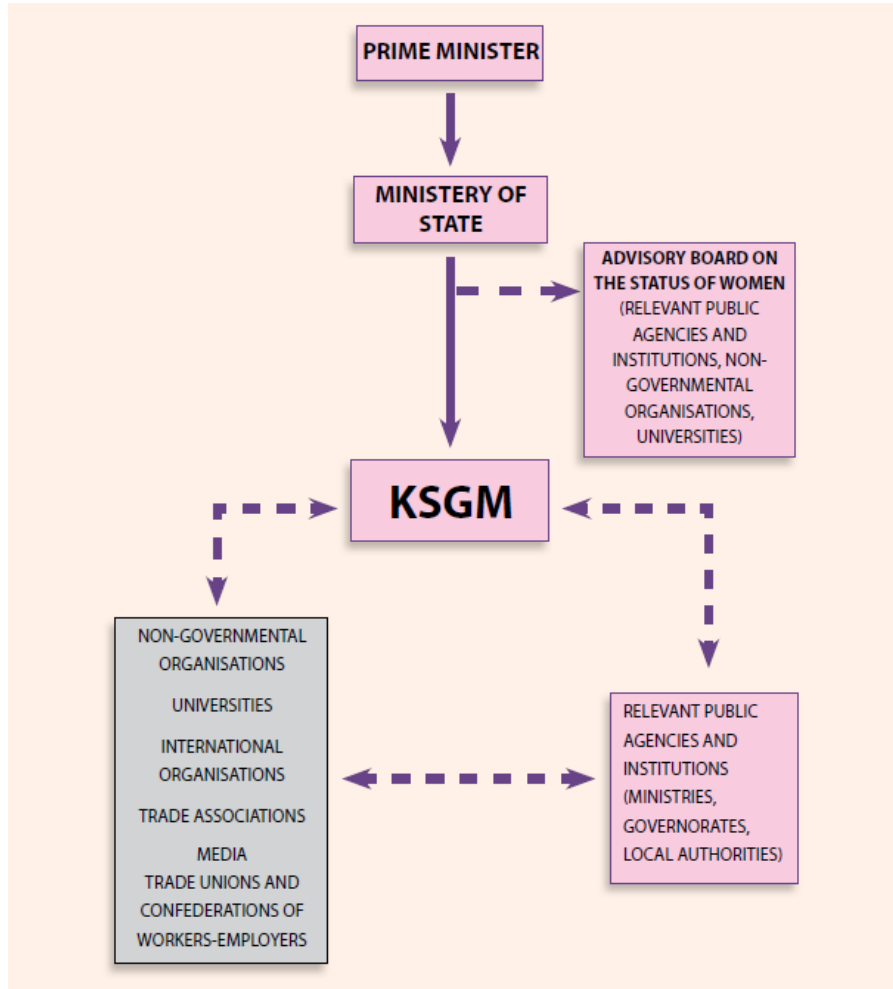
²¹⁹ United Nations Development Programme, “Gender Empowerment Measure”, http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/HDR_20072008_GEM.pdf (22.10.2012).

²²⁰ Senem Aydın, “Avrupa Birliği’nde Kadın Hakları ve Türkiye”, *İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı*, No.175, İstanbul: İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı, July 2003, pp.1-30.

²²¹ T.C. Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü, “Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliği Ulusal Eylem Planı 2008-2013”, Ankara: 2008, http://www.kadininstatusu.gov.tr/upload/mce/eski_site/Pdf/TCEUlusaleylemplani.pdf (22.10.2012).

and policies to prevent all kinds of discrimination against women and ensuring equality between women and men²²².

Table 6: Organisational Structure in Turkey for Development and Implementation of Women’s Policies



Source: The Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry general Directorate on the Status of Women, “National Action Plan Gender Equality 2008-2013”, Ankara: 2008, http://www.kadininstatusu.gov.tr/upload/mce/eski_site/Pdf/TCEUlusaleytemplani.pdf (22.10.2012), p.24.

Turkey’s gender equality mechanism consists of three main groups of policy initiators; first group includes non-governmental organizations, universities, international organizations, trade associations, media, trade unions, confederations of workers and employers, second group is composed of public part of the policy making with ministries, governorates, local authorities and third pillar is the DGSW itself that

²²² T.C. Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü, “Miyonumuz, Vizyonumuz” <http://www.kadininstatusu.gov.tr/html/97/Miyon+ve+Vizyon/> (22.10.2012).

keeps communication among all parties²²³. During strategy development process, DGSW works via consultations to its advisory board and finally ministry of state and prime minister appears at the head of this mechanism.

2.2.3.1. Government Bodies

Governmental structure and institutionalization of equality between women and men was launched after 1980s in Turkey. General Directorate of Social Planning was established under State Planning Organization (DPT) in 1987 with the goal of initiating women-oriented policies²²⁴. Comparing with European institutionalization on gender equality, Turkey initiated its concrete steps with an almost twenty year delay. However ameliorations to keep up with international standards helped to develop a better structure.

Similar to the EU, Turkey's institutional measures on gender equality are initially formed through economic regulations and General Directorate on the Status of Women (DGSW) was placed under the Ministry of Labour and Social Security in 1991²²⁵. Transformation process of gender policies has also led to change of functioning of the DGSW. However concrete result of this transformation was not realized before 2011. In 2011, gender equality policies were included in social policies and the DGSW was placed under Ministry of Family and Social Policies²²⁶. Since its foundation, the DGSW served as the principal body to functioning of the gender equality policies in Turkey. Other governmental institutions that work in line with the DGSW policies are as follows;

- South-eastern Anatolia Project Regional Development Administration (GAP)
- Ministry of Labour and Social Security
- Ministry of Labour and Social Security EU Coordination Department

²²³ T.C. Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü, "Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliği Ulusal Eylem Planı 2008-2013", Ankara: 2008, http://www.kadininstatusu.gov.tr/upload/mce/eski_site/Pdf/TCEUlusaleyemplanı.pdf (22.10.2012).

²²⁴ T.C. Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü, "Tarihçe", <http://www.kadininstatusu.gov.tr/tr/html/96/Tarihce/> (22.10.2012).

²²⁵ İbid.

²²⁶ İbid.

- Turkey General Directorate of Employment
- Social Security Institution
- Ministry of Development
- Ministry of Internal Affairs
- Ministry of Internal Affairs General Directorate of Local Authorities
- Ministry of Education
- General Directorate of Children's Services
- Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock
- General Directorate of Organization and Support
- Turkish Statistical Institute
- Prime Ministry Human Rights Presidency

Apart from these internal institutions, Turkey also shows a high level of women participation on certain international fields. One example of this uncommon situation is judiciary field; representatives of the Council of Europe expose high proportion on women's participation²²⁷. Today, although there is still much to do on the gender equality, Turkey's governmental structure poses a compatible stance with the EU's gender policies²²⁸.

2.2.3.2. Civil Society

Turkey's civil movements on gender equality policies have been increased in the 1980s with non-governmental organizations. After politically active period, number of the NGOs on gender equality has been gradually increased. Today, despite their financial problems, more than a hundred NGOs and women organizations actively exist in Turkey's gender policies²²⁹. Some of these prominent NGOs are as follow;

- Foundation for Women's Solidarity,
- Association for the Support of Women Candidates (KA-DER)

²²⁷ Hurriyet Daily News, "Turkish Courts a Bright Spot for Gender Equality", *Hurriyet Daily News*, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/english/domestic/11164134.asp> (22.10.2012).

²²⁸ Eurohorizons Consultancy, "100 Konuda Avrupa Birliđi'nin Gnlk Hayatımıza Etkileri", *Open Society Foundation Turkey*, Istanbul: Punto, December 2007, pp.19-22.

²²⁹ Senem Aydın, "Avrupa Birliđi'nde Kadın Hakları ve Trkiye", *İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı*, No.175, İstanbul: İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı, July 2003, p.1-30.

- Federation of Women Association of Turkey
- Mother Child Education Foundation (AÇEV)
- Flying Broom

Despite existence of a high number of civil society members in Turkey, policy-making mechanism through civil society has recently been active with the EU accession process. As a result of this emergent structure, equality policies do not pose a sufficiently institutionalized mechanism²³⁰. At this point, Turkey's gender equality framework has been criticized with its limited scope of policies, with not including marginalized sexual minorities at all and focusing on women solely²³¹. Another aspect of these criticisms is their long-lasting financial aspects and being lack of sufficient government support.

2.2.3.3. Other Organizations

Governmental and non-governmental organizations create two main sides of policy-making of gender equality in Turkey. Following institutions are different main pillars of this structure. Research, private sector, press and global developments, together with governmental and non-governmental structures create the whole policy framework;

- Universities
- Trade Unions and Federations
- Media
- UN Agencies

The United Nations branch of this network consists of numerous bodies. The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), the United Nations Development Fund (UNDP), and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) are the principal actors²³². Other international connections of Turkey's gender equality field includes the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW

²³⁰ Nergis Karadağ, *Cinsel Azınlıkların Bireysel Hakları*, İstanbul: On iki Levha, April 2008, pp. 23-76.

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² T.C. Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü, "Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliği Ulusal Eylem Planı 2008-2013", Ankara: 2008, http://www.kadininstatusu.gov.tr/upload/mce/eski_site/Pdf/TCEUlusaleylemplani.pdf (22.10.2012).

Committee), Commission on the Status of Women, United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women (UN Women), Council of Europe Steering Committee for Equality between Women and Men (CDEG), Organisation of Islamic Cooperation²³³. All these separate bodies from different parts of internal and external communities expose that gender equality policies of Turkey, just as the EU, are not independent from international developments and changing perceptions of the global community.

2.2.4. Gender Equality in Turkey and Problematical Issues

Evaluation of Turkey's gender equality policies puts Turkey in a medium level of development; however this situation stands in a low level of development degree within European countries²³⁴ (See annex 1). Turkish Statistical Institute grouping on women's issues indicates main problems as health, education, labour force, violence, poverty and political life²³⁵. Considering official numbers, gender equality problems in Turkey remain in their classical framework by additionally including more social policy fields.

Violence against women has a considerable importance within these long-lasting problems. In the context of Turkey's relations with the EU, this subject did not receive particular attention till 2000s²³⁶. In line with the EU's decisions on efficiently preventing violence against women Turkey recently launched the 'Law to Protect Family and Prevent Violence against Women' in March 2012, which widens the scope of protection with a neutral stance towards their marital status²³⁷.

Turkey's recent policies on initiating a political transformation are another subject. Ruling party policies in Turkey have been criticized for their conservative

²³³ T.C. Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü, "Uluslararası Kuruluşlar", <http://www.kadininstatusu.gov.tr/tr/html/177/Uluslararası+Kuruluşlar/> (22.10.2012).

²³⁴ Jürgen Gerhards, Mike. S. Schäfer and Sylvia Kämpfer, "Gender Equality in the European Union: The EU Script and its Support by European Citizens", *Sociology*, Vol.43, 2009, pp.515-534.

²³⁵ Turkish Statistical Institute, *Women in Statistics 2011*, Ankara: Turkish Statistical Institute, 2012.

²³⁶ Nazan Moroğlu, "Kadına Yönelik Şiddetin Önlenmesi - 6284 Sayılı Yasa ve İstanbul Sözleşmesi", http://calismaekonomisi.org/tr/images/kad%C4%B1na-yonelik-siddet_karsilastirmali-bir-yazi.pdf (06.01.2013), pp.357-380.

²³⁷ T.C. Resmi Gazete, "Ailenin Korunması ve Kadına Karşı Şiddetin Korunmasına Dair Kanun", <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2012/03/20120320-16.htm> (06.01.2013).

approach and inefficiency of their progressivist measures²³⁸. Key debates on gender equality also rise with lack of awareness on gender equality. Even women evaluate themselves with their lack of knowledge about their rights²³⁹. Together with Turkey's regional differences and intersecting social inequalities, gender policies of Turkey create contradictory situations²⁴⁰. At this point, considering the EU's further implementations and additional definitions on gender equality, contemporary implementations reveal as a complex issue for Turkey.

²³⁸ Erisa Dautaj Şenerdem, "Wide Gender Gap in Turkey Blamed on Ruling-Party Policies", *Hurriyet Daily News*, 10.11.2010, <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/wide-gender-gap-in-turkey-blamed-on-ruling-party-policies.aspx?pageID=438&n=global-gender-gap-index-report-2010-10-11> (25.10.2012).

²³⁹ Ayşe Karabat, "Turkish Women's Awareness of Gender Equality Increasing", *Today's Zaman*, 04.05.2009, http://www.todayszaman.com/newsDetail_getNewsById.action;jsessionid=71581C11126A6D981A9397BDC99788D2?load=detay&link=174285&newsId=174194 (25.10.2012).

²⁴⁰ Senem Aydın, "Avrupa Birliği'nde Kadın Hakları ve Türkiye", *İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı*, No.175, İstanbul: İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı, July 2003, pp.1-30.

CHAPTER III: CHANGING POLICY MECHANISMS IN GENDER EQUALITY AND THE ROLE OF NEW STAKEHOLDERS

After general analyse of current situation of the EU and Turkey, contemporary movements on gender equality are included with countries. The aim of this part is to show today's changing concepts in the fields of gender equality, discrimination and gender and women rights. This part of the study also includes concrete examples from both parties. So, Finland and Poland are included as two different cases from the EU and Turkey's equality policies are eventually examined with comparisons to these countries. Considering the international developments on gender equality, questions for Turkey emerged as 'does Turkey possess enough dynamics on gender equality policies or does it really lack of a sufficient level of development?'

3.1. GLOBAL WOMEN MOVEMENTS AND POLICY CHANGES

International women movements have been in an increasing period during the 1980s. Expansion of new information and communication technologies, demographic changes, international mobility and migration has led to a global process of policy transformation²⁴¹. This period has also affected the EU's anti-discrimination policies. EU Member States and candidate countries have experienced these policy changes both internally and externally.

Transformation of equality policies has initially started with internationally changing economic conditions. The increase on world trade in the 1990s brought women's more involvement in the international trade²⁴². (See figure 9). After increasing female participation in the markets, the need of better regulations emerged. This led to the revision of existing international regulations. After this point, participation in inter-governmental movements gradually rose. Clear example of this global change is increasing number of the countries which signed CEDAW. (See figure 10).

²⁴¹ Maria Regina Tavares de Silva, "National Mechanisms for Gender Equality", *United Nations*, 2010, <http://www.unece.org/index.php?id=1475> (23.10.2012), pp. 7-18.

²⁴² World Bank, "Globalization's Impact on Gender Equality, What Happened and What is Needed", *World Development Report*, 2012, <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTWDR2012/Resources/7778105-1299699968583/7786210-1315936222006/chapter-6.pdf> (23.10.2012), pp.254-278.



Figure 9: Change on International Economic Opportunities and Their Effect on Female Employment – International Trade Correlated with Women Participation
 Source: World Bank, “Globalization’s Impact on Gender Equality, What Happened and What is Needed”, *World Development Report*, 2012,
[http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTWDR2012/Resources/7778105-1299699968583/7786210-1315936222006/chapter-6.pdf_\(23.10.2012\)](http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTWDR2012/Resources/7778105-1299699968583/7786210-1315936222006/chapter-6.pdf_(23.10.2012),), p.257.

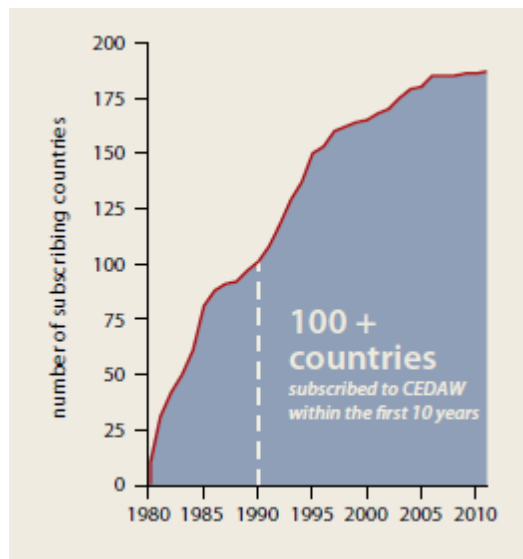


Figure 10: The Number of Countries Those Have Ratified CEDAW Has Risen in All Regions to Reach 187, of 193 in 2011
 Source: World Bank, “Globalization’s Impact on Gender Equality, What Happened and What is Needed”, *World Development Report*, 2012,
[http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTWDR2012/Resources/7778105-1299699968583/7786210-1315936222006/chapter-6.pdf_\(23.10.2012\)](http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTWDR2012/Resources/7778105-1299699968583/7786210-1315936222006/chapter-6.pdf_(23.10.2012),), p.266.

The rise on inter-governmental regulations in the 1990s also had an effect on non-governmental movements. Increasing civil movements initiated the consciousness of collective identity; this led to a change on the scales of women movements and on the fields of grassroots organizations²⁴³. Dufour and Giraud refer this momentum as transnationalization of solidarities and explain its two folded results; ‘articulation of different scales of protests’ and ‘shift in politics and scales of movements’²⁴⁴.

This evaluation brings the need of widening on today’s social policies. ‘Articulation of different scales of protests’ refers to separate civic movements’ interaction and horizontal changes, ‘shift in politics and scale of movements’ explains the need of new policies and vertical advancements²⁴⁵. Dufour and Giraud also indicate this transformation on different policy levels. According to their evaluation; the change on place and scale of international politics brought internal, international and European levels of changes as different wings of the movements²⁴⁶. Thus, the EU Member States, the EU’s organizational policies and global social policies have separately affected by civil movements.

3.1.2. The Role of Non-governmental Organizations

Changing perceptions towards policy-making increased importance of the non-governmental organizations. Constructions of new networks, coalitions, actions, umbrella organizations were formed with this articulation of civil movements²⁴⁷. These formations led grassroots movements to gain a political power and legitimized their demands²⁴⁸.

Under these developments, solution searches to classical equality problems required institutionalization of bottom-up movements. For example, sustainability at

²⁴³ Pascale Dufour, Isabelle Giraud, “Globalization and Political Change in the Women’s Movement: The Politics of Scale and Political Empowerment in the World March of Women”, *Social Science Quarterly*, Vol.88 No.5, December 2007, pp. 1152-1173.

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Jack Donnelly, “Human Rights in the New World Order” in Charles W. Kegley Jr. and Eugene R. Witkopf (ed.), *The Global Agenda Issues and Perspectives*, New York: McGraw Hill, 1995, pp.190-200.

national level policies, gaps in government level decision-makings or coordination of efficient cooperation were analysed with active participation of the NGOs²⁴⁹. This was also a result of the empowerment of civil movements through transnationalization which eventually led to contemporary definitions of existing gender problems²⁵⁰.

Today global politics became more interdependent and transactions across states increased. As a result of this change of roles, IGOs and NGOs as non-state actors, have more influence on international movements than before. With their new roles within globalization, these organizations even assessed as architectures of the new world system²⁵¹.

NGOs have a considerable impact on both European and international decision-making mechanisms. Actual non-governmental structure of the EU exposes its comprehensive attitude towards equalities²⁵². However, NGOs' effect on national decision-making mechanisms also depends on countries national political structures and their degree of adaptation to European and international policy initiatives.

3.1.3. Internationally Changing Concepts

Global movements and increasing role of civil society resulted with the change of social definitions. Before this international transition of significations, equality discussions have remained in a limited content. Since gender equality has initially addressed at the European and international levels, it has been evaluated under certain same titles. Most prominent gender problems that have been included in international equality indexes consisted of three main fields²⁵³. According to the UN Human Development Reports; reproductive health, empowerment of women and labour markets were main subjects which led gender equality to be included in international

²⁴⁹ Maria Regina Tavares de Silva, "National Mechanisms for Gender Equality", *United Nations*, 2010, <http://www.unece.org/index.php?id=1475> (23.10.2012), pp. 57-62.

²⁵⁰ Pascale Dufour, Isabelle Giraud, "Globalization and Political Change in the Women's Movement: The Politics of Scale and Political Empowerment in the World March of Women", *Social Science Quarterly*, Vol.88 No.5, December 2007, pp. 1152-1173.

²⁵¹ Charles W. Kegley Jr and Shannon L. Blanton, *World Politics - Trend and Transformation*, Boston: Cengage Learning, 2011, pp.136-184.

²⁵² European Commission, "Non-governmental Organizations", <http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=330&langId=en> (25.10.2012).

²⁵³ United Nations Development Programme, "Gender Inequality Index", <http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/gii/> (25.10.2012).

assessments²⁵⁴. (See figure 11). This evaluation indicates the principal framework and its narrow nature with a main focus on classical problems of gender. (See figure 11).

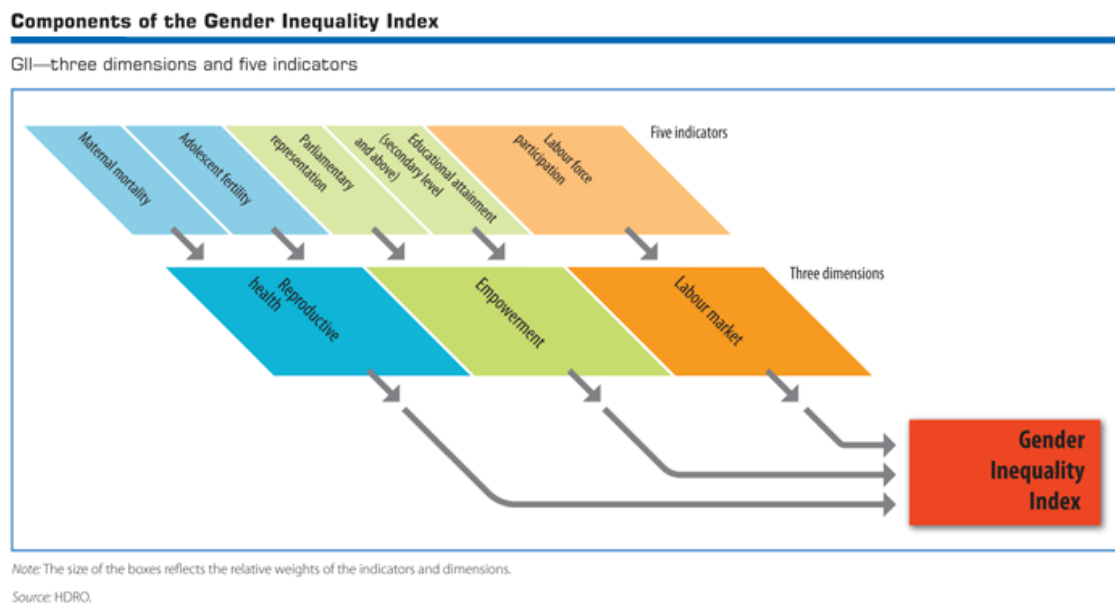


Figure 11: Components of Gender Equality Index - Three Dimensions and Five Indicators

Source: United Nations Development Programme, “Gender Inequality Index”, <http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/gii/> (25.10.2012).

Parallel with international developments, the EU’s gender equality concept has initially formed with economic goals with inclusion of social policies afterwards. (See chapter II). However limited existence of equality policies at the beginning brought the question of ability and willingness of international organizations and exposed the need of innovative policies²⁵⁵.

Another aspect of this international transformation is related with the global interaction of countries. Today geographical boundaries are less important than before and this effects common definitions and interpretations. The EU’s enlargement process is an example for this change. The EU’s geographical enlargement has led to

²⁵⁴ United Nations Development Programme, “Gender Inequality Index”, <http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/gii/> (25.10.2012).

²⁵⁵ Mark A. Pollack and Emilie M. Hafner-Burton, “Mainstreaming International Governance: the Environment, Gender, and IO Performance in the European Union”, 2010, <http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11558-010-9091-4/fulltext.html> (26.10.2010).

multiplication and decentralisation of its existing regulations²⁵⁶. This created an evolution of policy trends at national levels and eventually resulted with an expansion of equality policies²⁵⁷.

Broader policy fields required cooperation with civil society to provide appropriate solutions. This created the enlargement of the scope and types of stakeholders in an institutionalized way²⁵⁸. The EU's gender mainstreaming policy tool is an example of this policy change. (See chapter II). Booth and Bennett explain this transformation with a timeline since the beginning of equality policies and show the continuation of different valuations on the same gender equality concept²⁵⁹. (See figure 12.a and figure 12.b).

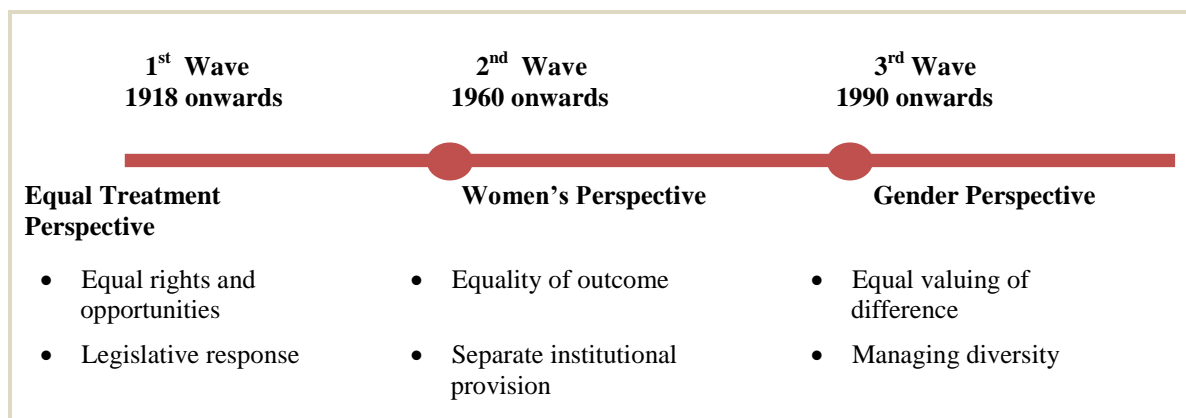


Figure 12.a: European Equality Timeline

Source: Christine Booth and Cinnamon Bennett, "Gender Mainstreaming in the European Union - Towards a New Conception and Practice of Equal Opportunities?", *The European Journal of Women's Studies*, Vol.9 No.4, London: SAGE, 2002, p.434.

²⁵⁶ Maria Regina Tavares de Silva, "National Mechanisms for Gender Equality", *United Nations*, 2010, <http://www.unece.org/index.php?id=1475> (23.10.2012), pp.7-18.

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

²⁵⁸ John Baylis and Steve Smith, *The Globalization of World Politics*, New York: Oxford, 2001, pp.582-597.

²⁵⁹ Christine Booth and Cinnamon Bennett, "Gender Mainstreaming in the European Union -Towards a New Conception and Practice of Equal Opportunities?", *The European Journal of Women's Studies*, Vol.9 No.4, London: SAGE, 2002, pp.430-446.

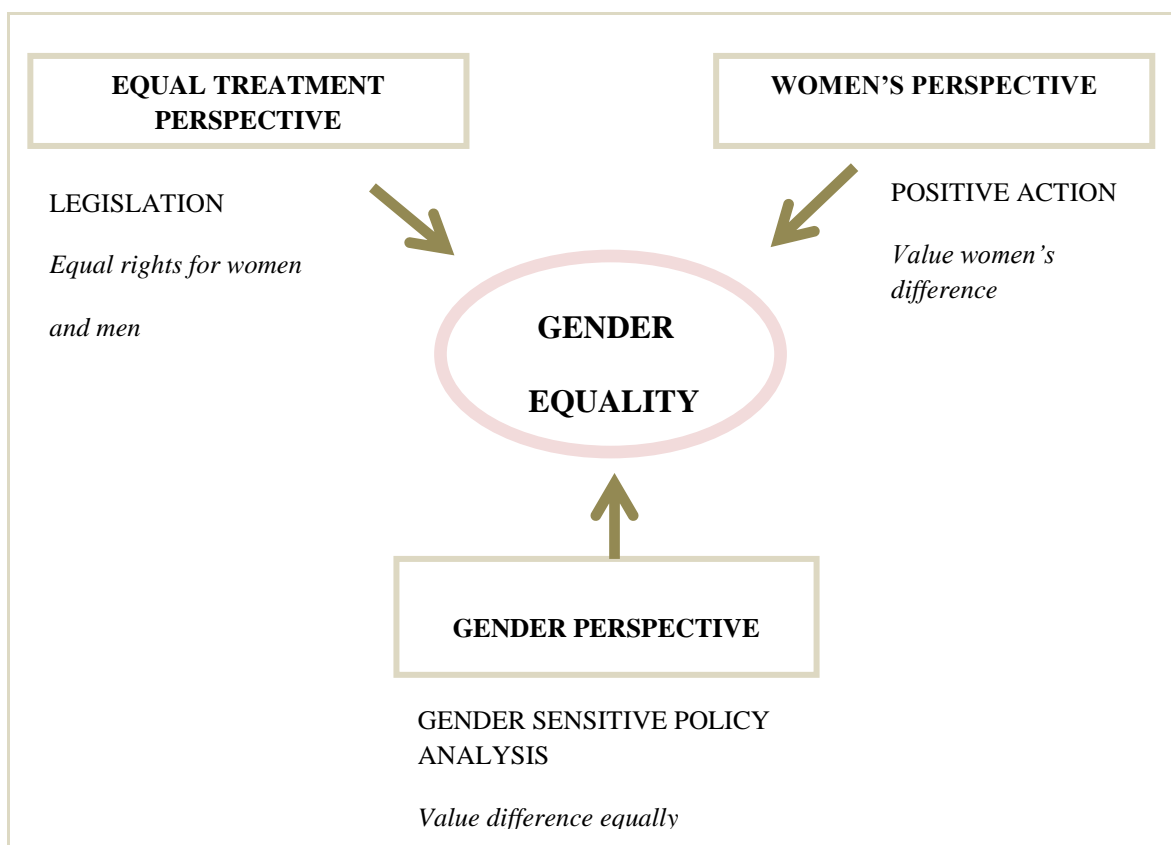


Figure 12.b: The Equality Stool

Source: Christine Booth and Cinnamon Bennett, "Gender Mainstreaming in the European Union - Towards a New Conception and Practice of Equal Opportunities?", *The European Journal of Women's Studies*, Vol.9 No.4, London: SAGE, 2002, p.435.

Figure 12.a explains the change on equality perceptions via three waves which evolve from a plain 'equal treatment' perspective to 'women's equality' and finally to a holistic 'gender perspective' in the 1990s²⁶⁰. (See figure 12.a). Figure 12.b describes the logic behind this evolution with the term of 'Three Legged Stool of the Historical Development of EU Equality Policy'²⁶¹. Initial equal treatment perspectives (as the first stool) were addressing women and men as totally equal, positive action measures (second stool) attributed a value to women's difference and recent gender-sensitive

²⁶⁰ Christine Booth and Cinnamon Bennett, "Gender Mainstreaming in the European Union -Towards a New Conception and Practice of Equal Opportunities?", *The European Journal of Women's Studies*, Vol.9 No.4, London: SAGE, 2002, pp.430-446.

²⁶¹ Ibid.

policies (third stool) expose more advanced sensitivity on gender differences²⁶². (See figure 12.b).

Although this evolution provides a better institutionalization of gender equality policies, administrative gaps and challenges remain. Shift from traditionally substantive areas of women to their contemporary needs put this structural and cultural change as a fundamental challenge²⁶³. As a long-lasting policy tool of gender equality, parliamentary participation of women still lags behind a normal degree of participation which is a result of this complexity²⁶⁴. This makes constantly changing nature of social policies an important element of gender equality even on classical policy domains. Today, international changes on gender equality do not only require a degree of policy advancement through the same direction, but also require a transformation of policy scopes and policy mechanisms.

3.1.4. Policy Change of International Actors

3.1.4.1. International Actors

Principal international actors and their initiatives form global policies. Since initial gender equality policies had technical concerns rather than a certain social equality goal, the scope of discussions at this period remained limited. Main political criticisms of these initiatives were related with their overemphasis on sex differences and ignorance on socially constructed aspect of gender equality. This rooted perception has an effect on even today's policies. World Economic Forum 2012 Global Gender Gap Report compares classical title of 'women's empowerment' with contemporary gender equality concept and explains the logic of existing gap:

“The third distinguishing feature of the Global Gender Gap Index is that it ranks countries according to their proximity to gender equality rather than to women's empowerment. Our aim is to focus on whether the gap between women and men in the chosen variables has declined, rather than whether women are “winning” the “battle of the sexes”. Hence, the Index rewards

²⁶² Christine Booth and Cinnamon Bennett, “Gender Mainstreaming in the European Union -Towards a New Conception and Practice of Equal Opportunities?”, *The European Journal of Women's Studies*, Vol.9 No.4, London: SAGE, 2002, pp.430-446.

²⁶³ Maria Regina Tavares de Silva, “National Mechanisms for Gender Equality”, *United Nations*, 2010, <http://www.unece.org/index.php?id=1475> (23.10.2012), pp.57-62.

²⁶⁴ Inter-Parliamentary Union, “Gender Sensitive Parliaments – A Global Review of Good Practice”, Report No. 65, 2011, <http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/gsp11-e.pdf> (23.10.2012), pp.5-9.

countries that reach the point where outcomes for women equal those for men, but it neither rewards nor penalizes cases in which women are outperforming men in particular variables”²⁶⁵.

This sharp equality perception that puts ‘women versus men in all fields of social life’ has abandoned with next policies. With their rather comprehensive policy approach, the 1980s aimed to promote certain participation of women in all fields. However internationally changing concepts of this period has emerged criticisms of these policies with being lack of an adaptation into new social orders. True and Mintrom evaluate this transformation through the collapse of the Soviet Bloc and addresses the need of new policies:

“The recent rise of gender mainstreaming across states has been paralleled by the emergence over the past decade or so of feminist approaches to international relations... ‘Mainstream’ international relations scholars are infamous for their poor observation of contemporary changes in states and in world politics... Although nation-states traditionally have provided few spaces for women’s organizing or for the articulation of women’s interests, the transnational advocacy of feminist networks has increased the pressure on them to change their biased institutions and norms”²⁶⁶.

Increasing transnational advocacy of feminist networks on international equality policies realized through civil movements. After this point, institutional design of the international community embraced non-governmental organizations with their stronger position²⁶⁷. Economic concerns of the 1990s led the 2000s to ensure a widened scope of politics and the 2010s applied a more research and innovation driven approach that tends to a gender neutral concept²⁶⁸.

3.1.4.2. European Union

The EU’s need of policy change on gender equality emerged with different reasons. At the beginning, EU enlargement required new regulations to ensure coherence among member states. This process also had technical aspects. Multiplication and decentralization of administrative mechanisms at both horizontal and vertical levels

²⁶⁵ Ricardo Hausmann, Laura D. Tyson and Saadia Zahidi, “The Global Gender Gap Report 2012”, *World Economic Forum*, 2012,

http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GenderGap_Report_2012.pdf (27.10.2012), p.4.

²⁶⁶ Jacqui True and Michael Mintrom, “Transnational Networks and Policy Diffusion: The Case of Gender Mainstreaming”, *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol.45, 2001, p.29.

²⁶⁷ Mark A. Pollack and Emilie M. Hafner-Burton, “Mainstreaming International Governance: The Environment, Gender, and IO Performance in the European Union”, 2010, <http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11558-010-9091-4/fulltext.html> (26.10.2010).

²⁶⁸ United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, “Integrated Civil Society System”, <http://esango.un.org/civilsociety/login.do> (30.10.2010).

sometimes posed problems at national policies²⁶⁹. As a solution of this evolution, gender equality bodies were placed under different governmental structures. Ministries, inter-ministerial structures, sub-departments and independent mechanisms were the initial steps of this inclusion²⁷⁰.

Further policies on gender equality brought together the issue of multiple-discrimination. Political, economic and social dimensions of equality were one aspect of the problem. Another aspect was the placement of women and gender as a whole. During these regulations the EU's changing perspectives also emerged in international evaluation reports:

“In line with an on-going debate on the new character and responsibilities of institutional mechanisms for the advancement of women and gender equality, there was a clear phase of transition reflected in the nature, status, roles, functions and scope of action. A phase of transition that was even visible in the fluctuation and changes in designations, either focusing on women or on gender or both”²⁷¹.

This continual change of gender equality policies is referred as ‘expanding nature of gender’; Kantola evaluates institutional outcomes of this process with the possibility of heading towards a single equalities body²⁷². However, this issue brings different point of views from EU member states.

Particular difference between Western European Countries and Eastern European Countries emerge as another aspect of the EU's policy change on gender equality. Despite their coherent national action plans with EU gender perspective, these countries do not pose efficiency on policy-making. As a result, this situation becomes a subject of evaluation for the EU gender equality in the international platform. United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) evaluates national mechanisms for gender equality in the EU and its candidate countries:

“In spite of the differences that were quite visible between western countries with a more stable situation regarding institutional machinery and central and eastern countries where, in most

²⁶⁹ John Loughlin, *Subnational Democracy in the European Union - Challenges and Opportunities*, New York: Oxford, 2001, pp.387-401.

²⁷⁰ Maria Regina Tavares de Silva, “National Mechanisms for Gender Equality”, *United Nations*, 2010, <http://www.unece.org/index.php?id=1475> (23.10.2012), pp.20-37.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.* p.10.

²⁷² Johanna Kantola, *Gender and the European Union*, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010, p. 168-188.

cases, such machinery was just starting, it was, however, possible to identify some major common trends in the evolution of such mechanisms. Such trends would be later strengthened and confirmed, as shown in the stocktaking study undertaken in the context of the Council of Europe, in preparation for the Beijing +10 assessment²⁷³.

“As we look into the present situation of national mechanisms, both in terms of form, including status and structure, location and resources, and also in terms of substance, including mandates, areas of focus, strategies and processes, we can see that most of the present trends are in line with the former evolution: on the one hand, with the reinforcement of former aspects; on the other hand, with some distinctive features related to the same trends²⁷⁴.”

After the EU's changing perceptions and institutional mechanisms on gender equality, second constraint that leads the EU's policy change is related with its internal dynamics. Difference on development between east and west countries also emerge as a difference on gender and equality perceptions. This leads EU to assert more detailed modifications on its regulations. Also countries' will of participation to these changing mechanisms have an important influence on the EU's future policies on gender equality.

3.2. SITUATION IN THE EU COUNTRIES AND TURKEY

International transformation on gender equality perceptions and policy mechanisms had also effects on national policies. EU member states expose their national reflections to these developments through EU regulations. However, as coordinator of these policies, the EU can not provide a fast cohesion among its member states. Most common example of this separation appears between eastern and western countries. Perceptions towards democracy, gender, women or equality can highly vary even within these groups²⁷⁵.

Difference between old Europe and new Europe also indicates some states more prominent than others²⁷⁶. Finland exposes an example of good governance on equality policies. Poland, on the other hand, shows a good level of adaptation to EU policies despite being in a rather disadvantageous position as a member of CEECs. Within this context, Turkey's ability to provide a good adaptation to EU gender policies will be analysed under comparison with Poland. While Finland will present optimum

²⁷³ Maria Regina Tavares de Silva, “National Mechanisms for Gender Equality”, *United Nations*, 2010, <http://www.unece.org/index.php?id=1475> (23.10.2012), p.11.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.* p.12.

²⁷⁵ Charles Humana, *World Human Rights Guide*, New York: Oxford, 1992, pp. 108-336.

²⁷⁶ Lucia Kubosava, “Agencies Fight Could end up on EU Summit Agenda”, *Euroobserver*, 24.11.2006, <http://euobserver.com/political/22946> (30.10.2012).

implementation of equality policies, Poland's and Turkey's positions will expose their proximity to efficient European gender equality.

3.2.1. Gender Equality in Finland

Equality concept of the Nordic Countries has always been mentioned with their good level of democratic implementations. These countries have been an influencing power of process democratisation of the other countries²⁷⁷. Their European level of policies also had a positive effect on gender equality²⁷⁸. From this point of view Nordic countries' participation and their role on gender equality policies have particular importance on European policies.

Finland has been one of the top ranking countries within Northern Europe in terms of equality policies. Its comparative parameters with other countries always exposed that the country's implementations on equality are more advanced than the other European countries²⁷⁹. Apart from this general stance, Finland also poses good practice examples on the implementation of EU policy tools (e.g. gender mainstreaming)²⁸⁰. According to these evaluations, Finland provides an optimum policy implementation under the EU's existing conditions and also shows other countries' distance to this level.

3.2.1.1. Background on Finland

Finland has a stable and compromising stance on equality policies since its establishment²⁸¹. Country has also been an example of good governance for most of the

²⁷⁷ Charles Humana, *World Human Rights Guide*, New York: Oxford, 1992, pp.108-336.

²⁷⁸ The European Union Seagull Project, "Gender Equality in the Euroregion Baltic", *Seagull*, 2003, http://www.eurobalt.org/seagull_deverb/wp1/Genderreport.pdf (30.10.2012), pp.6-21.

²⁷⁹ European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, "Gender Mainstreaming in Surveys: Finland", <http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/ewco/reports/TN0608TR02/FI0608TR02.pdf> (01.11.2012).

²⁸⁰ Council of Europe, "Gender Mainstreaming – Conceptual Framework, Methodology and Presentation of Good Practices", 1998, http://www.gendermainstreaming-planungstool.at/_lccms_/downloadarchive/00003/Europarat.pdf (01.11.2012), pp.37-57.

²⁸¹ Anders Lindström, "Finland: Geo-political Changes and Europeanization", in John Loughlin, *Subnational Democracy in the European Union – Challenges and Opportunities*, New York: Oxford, 2001, pp.365-387.

gender equality policies²⁸². Within European evaluations Finland has addressed with women's high participation to politics together with the EU's other developed countries²⁸³. International evaluations have also resulted with high grade and cohesion among equality policies. (See figure 13).

	OVERALL		ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION		EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT		HEALTH AND SURVIVAL		POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT	
	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score
Gender Gap Index 2012 (out of 135 countries)	2	0.845	14	0.785	1	1.000	1	0.980	2	0.616
Gender Gap Index 2011 (out of 135 countries)	3	0.838	12	0.768	26	0.999	1	0.980	2	0.606
Gender Gap Index 2010 (out of 134 countries)	3	0.826	16	0.757	28	0.999	1	0.980	2	0.569
Gender Gap Index 2009 (out of 134 countries)	2	0.825	15	0.750	1	1.000	1	0.980	2	0.571
Gender Gap Index 2008 (out of 130 countries)	2	0.820	19	0.741	1	1.000	1	0.980	1	0.558
Gender Gap Index 2007 (out of 128 countries)	3	0.804	22	0.723	21	0.999	1	0.980	2	0.517
Gender Gap Index 2006 (out of 115 countries)	3	0.796	8	0.734	18	0.999	1	0.980	3	0.470

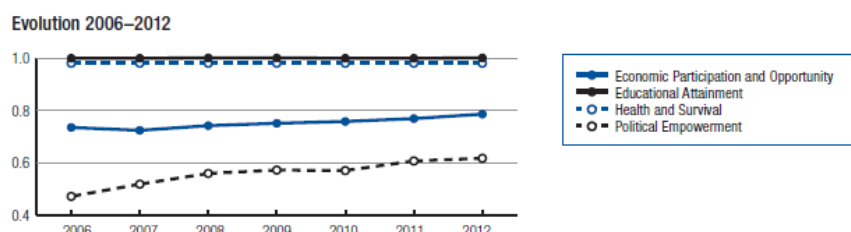


Figure 13: Finland Country Profile - Evolution 2006 – 2012

Source: Ricardo Hausmann, Laura D. Tyson and Saadia Zahidi, “The Global Gender Gap Report 2012”, *World Economic Forum*, 2012, http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GenderGap_Report_2012.pdf (27.10.2012), p.179.

These advanced characteristics of the country put Finland in a representative position on efficient equality measures. Country's law, women's participation to science, education and work life pose examples for developing countries²⁸⁴. (See figure 13). Its broad scope of policies on national action plans indicates ideas about ideal working mechanisms and implementations²⁸⁵.

²⁸² Council of Europe, “Gender Mainstreaming – Conceptual Framework, Methodology and Presentation of Good Practices”, 1998, http://www.gendermainstreaming-planungstool.at/_lccms_/downloadarchive/00003/Europarat.pdf (01.11.2012), pp.37-57.

²⁸³ Hurriyet Daily News, “Turkish Courts a Bright Spot for Gender Equality”, *Hurriyet Daily News*, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/english/domestic/11164134.asp> (22.10.2012).

²⁸⁴ European Commission, “Benchmarking Policy Measures for Gender Equality in Science”, 2008, http://ec.europa.eu/research/science-society/document_library/pdf_06/benchmarking-policy-measures_en.pdf (01.11.2012), pp.64-67.

²⁸⁵ Finland Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, “Gender Equality Policies in Finland”, Helsinki: 2006, http://www.stm.fi/c/document_library/get_file?folderId=28707&name=DLFE-4178.pdf (02.11.2012), pp.1-17.

Finland's leading position on gender equality provided implementation of more advanced political regulations than other EU countries. Constructivist approach on equality provides examples of new measures. Within this productive stance, Country integrates new equality definitions in a systematic way²⁸⁶. Education and decision-making are some of the fields those evaluated with their high level of European standards²⁸⁷. Thus, analysis of Finnish equality mechanisms also gives an estimation on direction of future European policies on gender issues.

3.2.1.2. Contemporary Finnish Policies on Gender Equality

3.2.1.2.1. Recent Policies

Finland's current policies on gender equality have a more developed and detailed organizational structure than other EU countries. Organizational structure includes both classical governance bodies and newer ones such as the Ombudsman for Gender Equality²⁸⁸. Finland's current national action plan on gender equality adds a research oriented approach to keep up with future developments²⁸⁹.

Finland's policy-making mechanism employs a human rights perspective²⁹⁰. Within this system, women have an active position on policy initiatives²⁹¹. Moreover, the scope of gender issues is not limited with women's participation; male population

²⁸⁶ Anne Maria Holli, Eva Magnusson and Malinn Rönnblom, "Critical Studies of Nordic Discourses on Gender and Gender Equality", *Nordic Journal of Women's Studies*, Vol.13 No.3, December 2005, pp.148–152.

²⁸⁷ Kaisa Pankakoski and Isabella Kaminski, "Why Finnish Pupils are Top of the European Game", *Euroserver*, 08.10.2010, <http://euobserver.com/education/31458> (02.11.2012).

²⁸⁸ Finland Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, "Promoting gender equality in Finland", Helsinki: 2008, http://www.stm.fi/c/document_library/get_file?folderId=39503&name=DLFE-7825.pdf (06.11.2012).

²⁸⁹ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland, "UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) 'Women, Peace and Security' - Finland's National Action Plan 2012-2016", http://www.kopijyva.fi/ejulkaisut/ulkoasiainministerio/UM_05_2012/UM_05_2012.pdf (06.11.2012).

²⁹⁰ Miia Halme, "Human Rights in Action", *Academic Dissertation*, Helsinki: University of Helsinki, 2008, <https://helda.helsinki.fi/bitstream/handle/10138/23345/humanrig.pdf?sequence=2> (06.11.2012), pp.56-62.

²⁹¹ Honor Mahony, "EU's Most Powerful Women Take Aim at Male Elite", *Euroserver*, 18.09.2009, <http://euobserver.com/news/28679> (02.11.2012).

has also an active role on policy implementations²⁹². Thus, participatory feature of equality policies distributes the responsibility.

Human rights perspective of the Country not only promotes active participation of individuals but also aims to reach every part of society. Today's changing concepts of gender are included in Finland's international reports. Gender equality mainstreaming, differences between terms of women, sex and gender are considered for future strategies²⁹³.

Together with these global developments, Finland re-evaluates its existing equality tools. Gender mainstreaming is an example of this evolution that mentions the possibility of the change of target line with today's policy needs²⁹⁴. This also shows the country's active integration to global developments.

3.2.1.2.2. Civil movements

Non-governmental movements get a particular importance from Finnish governance system. Civil society organizations cover different issues with high number of participants and these put Finland in a leading position among Nordic countries. Role of the non-governmental organizations is also included in Finland's international evaluations. OECD's comments explain the functioning of NGOs and their level of integration to policy-making process:

“Cooperation with non-governmental organisations is seen as a way to help bring up the points of view of the civil society in all development processes supported by Finland. In addition, the know-how of established non-government organisations must be seen as an increasingly significant source of potential in government-to-government cooperation. Where the criteria of government-to-government cooperation are not met, non-governmental organisations play a key role as an alternative channel of cooperation”²⁹⁵.

²⁹² Finland Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, “Finland Government Report on Gender Equality” http://www.stm.fi/c/document_library/get_file?folderId=2765155&name=DLFE-15811.pdf (11.11.2012), p.18.

²⁹³ Maja Sala Tsegai and Una Murray, “Gender baseline Study for Finnish Development Cooperation”, *Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs Evaluation Report*, <http://www.oecd.org/derec/finland/37220791.pdf> (06.11.2012), pp. 9-18.

²⁹⁴ Council of Europe, “Gender Mainstreaming Conceptual Framework, Methodology and Presentation of Good Practices”, May 1998, http://www.gendermainstreaming-planungstool.at/_lccms_/downloadarchive/00003/Europarat.pdf (17.10.2012), pp. 7-21.

²⁹⁵ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland, “Evaluation – Finnish NGO Foundations”, 2008, <http://www.oecd.org/derec/finland/42418866.pdf> (10.10.2012), p.36.

One example of this alternative channel cooperation is provided by Finnish NGO SETA. SETA is an umbrella organization serves for sexual minority rights since 1970s²⁹⁶. Initiatives of this organization are supported by Finnish Ministry of Education and municipalities²⁹⁷. During policy-making process, these governmental bodies promote active participation of non-governmental organizations from different parties.

Anders Huldén, president of SETA, explains that cooperation with NGOs from different fields (e.g. disabled groups) is an active tool to prevent multiple-discrimination and promote gender equality in every parts of society²⁹⁸. Multiple or double discrimination is an issue that is seriously considered on Finnish policy-making agenda. Comprehensive evaluations on women rights in Finland also indicate the country's will and potential to initiate further policies in the future:

“Different minority groups of women are still facing double discrimination in Finland. They face discrimination due to their sex or gender but their rights are also trampled on because they belong to certain minority groups. This causes double discrimination, a major problem for these women's human rights. The largest minority groups in Finland facing these problems are women of traditional minorities like the Roma and the Sámi, immigrant women, disabled women and women of sexual minorities. It would be essential to pay attention to equality between these different groups of women and also to their equality with the majority of women in Finland. At the moment, the equality policy is concentrating too much on women's rights in general and, unfortunately, lumping different kinds of women together under a same label. This problem of homogenization should be better addressed in the Finnish equality policy”²⁹⁹.

Anders Huldén emphasizes importance of early education on gender equality. Study visits, summer camps, academic studies on gender equality terms and definitions are tools of this goal³⁰⁰. Apart from school education, collaborations with family associations to provide an early awareness-raising are aspects of the country's proactive approach.

Another advanced feature of Finland's equalities perspective is related with the logic of implementations. Equality policy tools assert diversities as an opportunity and a

²⁹⁶ Anders Huldén, -Youth Work Coordinator at SETA- Interview on “Gender Equality in Finland”, Helsinki: 10.10.2010.

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

²⁹⁹ Maija Sala Tsegai and Una Murray, “Gender Baseline Study for Finnish Development Cooperation”, *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland Department Evaluation Report*, Helsinki: Hakapaino Oy, 2005, <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cedaw/docs/ngos/CFWA.pdf> (11.11.2012), pp.4-10.

³⁰⁰ Anders Huldén, -Youth Work Coordinator at SETA- Interview on “Gender Equality in Finland”, Helsinki: 10.10.2010

resource of social life. From this point of view ‘teachers’ education’ and ‘norm-critical education’ get considerable attention from both ministries and civil societies³⁰¹. According to Huldén, these initiatives have also an impact on preventing ‘the snowball effect’ that the lack of understandings may cause³⁰².

As European and international evaluations indicate, Finland creates a distinction with its equality policies. Finland’s advanced gender equality tools and policy logic call flexibility and diversity as a value of society. This is highly visible in contemporary gender equality measures which also expose country’s ability to adopt itself to these transformations.

3.2.2. Gender Equality in Poland

Democratization process of the Central and Eastern European Countries has different characteristics than the rest of the European equality process. Post-communist policy-makers did not put equality as a goal at the beginning³⁰³. During accession process to the European Union these characteristic differences emerged as obstacles to their Europeanization.

Equality perceptions of these countries were placing women in a separate place in the society. This situation has also been called as the ‘problem of invisibility of women’ in the CEESs³⁰⁴. Poland, as an example of these countries, possesses characteristics of its regional politics. However despite its disadvantageous stance this country has showed a good level of adaptation to the European policies during its accession process.

After analysing Finland as a good practice example of the European equality policies, Poland presents a good example of transformation and evolvement for gender

³⁰¹ Ibid.

³⁰² Ibid.

³⁰³ Leah Seppanen Anderson, “European Union Gender Regulations in the East: The Czech and Polish Accession Process”, *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol.20, No. 101, 2006, pp.101-125.

³⁰⁴ Joanna Regulska, “The ‘Political’ and its Meaning for Women – Transition Politics in Poland” in John Pickles and Adrian Smith (ed.), *Theorizing Transition – The Political Economy of Post-Communist Transformations*, London: Routledge, 1998, pp.309-330.

policies³⁰⁵. Observation of this country's adaptation to European equality policies also gives an insight about duties of the current candidates. Today, although Poland's equality policies are evaluated with their narrow scope, developments of the country's equality still accepted as promising³⁰⁶.

3.2.2.1. Background on Poland

Poland has the largest population of the post-communist countries and sixth biggest population within the European countries³⁰⁷. As a prominent example of soviet-influence, Poland has been implementing the EU's democratization policies since its accession period.

The concept of Polish equality policies have been shaped by CEECs historical background³⁰⁸. Implementation of the EU's equality policies have been through varied constraints. Traditional tendencies and keeping women in a valued but restricted place were the main characteristics of this traditional social structure.

The political transformation process of 1980s and the establishment of democratic systems of 1990s paved the way for Poland's EU membership. Country's constitution was adopted under these democratic developments in 1997 and today Poland has ratified most of the international acts that are related with gender equality³⁰⁹.

International evaluations on Poland's gender equality are not far from developed countries (See figure 14). Women's participation in science, education and

³⁰⁵ Charles Humana, *World Human Rights Guide*, New York: Oxford, 1992, pp. 108-336.

³⁰⁶ United Nations Development Programme, "Human Development Report 2011", <http://hdrstats.undp.org/images/explanations/POL.pdf> (12.11.2012), p.2.

³⁰⁷ Dorota Szelewa, "The Policy on Gender Equality in Poland", Brussels: European Parliament, 2011, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/document/activities/cont/201107/20110725ATT24649/20110725ATT24649EN.pdf> (11.11.2012), pp.7-14.

³⁰⁸ Agata Grony and Dorota Pudzianowska, "Same letter, New Spirit: Nationality Regulations and Their Implementations in Poland" in Rainer Bauböck, Bernhard Perchinig and Wiebke Sievers (ed.), *Citizenship Policies in the New Europe*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007, pp.113-129.

³⁰⁹ Dorota Szelewa, "The Policy on Gender Equality in Poland", Brussels: European Parliament, 2011, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/document/activities/cont/201107/20110725ATT24649/20110725ATT24649EN.pdf> (11.11.2012), pp.7-14.

work life rates expose a good level of adaptation and increase after 2004 EU membership³¹⁰. (See figure 14).

	OVERALL		ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION		EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT		HEALTH AND SURVIVAL		POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT	
	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score
Gender Gap Index 2012 (out of 135 countries)	53	0.702	72	0.650	34	0.998	34	0.979	46	0.179
Gender Gap Index 2011 (out of 135 countries)	42	0.704	65	0.653	28	0.999	48	0.979	40	0.184
Gender Gap Index 2010 (out of 134 countries)	43	0.704	63	0.653	29	0.999	46	0.979	41	0.184
Gender Gap Index 2009 (out of 134 countries)	50	0.700	71	0.643	33	0.999	41	0.979	40	0.178
Gender Gap Index 2008 (out of 130 countries)	49	0.695	73	0.624	30	0.999	38	0.979	39	0.178
Gender Gap Index 2007 (out of 128 countries)	60	0.676	74	0.617	1	1.000	37	0.979	63	0.107
Gender Gap Index 2006 (out of 115 countries)	44	0.680	50	0.635	13	1.000	36	0.979	58	0.107

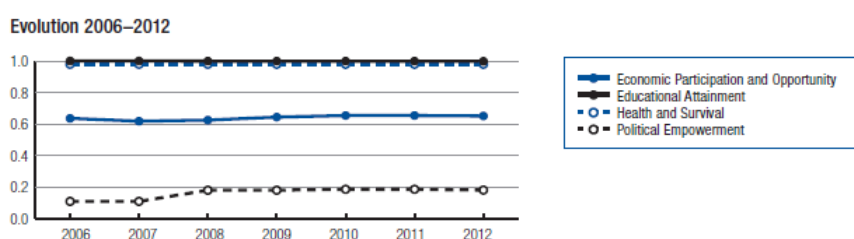


Figure 14: Poland Country Profile - Evolution 2006 – 2012

Source: Ricardo Hausmann, Laura D. Tyson and Saadia Zahidi, “The Global Gender Gap Report 2012”, *World Economic Forum*, 2012, http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GenderGap_Report_2012.pdf (27.10.2012), p.295.

Despite its traditional background, Poland also has progressivist implementations on gender equality. First time in the Communist bloc, Poland initiated a governmental plenipotentiary for women in 1986³¹¹. The aim of this government body was to introduce gender equality in every sphere of social life which can be accepted as an early implementation of today’s gender mainstreaming.

After the EU accession in 2004, Poland experienced a better institutionalization of gender equality in the fields of law, science and work life³¹². Polish government

³¹⁰ Ricardo Hausmann, Laura D. Tyson and Saadia Zahidi, “The Global Gender Gap Report 2012”, *World Economic Forum*, 2012, http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GenderGap_Report_2012.pdf (27.10.2012), p.295.

³¹¹ Dorota Szelewa, “The Policy on Gender Equality in Poland”, Brussels: European Parliament, 2011, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/document/activities/cont/201107/20110725ATT24649/20110725ATT24649EN.pdf> (11.11.2012), pp.7-14.

³¹² European Commission, “Benchmarking Policy Measures for Gender Equality in Science”, 2008, http://ec.europa.eu/research/science-society/document_library/pdf_06/benchmarking-policy-measures_en.pdf (01.11.2012), pp.101-104.

statistics indicate this process with an increase on macro-economic policies and evaluate its influence on gender equality policies³¹³. (See figure 15).

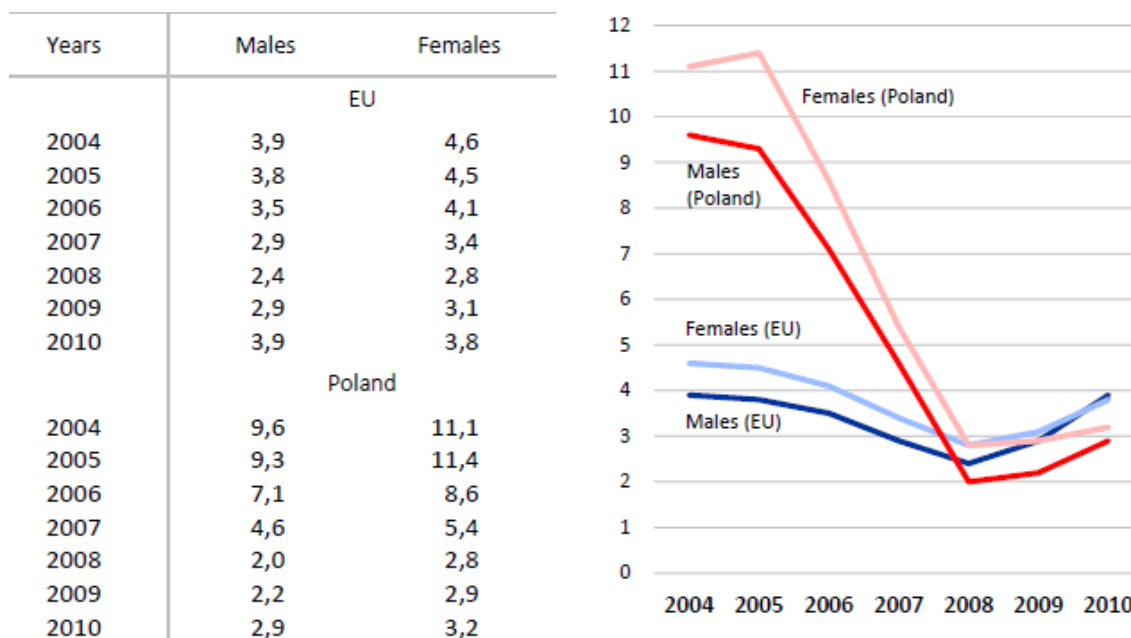


Figure 15: Poland Long-term Unemployment Rate by Gender

Source: Statistical Office in Katowice and Central Statistical Office, “Sustainable Development Indicators for Poland”, Katowice: 2011, http://www.stat.gov.pl/cps/rde/xbcr/gus/PUBL_as_Sustainable_Development_Indicators_for_Poland.pdf (14.11.2012), p.57.

Effects of EU funds and programmes on gender equality has also evaluated by Zachorowska-Mazurkiewicz, under Poland’s neo-liberalization process³¹⁴. Despite problematic process of democratization at institutional and cultural levels, Poland exposes a considerable level of decrease on women’s unemployment after 2004. (See figure 15). As a result of this economic change, today Polish women have a rather institutionalized political and social place than other CEECs.

³¹³ Statistical Office in Katowice and Central Statistical Office, “Sustainable Development Indicators for Poland”, Katowice: 2011, http://www.stat.gov.pl/cps/rde/xbcr/gus/PUBL_as_Sustainable_Development_Indicators_for_Poland.pdf (14.11.2012), p.57.

³¹⁴ Anna Zachorowska-Mazurkiewicz, “Role of Macroeconomic Policy in Reinforcing Gender Inequality – A Case Study of Poland in the European Union”, *Journal of Economic Issues*, Vol. 43, No. 2, 2009, pp.503-511.

3.2.2.2. Contemporary Polish Policies on Gender Equality

3.2.2.1.1. Recent Policies

Current gender equality policies of Poland are still in a process of development. After its historical transformation, country tries to catch today's European level of equality. Positive discrimination measures launched in 2011 and equal pay issues are on the agenda today³¹⁵. Considering past difficulties of transformation, today Poland experiences a shift from conservative trends to a more gender equality oriented views³¹⁶.

Government Plenipotentiary for Equal Treatment (Chancellery of Prime Minister) has an important influence on gender equality policies within Poland's organizational structure³¹⁷. In line with European equality policies, government bodies aim to create multiculturalism and awareness-raising towards gender. However these initiatives are also criticized with neglecting education sector³¹⁸.

Country has a sufficient legal framework on gender policies. Particularly classical gender equality problems (e.g. human trafficking, violence...) are often revised and developed³¹⁹. Actual policies such as gender mainstreaming have recently launched in an institutionalized way³²⁰.

Despite all these progressivist developments, Poland also deals with problems at the policy implementation level. Main reasons of these difficulties are conservative attitudes that derive from country's past. Anderson evaluates these problems on

³¹⁵ Dorota Szelewa, "The Policy on Gender Equality in Poland", Brussels: European Parliament, 2011, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/document/activities/cont/201107/20110725ATT24649/20110725ATT24649EN.pdf> (11.11.2012), p.4-14.

³¹⁶ Ibid.

³¹⁷ Poland Government Plenipotentiary for Equal Treatment, "The Government Plenipotentiary for Equal Treatment" <http://rownetraktowanie.gov.pl/en/the-government-plenipotentiary-for-equal-treatment> (11.11.2012).

³¹⁸ Ibid.

³¹⁹ UN Women, "The UN Secretary-General's Database on Violence against Women" <http://sgdatabse.unwomen.org/countryInd.action?countryId=1046> (12.11.2012).

³²⁰ Poland Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, "Meeting of the High Level Group on Gender Mainstreaming – Summary", 2011, <http://www.mpips.gov.pl/en/presidency/gender-events/eetingoftheighevelrouponenderainstreaming-arsaw5-6eptember2011/> (14.11.2012).

different levels; domestic level implementation problems, opposition to EU gender equity laws and political party structures are the main fields of conflict³²¹.

Another criticism of Poland gender equality policies is related with dilemmatic situations. Siemienska addresses the contrast between European gender equality policies and traditional ties then points their different effects on different social groups³²². In deeply conservative cases this situation ends with domination of men instead of women's empowerment.

This is a common situation of countries with conservative backgrounds. However, despite these practical problems Poland still exposes a good level of adaptation to European and international gender equality policies. (See figure 14).

Apart from this advancement on degree of equality, Poland also aims to catch today's changing equality concepts. To prevent multiple-discrimination, Poland's current policies include a broader range of minorities than its past and country considers their active participation to social equality³²³.

3.2.2.1.2. *Civil Movements*

Impact of political transformation has also influenced civil society movements in Poland. Formation of non-governmental organizations has increased during end of the 1980's changing periods. Increase on number of these organizations within administrative structure was realized in the 1990's democratization process³²⁴. After the EU accession, NGOs attained a more institutional position.

Initial feminist movements in Poland have been related with post-communist period's equality perception. Main problem of women movements at this date was the problem of identification. Women were historically stated in a family-based structure,

³²¹ Leah Seppanen Anderson, "European Union Gender Regulations in the East: The Czech and Polish Accession Process", *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol.20 No.101, 2006, pp.101-125.

³²² Renata Siemienska, "Gender, Family, and Work - The Case of Poland in Cross-National Perspective", *International Journal of Sociology*, Vol.38 No.4, 2008, p.59.

³²³ Poland Government Plenipotentiary for Equal Treatment, "Start-up Meeting, Poland 18 May 2012", 2012, <http://rownetraktowanie.gov.pl/en> (14.11.2012).

³²⁴ Leah Seppanen Anderson, "European Union Gender Regulations in the East: The Czech and Polish Accession Process", *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol.20 No.101, 2006, pp.101-125.

with their highly valued duties. Under post-communist views, their traditional role was also qualified for the interest of whole society.

Thus, the common gender equality term ‘emancipation of women’ also means women’s emancipation from their traditional identifications and creating their own equality concept separate from existing equality perceptions in Poland.

This re-identification process of women corresponds to the globally changing period of civil movements. During this process, civil societies of women were promoted as an integral part of membership to world politics³²⁵. However inefficiency of increasing feminist movements of this period has been criticized with ‘being lack of a feminist consciousness and motivation’³²⁶.

Another characteristic of Poland’s civil movements comes from diversified structure of society. Under the possibility of multiple-discrimination, Einhorn and Sever evaluate Polish civil society with being central to discourse of transformation and indicates its disproportionate effects on women movements³²⁷.

NGO movements in Poland better institutionalized after the EU accession. EU funds and programmes promoted a research-oriented approach and gender-sensitivity to these initiatives³²⁸. These works on gender equality still do not ensure a total change of existing stereotypes or schooling system³²⁹. However active stance of the country towards transforming concepts and its will to catch contemporary developments, put Poland in a promising place for the future of gender equality policies.

3.2.3. Gender Equality in Turkey

Turkey’s gender equality concept has been formed under country’s politically dynamic structure. Definitions of gender and equality, their effects on legal measures

³²⁵ Barbara Einhorn and Charlotte Sever, “Gender and Civil Society in Central and Eastern Europe”, *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol.5 No.2, 2003, pp.163-190.

³²⁶ Ibid.

³²⁷ Ibid.

³²⁸ Dorota Szelewa, “The Policy on Gender Equality in Poland”, Brussels: European Parliament, 2011, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/document/activities/cont/201107/20110725ATT24649/20110725ATT24649EN.pdf> (11.11.2012), p.4-14.

³²⁹ Ibid.

and policies have been shaped through these variables. (See Chapter I and Chapter II). This multi-layered structure of country makes gender equality dependent broad range of factors which vary from cultural characteristics to economic factors.

General social structure of Turkey shows traditional ties with country's past. Despite existence of pro-western policies and trends, traditional gendered citizenship is still efficient³³⁰. This men-dominated structure of the country puts women in a totally separate place than men which is particularly visible in rural areas.

Another characteristic that affects gender equality is country's disproportionate development. Imbalanced situation in one sector of the society has an increasing effect on other policy fields. Economic conditions play the major role on this kind of political distortions and end with multiple-discrimination. (See table 10).

Lack of economic opportunities, strength of traditional ties, improper education conditions vary from region to region and this exposes different effects on different groups. (See table 10). Since existing gender gap has various explanations, solutions towards equality require good cooperation among separate bodies.

Today Turkey's gender equality shows an increase on implementation of advanced policies. EU membership process and relations with international community have a considerable impact on this process. However rapidly changing social and political conditions may easily affect the process of change.

3.2.3.1. Background on Turkey

Historical background of Turkey carries traditional traits. Ottoman past of the country has asserted institutionalized sex segregation in Islamic law for a long period of time³³¹. Regime change in the 1920s ensured a transfer to a secular republican view and process of modernization³³².

³³⁰ Yeşim Arat, "On Gender and Citizenship in Turkey", *Middle East Report*, No. 198, 1996, pp.28-31.

³³¹ Bruce H. Rankin and Işık A. Aytaç, "Gender Inequality in Schooling: The Case of Turkey", *Sociology of Education*, Vol. 79, 2006, pp.25-43.

³³² Ibid.

Within this historical framework, women have been evaluated under traditional values. This has also affected the beginning of the Turkish feminist formations; women have been appraised as mothers of nation from one hand and stated on a restricted area of freedom on the other³³³. Thus, initial gender equality movements have developed through this identification of women.

Turkey's recent evaluations on human rights can not meet average standards today. Despite country's claim of development on human rights there is not a considerable efficiency on democratic initiatives³³⁴.

Women's participation to science, education and work life rates do not pose a serious gap between normal equality standards. (See figure 16). However, non-existence of an increasing trend and newer initiatives puts the country in a critical position in the international platform.

	OVERALL		ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION		EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT		HEALTH AND SURVIVAL		POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT	
	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score	Rank	Score
Gender Gap Index 2012 (out of 135 countries)	124	0.601	129	0.414	108	0.930	62	0.976	98	0.087
Gender Gap Index 2011 (out of 135 countries)	122	0.595	132	0.389	106	0.920	62	0.976	89	0.097
Gender Gap Index 2010 (out of 134 countries)	126	0.588	131	0.386	109	0.912	61	0.976	99	0.077
Gender Gap Index 2009 (out of 134 countries)	129	0.583	130	0.400	110	0.892	93	0.971	107	0.068
Gender Gap Index 2008 (out of 130 countries)	123	0.585	124	0.412	108	0.890	88	0.971	106	0.068
Gender Gap Index 2007 (out of 128 countries)	121	0.577	118	0.431	110	0.854	87	0.971	108	0.052
Gender Gap Index 2006 (out of 115 countries)	105	0.585	106	0.434	92	0.885	85	0.969	96	0.052

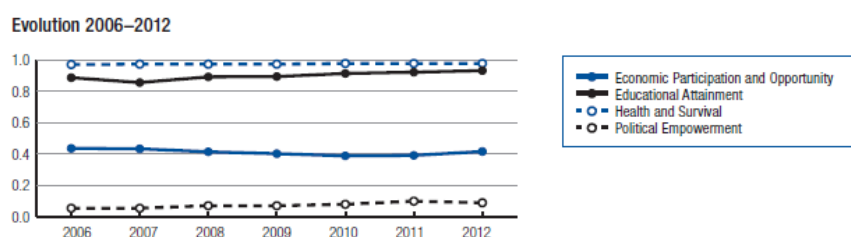


Figure 16: Turkey Country Profile - Evolution 2006 – 2012

Source: Ricardo Hausmann, Laura D. Tyson and Saadia Zahidi, "The Global Gender Gap Report 2012", *World Economic Forum*, 2012, http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GenderGap_Report_2012.pdf (27.10.2012), p.341.

³³³ John Baylis and Steve Smith, *The Globalization of World Politics*, New York: Oxford, 2001, pp.582-597.

³³⁴ Charles Humana, *World Human Rights Guide*, New York: Oxford, 1992, pp.108-336.

Turkey has launched important reforms on equality and modernization. Most important gender equality reforms have aimed to reach education field³³⁵. But families' gendered attitudes towards education decisions still keep its importance especially at rural areas.

Conservative motives keep their influence on political structure of the country. Women's experience of citizenship in political life has been shaped under tensions between Islamist versus feminist views³³⁶. Since its establishment till today, Turkey has had only one woman leader at the prime ministry level as highest degree of decision making³³⁷.

Another factor that has been preventing gender equality at political level is related with country's politically fragmented structure. Özbudun indicates highly politicized Turkish politics and de-institutionalization of the political party system as a consequence of electoral volatility which also maintains gendered perceptions³³⁸.

3.2.3.2. Contemporary Turkish Policies on Gender Equality

3.2.3.2.1. Recent Policies

Turkey shows an active attitude towards gender equality in recent years. International developments and European accession process led country to modernize its existing policies. International evaluations on Turkey's Gender Equality National Action Plan has been considered as 'being satisfactory' in some fields³³⁹. However, due

³³⁵ Bruce H. Rankin and Işık A. Aytaç, 'Gender Inequality in Schooling: The Case of Turkey', *Sociology of Education*, Vol. 79, 2006, pp.25-43.

³³⁶ Yeşim Arat, "On Gender and Citizenship in Turkey", *Middle East Report*, No. 198, 1996, pp.28-31.

³³⁷ Ibid.

³³⁸ Ergun Özbudun, *Contemporary Turkish politics: Challenges to Democratic Consolidation*, Boudler: Lynne Reiner Press, 2000, cited in Dilek Cindoğlu, Adnan Boynukara, Selin Akyüz and Edip A. Bekaroğlu, "An Action Research Report on the Rising Democracy Discourse in 2000's Turkey: Does Eros Contour the Demos?", *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 30, 2007, pp.465-473.

³³⁹ Council of Europe, "National Machinery, Action Plans, and Gender Mainstreaming in the Council of Europe Member States since the 4th World Conference on Women (Beijing, 1995)", Strasbourg: Council of Europe 2009, [http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/standardsetting/equality/06resources/recent-publications/EG\(2009\)2_en.pdf](http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/standardsetting/equality/06resources/recent-publications/EG(2009)2_en.pdf) (11.11.2012), pp.281-287.

to the changes both in Turkey's legislation and Turkish people's mentality, the need of new policies has also been indicated in these evaluations³⁴⁰.

Current axis of Turkish equality policies has been a subject to evaluations. Ideology of the current government is criticised for not being sufficiently democratic, including conservative and liberal elements which does not guarantee its modernization³⁴¹.

Lack of harmony between political implementations and ideology is a particular problem on Turkey's recent policies. Arat assesses the incoherence between restrictive gender roles and democratisation as a paradox of current policies³⁴². This situation reveals as a problem especially in rather traditional regions.

After establishment of Directorate General on the Status of Women (DGSW) international developments have been better followed in Turkey. Today, recent policy initiatives reach a good level of protection for women³⁴³. Prominent examples of these regulations are Turkey's National Action Plans on Combating Domestic Violence against Women since 2007. However these developments protect existing legal structure and do not provide a progressivist approach in line with contemporary definitions of gender³⁴⁴.

Turkey's parliamentary system has been in a transformation in recent years. New policies aim to change gendered structure of the parliament³⁴⁵. This situation is promising especially considering the pro-western tendencies. Prominent example of this attitude might be observed in Turkish ultra-nationalist party's contacts with different

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

³⁴¹ William Hale and Ergun Özbudun, *Islamism, Democracy and Liberalism in Turkey – The Case of AKP*, New York: Routledge, 2010, pp.20-30.

³⁴² Yeşim Arat, "Religion, Politics and Gender Equality in Turkey: Implications of a Democratic Paradox?", *Third World Quarterly*, Vol.31 No.6, 2010, pp.869–884.

³⁴³ UN Women, "The UN Secretary-General's Database on Violence against Women", <http://sgdatabse.unwomen.org/countryInd.action?countryId=1326> (12.11.2012).

³⁴⁴ T.C. Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü, "Kadına Yönelik Şiddetle Mücadele Ulusal Eylem Planı 2012-2015", http://www.kadininstatusu.gov.tr/upload/mce/2012/kadina_yonelik_sid_2012_2015.pdf (06.01.2013).

³⁴⁵ Diba Nigar Goksel, "Time for Turkish Women's Voices to be Heard", *Al Jazeera*, 17.06.2011, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2011/06/2011614125644439453.html> (22.11.2012).

civil society members, including marginalized ones (e.g. recent meetings with sexual minority groups)³⁴⁶.

Despite these newly changing parameters and possibility of establishing a broader gender equality approach, Turkish policies still require a strong will and institutionalization. Non-western traits of the society, traditional culture and background have effects on the degree of change in politics. Within this context, lack of internalization of contemporary developments stands as the biggest issue for progress.

3.2.3.2.2. *Civil Movements*

Turkish civil movements on gender equality had an increase on 1990s. Rising feminist movements in this period gained a stronger place in the society at this date. Institutionalization of these initiatives has launched during EU membership process.

The role of NGOs has an important influence on gender equality field. Open Society Foundation indicates existence of obstacles to women's participation in social life which may even lead to violation of right to live, and emphasizes NGOs' role in this process³⁴⁷.

This situation also refers to the existence of articulated discriminations and their common result of multiple-discrimination. Current civil movements in Turkey evaluate this situation under contemporary needs of gender equality and call policy-makers for a holistic approach³⁴⁸.

The Rightful Women Platform (Haklı Kadınlar Platformu) is one of Turkey's prominent NGOs in the field of women's equal representation. The NGO reaches to different parts of society through working with politicians, academicians, private sector,

³⁴⁶ Hurriyet Daily News, "Ultra Nationalist Party Meets with LGBT Group", *Hurriyet Daily News*, 19.09.2012, <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/ultra-nationalist-party-meets-with-lgbt-group.aspx?pageID=238&nID=30509&NewsCatID=339> (22.11.2012).

³⁴⁷ Hakan Altınay, Gökçe Tüylüoğlu, Nafiz Güder, *Open Society*, Istanbul: Open Society Assistance Foundation, 2006, pp.113-133.

³⁴⁸ Alyson Neel, "NGOs, Academics Call for Holistic Approach to Reach Gender Equality" *Today's Zaman*, 05.09.2012, <http://www.todayszaman.com/news-291474-ngos-academics-call-for-holistic-approach-to-reach-gender-equality.html> (22.11.2012).

journalists etc. Within organisation's reasons of being, The Rightful Women Platform expresses the certain need of empowerment of women on behalf of the whole society³⁴⁹.

Emel Armutçu is a member of executive board of the Rightful Women Platform and also is a journalist from the Turkish newspaper Hurriyet. During an interview with Armutçu, journalist evaluated current situation of Turkish civil society. Although her answers indicate a promising increase on civil society movements, she also emphasizes certain need of a stronger coordination among civil organizations in Turkey:

“Particularly women NGOs are very efficient in Turkey. They play an important role to provide the balance in policy-making. Legal amendments to the Law of Discrimination against Women have been realized with their struggles. Today, progress on most of the subjects those related with women is provided via their pressure. We try to say our word in every platform. The only shortage is to gather all together, to associate and to create a big power”³⁵⁰.

Another prominent example of empowerment of women is the IGOs' initiatives. Women Friendly Cities is a project that has been launched with a collaborative work among Ministry of Internal Affairs, The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA)³⁵¹. General goal of this kind of projects is to ensure women's participation in local political life.

Existing gender equality policy initiatives in Turkey maintain through different wings of political and social life. Dynamic structure of civil movements also helps a progress towards further steps. However, classical and traditional attitudes towards new policies still keep their existence on the process of a total change³⁵². Armutçu explains civil society's position on the need of change and evaluates the continual political incoherence that prevents the progress:

³⁴⁹ Haklı Kadın Platformu, “Hayatın Her Alanında Eşit Temsil İstiyoruz”, <http://www.haklikadinplatformu.org/icerik/20-hayatın-her-alanında-esit-temsil-istiyoruz> (22.11.2012).

³⁵⁰ Emel Armutçu, -Executive Board Member at Rightful Women Platform and Journalist at Hurriyet-interview on “Gender Equality in Turkey”, Istanbul: 12.11.2012.

³⁵¹ Kadın Dostu Kentler Project, “Proje Hakkında”, <http://www.kadindostukentler.com/hakkında.html> (13.11.2012).

³⁵² Emel Armutçu, -Executive Board Member at Rightful Women Platform and Journalist at Hurriyet-interview on “Gender Equality in Turkey”, Istanbul: 12.11.2012.

“We already launched our studies to include broader meanings on gender discrimination. That is why we do not say a ‘women sensitive budget’ but a ‘gender sensitive budget’. As the Rightful Women Platform, we prefer to say an ‘equitable budget’; to include not only the lgbs but also aged people, disabled people and alike groups.

Anti-discrimination policies are much diversified in Turkey. But since even the leftists, the progressivists or the liberalists pose very traditional stances, we may be obliged to very backward discussions. Turkey is at the very beginning of the path. There is also a lot of resistance to positive discrimination”³⁵³.

Journalist evaluates this situation with need of a fully-fledged change of mentality towards both equality and gender perceptions³⁵⁴. As a result, despite existence of a potential strength, Turkish civil movements do not expose an institutionalized efficiency and this causes a slowdown of progress.

³⁵³ Ibid.

³⁵⁴ Ibid.

CHAPTER IV: OVERALL EVALUATIONS

4.1. EVALUATIONS OF EU GENDER EQUALITY AND LISBON PROCESS

Today women movements are far away from discussing only their work life rights. The notion gender has also been in transformation that includes a broader range of minority types such as cultural, ethnic, economic and sexual minorities. Therefore, the aim of this part is to examine both European Union's and EU member states adaptation process to these changes. Also Turkey's needs to provide a strong adaptation to global gender norms evaluated within country's membership process of the European Union. From the EU's side, legal and administrative changes of the Treaty of Lisbon and the EU's new perceptions on gender equality analysed with evaluations of the international organizations.

4.1.1. EU Gender Equality Policies

European Union gender equality policies emerged with economic concerns. This was a result of the EEC's initial steps during the formation of the Community in 1950s. (See chapter I). Definitions, perceptions and legal measures have been formed under this historical context. Since the EU was in its establishment period, these policies remained in a narrow scope under anti-discrimination and equality policies.

In line with international developments on equality and anti-discrimination, today EU gender equality concept has less economic aspects. Progressive implementations and change towards policy perceptions brought the issue as a core value within EU political structure³⁵⁵.

This advancement on EU gender policies also shows the Union's development level on the issue. The more EU equalities concept improved the more the EU's problems and policies became more complex. As a result of this progress, bottom-up

³⁵⁵ Women In Development Europe (WIDE), "Gender in the Institutions. Status quo or an opportunity to Change?" in Agnieszka Grzybek, "Gender in the EU", Warsaw: Heinrich Böll Foundation, 2009, http://www.pl.boell.org/downloads/Gender_in_the_UE_WWW.pdf (17.11.2012), pp.23-27.

policy demands could find their place in an institutional structure within the EU's equality philosophy.

Recognition of the distinction between women and gender is one aspect of the EU's gender equality perception. Another aspect is the degree of EU equality practices; those include various subjects from ecology to technology or development. Thus, both practical needs and gender equality vision shape the Union's evolution process.

General evaluation of the EU's gender equality concept concentrates on its technical aspects³⁵⁶. (See table 7). This situation also gives an insight about future of the EU's gender equality concept.

Table 7: Major Achievements and Challenges of the EU Gender Architecture

Achievements	Challenges
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gender awareness at the highest policy levels 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gender side-lined in policy debates on key issues such as economic crisis or longer term strategies
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gender equality legislation; binding power of Directives regulating equal treatment in employment, social security, reconciliation of family and work, access to goods and services. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Problems with the implementation and interpretation of Directives, guidelines and targets by member countries, which decide how they will reach gender equality objectives.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Strengthening the EU gender architecture in the Treaty of Amsterdam (1997) through moving beyond the objective of preventing discrimination to mainstreaming gender into all policy areas. New European Institute for Gender Equality (2009). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Problems with mainstreaming (political will, piecemeal approach, isolated measures), few incentives to mainstream gender into non-social areas, such as science and research, innovation, economics, external relations/Neighbourhood Policy.

³⁵⁶ Adam Ostolski, "The European Union, Gender Politics and Social Change" in Agnieszka Grzybek, 'Gender in the EU', Warsaw: Heinrich Böll Foundation, 2009, http://www.pl.boell.org/downloads/Gender_in_the_UE_WWW.pdf (17.11.2012), pp. 29-31.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improvement of gender legislation in new EU member countries through EU accession pressure, strengthening the position of women's movements as partners of governments, access to EU funding and opening political space across borders. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • After accession, loss of direct pressure on governments; loss of financial support of non-EU donors; also top-down pattern of reforms of legislation. |
|--|---|

Source: Ewa Rumińska-Zimny, "Gender Architecture in the European Union: Achievements, Challenges and the Future" in Agnieszka Grzybek, "Gender in the EU", Warsaw: Heinrich Böll Foundation, 2009, http://www.pl.boell.org/downloads/Gender_in_the_UE_WWW.pdf (17.11.2012), p.8.

EU's current policies on gender and gender equality are in alignment with UN Millennium Development Goals (MDG) and Beijing Platform. Thus, policy tools such as gender mainstreaming or positive discrimination will be included in a more advanced manner in the future to address existing technical challenges.

Within this context, Rumińska-Zimny evaluates the future of EU gender architecture as requiring 'more political will' and 'conducive national environments' to address *de facto* needs³⁵⁷. This will bring out an increase on civil movements and a higher degree of participation to end on-going questioning of women's efficiency³⁵⁸. Example of this already emerging change is recent formation of equality bodies which provide a broader scope³⁵⁹. Rumińska-Zimny concludes the EU's evaluation with future prospects of EU gender equality:

"In conclusion, despite undeniable achievements of the EU gender architecture, its future depends on embracing new concepts, mechanisms and partnerships addressing the root causes of gender inequality embedded in the traditional mind sets, institutions, policies and practices related to the family, the society and the economic, social and political orders"³⁶⁰.

Considering this trend towards technical developments, the EU gender equality will be heading towards two directions. First movement will be the vertical progress through technical advancements that have already been launched. The second

³⁵⁷ Ewa Rumińska-Zimny, "Gender Architecture in the European Union: Achievements, Challenges and the Future" in Agnieszka Grzybek, "Gender in the EU", Warsaw: Heinrich Böll Foundation, 2009, http://www.pl.boell.org/downloads/Gender_in_the_UE_WWW.pdf (17.11.2012), p.13.

³⁵⁸ Ibid. pp.7-15.

³⁵⁹ Equinet European Network of Equality Bodies, "Equinet E-Newsletter No. 22", 2011 <http://www.equineteurope.org/spip.php?page=recherche&recherche=gender> (18.11.2012).

³⁶⁰ Ewa Rumińska-Zimny, "Gender Architecture in the European Union: Achievements, Challenges and the Future" in Agnieszka Grzybek, "Gender in the EU", Warsaw: Heinrich Böll Foundation, 2009, http://www.pl.boell.org/downloads/Gender_in_the_UE_WWW.pdf (17.11.2012), p.15.

movement will be horizontal progress through the changes of perceptions and inclusion of a broader scope of definitions on gender.

This transformation process has already emerged under practical definitions. The terms gender-neutrality, gender equity or gender sensitive policies which are part of this change³⁶¹. Also containing gender equality as a core value to Lisbon Treaty shows the Union's strong will on improvement³⁶². The question at this point reveals at local level policies. Deepening and widening of gender equality policies are faced with different local attitudes at different countries.

4.1.2. Lisbon Process and Future of Gender Equality

After long works on consensus and cooperation, the Treaty of Lisbon has been ratified by all member states of EU and entered into force in December 2009. The Treaty Establishing Constitution for Europe (TCE) aims to replace the EU's founding treaties with a European Constitution which means strengthening of the existing actions in EU³⁶³.

The Lisbon Treaty addresses a transparent and democratic structure, efficiency on EU policies, European values of freedom, solidarity, and security and finally brings EU as an actor to the global stage³⁶⁴. Treaty provides free spaces to EU member states as a result of the Treaty's more democratic approach, which will also have an effect on implementation of gender equality measures³⁶⁵.

³⁶¹ European Commission, "Description of the Technique", 2009, http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docgener/evaluation/evalsed/sourcebooks/method_techniques/conducting_impact_assessments/gender/description_en.htm (17.11.2012).

³⁶² Women In Development Europe (WIDE), "Gender in the Institutions. Status quo or an Opportunity to Change?" in Agnieszka Grzybek, "Gender in the EU", Warsaw: Heinrich Böll Foundation, 2009, http://www.pl.boell.org/downloads/Gender_in_the_UE_WWW.pdf (17.11.2012), pp. 23-27.

³⁶³ Europa, "The treaty of Lisbon", 2010, http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/institutional_affairs/treaties/lisbon_treaty/ai0033_en.htm (18.11.2012).

³⁶⁴ Europa, "The Treaty at a Glance" http://europa.eu/lisbon_treaty/glance/index_en.htm (22.11.2012).

³⁶⁵ Evelyn Ellis, "The Impact of the Lisbon Treaty on Gender Equality" in European Network of Legal Experts in the Field of Gender Equality, "European Gender Equality Law Review 2010-1", Online: European Commission, 2010 http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/egelr_2010-1_en.pdf (19.11.2012), pp. 7-13.

Treaty of Lisbon fosters the EU's existing transformation towards a more comprehensive approach on gender equality. By including the terms gender and women separately, treaty aims to bring a clear perception on social inclusion. Gender equality is also included within international developments as a sign of EU's commitment to catch up with global developments on equality. The Women in Development Europe's (WIDE) statement on this issue is as follows:

“A key pillar of policy coherence is adherence to internationally agreed upon social, gender equality and women's rights commitments. The EU has the challenge to deliver on its commitments to international human rights frameworks on women's rights and development, such as the Beijing Platform for Action, CEDAW, the MDGs, and the ILO conventions”³⁶⁶.

In general, the Lisbon Treaty tidies up the existing regulations on gender equality to reduce existing complexity of the EU regulations³⁶⁷. Under this broader human rights concept, gender equality is stated in a stronger political framework³⁶⁸. This process of change is also evaluated as period of a new opening for European politics³⁶⁹. Considering this explicit transformation, European gender equality concept now exposes a stronger base.

4.2. EVALUATIONS ON EU COUNTRIES GENDER EQUALITY

4.2.1. Evaluation of Gender Equality in Finland

Equality perception of the Nordic equalities has an important effect on European policy transformations. Particular emphasis on social diversity and flexibility in existing policies expose these countries' will of progress on equality. This approach both urges the EU for further implementations and also shows their active integration to progressivist European policies.

³⁶⁶ Women In Development Europe (WIDE), “Gender in the Institutions: Status quo or an Opportunity to Change?” in Agnieszka Grzybek, “Gender in the EU”, Warsaw: Heinrich Böll Foundation, 2009, http://www.pl.boell.org/downloads/Gender_in_the_UE_WWW.pdf (17.11.2012), p. 25.

³⁶⁷ Evelyn Ellis, “The Impact of the Lisbon Treaty on Gender Equality” in European Network of Legal Experts in the Field of Gender Equality, “European Gender Equality Law Review 2010-1”, Online: European Commission, 2010 http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/egelr_2010-1_en.pdf (19.11.2012), pp. 7-13.

³⁶⁸ Laura Bisio and Alessandra Cataldi, “The Treaty of Lisbon from a Gender Perspective: Changes and Challenges”, Beussels: WIDE, 2008, http://www.wunrn.com/news/2008/08_08/08_11_08/081108_europe.htm (22.11.2012).

³⁶⁹ Maciej Gdula, “A New Opening in European Politics?” in Agnieszka Grzybek, “Gender in the EU”, Warsaw: Heinrich Böll Foundation, 2009, http://www.pl.boell.org/downloads/Gender_in_the_UE_WWW.pdf (17.11.2012), p. 25.

Finland accepts diversity as a resource in society and applies this positive attitude through government policies. Systemic integration of civil society to existing mechanism and research oriented approach leads country to embrace global innovations in gender equality³⁷⁰. The EU's gradually broadening approach on human rights and systematic acceptance of international equality concepts show the close consensus for future improvements between the two parties.

Considering this clear policy coherency, the Lisbon Treaty's effects on Finland are mostly on technical aspects. The TFEU aims to raise impact of gender equality policies through legal aspects and labour market regulations. Thus Finnish regulations on European level of gender equality aim to strengthen this harmony rather than bringing totally new policy concepts³⁷¹.

In parallel with this progress, national action plan and governmental structure of Finland is more improved than Poland and Turkey³⁷². In terms of classical problems of the country, the main existing problem is emergence of multiple-discrimination on ethnic base. However, implementation of early education and other awareness raising measures are efficient.

As an example of Nordic equality concept, Finland gender equality stands on a strong political base. Historical developments and current initiatives lead the country to a prominent position. In some cases, high policy level of the country serves as a trend-setter for other European countries. For countries like Poland and Turkey, Finland also exposes their level of distance to an optimum gender equality concept within the European context.

³⁷⁰ Anders Huldén, -Youth Work Coordinator at SETA- Interview on "Gender Equality in Finland", Helsinki: 10.10.2010.

³⁷¹ Kevät Nousiainen, "Finland – News from the Member States and EEA Countries" in European Network of Legal Experts in the Field of Gender Equality, "European Gender Equality Law Review 2010-1", Online: European Commission, 2010 http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/egelr_2010-1_en.pdf (19.11.2012), pp. 68-71.

³⁷² Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland, "UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) 'Women, Peace and Security' - Finland's National Action Plan 2012-2016", http://www.kopijyva.fi/ejulkaisut/ulkoasiainministerio/UM_05_2012/UM_05_2012.pdf (06.11.2012).

4.2.2. Evaluation of Gender Equality in Poland

CEECs conservative background posed a divergence on equality policies between East and West Europe. Poland's adaptation process to European equality concept has been shaped under these characteristics of the region. During EU enlargement process, these countries have also been assessed as limits of Europeanization³⁷³.

In the case of Poland, traditional perceptions and conservative culture of the country poses practical problems for policy implementations. However, by means of strong government policies, Poland is still addressed with its good level of government compliance on EU gender equality concept³⁷⁴.

Poland's sociological and political structure exposes similarities with the Turkish social and political structure. Although restrictive characteristics of Polish politics have legally ended at the end of the 1980s, traditional tenets kept their existence. Thus, the terms of equality and anti-discrimination have long been perceived within communist solidarity meanings. (See chapter III).

This discrete position of Poland did not affect country's progressivist implementations. Initiating the Government Plenipotentiary on gender equality first time among all communist states was the biggest example of this attitude. Country also aims to create alternative ways of re-framing new gender definitions to break traditional prejudices³⁷⁵.

Just as other traditional societies, Poland's gender equality concept contains its dilemmas on development process. Currently there is not any significant change on attitudes towards gender but minor positive developments and progress on

³⁷³ Cristina Chiva, "The limits of Europeanization: EU Accession and Gender Equality in Bulgaria and Romania", *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, Vol.10 No.2, 2009, pp.195-209.

³⁷⁴ Olga Avdeyeva, "States' Compliance with International Requirements: Gender Equality in EU Enlargement Countries", *Political Research Quarterly*, Vol.63 No.1, 2010, pp.203-217.

³⁷⁵ Anika Keinz, "Negotiating democracy's gender between Europe and the nation", *European Journal of Anthropology*, No.53, 2009, pp.38-55.

implementations ensure the base³⁷⁶. The pace of new policy implementations has also been subjected to criticisms³⁷⁷. However, the strong point that brings the country on a good level of gender equality is the existence of political will towards change.

4.2.3. Evaluation of Gender Equality in Turkey

Turkey's gender equality concept contains both western and eastern cultural motives. Political background of the country has an influence on the direction of these tendencies. Turkey does not possess a stable political structure, orientation towards tradition or modernization changes in different periods of the history.

Imbalanced distribution of social and economic resources creates a difficulty for Turkey to adopt new policies. Economic differences between regions causes multiple-discrimination and this brings the need of more developed policies and stronger political will.

Conservative tenets of Turkish society bring country closer to developing European countries' gender equality level. Additional situation for Turkey's case is the existence of recent religious policies which stand on traditional side. This situation also emerges as an issue of criticism for Turkey's EU membership process.

Evaluations show Turkey under an average level of gender equality policies at the international level. Existing dilemma between religious implementations and democratization puts the political will at risk. Özbudun evaluates Turkey's recent modernizations as an alternative position which does not align with EU policies³⁷⁸. At the end, lack of internalization of EU policies reveals at practice.

Within the existing context, Turkey's classical problems of gender equality particularly hinder progress at political level. On the one hand Turkey initiates new

³⁷⁶ Eleonora Zielińska, "Poland" in European Network of Legal Experts in the Field of Gender Equality, "European Gender Equality Law Review 2010-1", Online: European Commission, 2010, http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/egelr_2010-1_en.pdf (10.11.2012), pp.116-120.

³⁷⁷ Alexandra Jachanová-Doleželová, "Good Policies - No Implementation" in Agnieszka Grzybek, "Gender in the EU", Warsaw: Heinrich Böll Foundation, 2009, http://www.pl.boell.org/downloads/Gender_in_the_UE_WWW.pdf (17.11.2012), pp.17-22.

³⁷⁸ William Hale and Ergun Özbudun, *Islamism, Democracy and Liberalism in Turkey – The Case of AKP*, New York: Routledge, 2010, pp.20-30.

bodies such as Anti-discrimination Equality Board and mentions to create a new equal society, on the other hand secular-religious divergences remain sensitive³⁷⁹.

Existing situation of Turkey's gender equality concept reveals two main axes of difficulties. Firstly, the EU's level of developments on gender equality and democratization remain high for Turkey at technical level. Secondly, within Turkey's recent traditional tendencies, EU's already started transformations on gender definitions bring the possibility of cultural divergence between two parties.

4.2.4. Comparing Three Countries

Gender equality as a tool of anti-discrimination policies has been institutionally applied by the EU. Target of the EU's equality policy progressively widened with time. Finland, with its progressivist stance, has always showed a good example of this policy improvement. Country's early democracy, already existing governmental system and regional level of development was an advantage for these positive results. (See table 8). However considering Finland's recent policies, proactive stance of the countries towards bottom-up demands has an important influence on the whole gender equality concept.

If Finland is a good practitioner of European gender equality policies; Poland and Turkey are the practitioners that aim to develop their existing measures. Turkey and Poland expose similar backgrounds and historical perceptions on gender issue. (See table 8). This familiarity also reveals at countries' policy implementation levels. Both countries are faced with the gap between legal regulations and their practical implementations. For example Finnish examples show that education sector has a considerable importance on awareness-raising. Turkey and Poland, in line with EU policies, aim to develop this sector in terms of girls' education. Nevertheless, both countries suffer lacking of internalization of European policies at local levels. (See table 8).

³⁷⁹ Nurhan Süral "Turkey" in European Network of Legal Experts in the Field of Gender Equality, "European Gender Equality Law Review 2010-1", Online: European Commission, 2010, http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/egelr_2010-1_en.pdf (17.11.2012), pp.134-141.

Three countries also have different levels of policy institutionalization. Finland has an explicitly developed political structure on gender equality. Existence of a specific ombudsman for gender equality monitoring and systematic integration of civil society bodies are examples of this structure. (See table 8). Poland, aims to establish this kind of political platform with its recent policies. Although Turkey takes good initiatives on this issue (e.g. establishing a stronger position for the DGSW) country still lags behind from a sufficient level of institutionalization.

Table 8: Trajectory of Gender Equality for the Three Countries

PARAMETERS ON GENDER EQUALITY	GENDER EQUALITY AS A TOOL OF ANTI-DISCRIMINATION		
	FINLAND	POLAND	TURKEY
Constitutional Steps	1919 First Constitution 1987 Constitutional Act on Equality between Women and Men 1999 Gender regulated under equality part ³⁸⁰	1997 First Constitution 1997 Gender equality counted in family regulations with state protectionism towards women ³⁸¹	1921 First constitution 1982 Constitution included gender equality under family regulations 2004 Amendment on Article 10 strengthened interpretation of CEDAW above all national laws ³⁸²
Abortion laws³⁸³	Up to 12 weeks	Strictly regulated	Up to 10 weeks
Women's suffrage³⁸⁴	1906	1918	1930 (to vote) 1934 (to stand for vote)
Sign on International Agreements	1986 CEDAW 1999 CEDAW Optional Protocol	1980 CEDAW 2003 CEDAW Optional Protocol	1985 CEDAW 2002 CEDAW Optional Protocol

³⁸⁰ Ministry of Justice, Finland, "The Constitution of Finland", 1999, <http://www.finlex.fi/en/laki/kaannokset/1999/en19990731.pdf> (22.11.2012).

³⁸¹ Parliament of Poland, "The Constitution of the Republic of Poland", 1997, <http://www.sejm.gov.pl/prawo/konst/angielski/kon1.htm> (22.11.2012).

³⁸² Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "The Right of Women, Gender Equality and Struggle with Violence Against Women", 2011, http://www.mfa.gov.tr/the-right-of-women_-gender-equality-and-struggle-with-violence-against-women.en.mfa (22.11.2012).

³⁸³ European Network International Planned Parenthood Federation, "Abortion Legislation in Europe", http://www.ippfen.org/NR/rdonlyres/DB347D31-0159-4C7D-BE5C428623ABCA25/0/Pub_AbortionlegislationinEuropeIPPFEN_Feb2009.pdf (06.01.2013).

³⁸⁴ Inter-Parliamentary Union, "Women's Suffrage", <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/suffrage.htm> (22.11.2012).

National Policy Mechanisms and Capacity-building	First National Action Plan on Gender Equality in 2008	First National Action Plan on Gender Equality in 1997	First National Action Plan on Gender Equality in 2008
	1987 the Ombudsman for Gender Equality	Government Plenipotentiary for Gender Equality established in 1997	Directorate General for the Status of Women (DGSW) established in 2004
		1988 the Ombudsman for all equalities	2012 the Ombudsman for all equalities

Comparison between the three countries exposes their different policy lines since their establishment. Constitutional steps show that Finland has been following a rather stable line since beginning of the 1920s. (See table 8). Although Turkey has launched its first constitution in this date, it has been changed afterwards. Since the country could not keep a rather stable line till 1980s, equality policies have also been passive before this date.

Poland's constitution in 1997 follows a better adaptation to international equality norms. (See table 8). Country also launches governmental equality bodies and policy mechanisms in these dates. EU accession process also has an effect on policy progress of Poland. (See table 9). EU Acquis Communautaire, structural funds and policy initiatives are still efficient in 2000s.

Table 9: Parameters of Progress under the EU Harmonisation

Parameters	FINLAND	POLAND	TURKEY
EU Accession	EU accession in 1995	EU accession in 2004	EU Candidate status since 1999
EU Policies	Has advanced gender equality policies within EU political structure	EU Acquis Communautaire had an important effect on neo-liberalization and women's participation	EU membership process, structural funds and programmes have an influence on gender equality policies

Legal Amendments in line with EU Policies	1988, 1992, 1995 Act on Equality Between Women and Men amended and extended	2005 Act on Counteracting Family Violence 2008 amending the Act and the Labour Code ³⁸⁵	2001 Constitutional Amendments ³⁸⁶ 2002 New Civil Code 2005 New Penal Code
EU Policy tools	Gender Mainstreaming and Positive Discrimination since 1990s	Gender Mainstreaming and Positive Discrimination since 2000s	Gender Equality and Positive Discrimination since 2000s

Difference between Poland and Turkey emerges with countries' stance towards practical problems. Despite its disadvantageous position among CEECs, Poland is able to create a certain degree of adaptation to European equality policies³⁸⁷. Although EU Structural Funds and Programmes have an effect on this policy change, country's certain will of integration and search of innovative solutions create the main difference. (See table 9).

Situation is not similar from Turkey's side. Particularly recent modernization policies of the country do not expose existence of a resolute will towards EU membership³⁸⁸. At the end, this reveals as a main challenge for future prospects. (See table 9 and 10).

³⁸⁵ Dorota Szelewa, "The Policy on Gender Equality in Poland", *European Parliament*, Brussels: European Parliament, 2011, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/document/activities/cont/201107/20110725ATT24649/20110725ATT24649EN.pdf> (11.11.2012), pp.7-14.

³⁸⁶ Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "The Right of Women, Gender Equality and Struggle with Violence Against Women", 2011, http://www.mfa.gov.tr/the-right-of-women_-gender-equality-and-struggle-with-violence-against-women.en.mfa (22.11.2012).

³⁸⁷ European Commission, "Benchmarking policy Measures for Gender Equality in Science", 2008, http://ec.europa.eu/research/science-society/document_library/pdf_06/benchmarking-policy-measures_en.pdf (01.11.2012), pp.101-104.

³⁸⁸ Ergun Ozbudun, *Contemporary Turkish politics: challenges to democratic consolidation*, Boudler: Lynne Reiner Press, 2000, cited in Dilek Cindoğlu, Adnan Boynukara, Selin Akyüz and Edip A. Bekaroğlu, "An Action Research Report on the Rising Democracy Discourse in 2000's Turkey: Does Eros Contour the Demos?", *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol.30, 2007, pp.465-473.

Table 10: What is needed to be achieved?

Parameters	Situation in countries		
	FINLAND	POLAND	TURKEY
Change on historical perceptions	Democracy and consensus works in a sufficient mechanism	Communist background puts women as <i>de facto</i> restricted	Historical protectionism puts women as <i>de facto</i> restricted
Current Problems	Existing ethnic stereotypes	Women's continuous participation to working life, Regulations on child care and family structures	Multiple discrimination causes snowball effect through education and disproportionate development
Future perspectives	Stands as trend-setter	Shift from conservative tendencies to more gender equality views	Scope of gender equality policies remain limited ³⁸⁹
Effect of Civil Society	Well adapted to political mechanism	Active since 1990s. Progress on institutionalization	Active since 1990s. Needs institutionalization
International Movements Effect	Presents a global example for optimum implementation with existing resources	Aims to adopt itself horizontally and vertically	Aims to adopt itself, active in relations with EUROMED and OIC ³⁹⁰
Main Challenges	Multiple discrimination on ethnic base	Flexibility on existing policies Education structure, Need of new concepts to integrate traditional mind-sets into EU policy structure	Flexibility on existing policies Education structure, Traditional and religious tenets contradict with democracy

Recent Turkish constitution studies include gender equality on women-men difference; commission works emphasize the human rights based perception for the new constitution³⁹¹. However, considering the global level of advancement on gender field,

³⁸⁹ Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi, "Toplumsal Cinsiyet Açısından Anayasa Konulu Komisyon Raporu", Ankara: TBMM Basımevi, 2012,

http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/komisyon/kefe/docs/komisyon_yay%C4%B1n_no_9.pdf (01.11.2012).

³⁹⁰ Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "The Right of Women, Gender Equality and Struggle with Violence Against Women", 2011, http://www.mfa.gov.tr/the-right-of-women_-gender-equality-and-struggle-with-violence-against-women.en.mfa (22.11.2012).

³⁹¹ Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi, "Toplumsal Cinsiyet Açısından Anayasa Konulu Komisyon Raporu", Ankara: TBMM Basımevi, 2012, http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/komisyon/kefe/docs/komisyon_yay%C4%B1n_no_9.pdf (01.11.2012).

this does not pose a promising future for Turkey's gender equality concept. (See table 10).

These short comings of Turkey especially emerge as problems for country's future perspectives. Loughlin emphasizes the common character of EU countries with their capacity to manage 'change' despite their national traditions and relates this with health of local and regional democracy³⁹². From this aspect, Turkey's situation lacks an important element of European Union membership.

4.3. CURRENT PROBLEMS, IMPLEMENTATIONS AND NEEDS

4.3.1. Evaluation of Global Movements

Changing trends on global movements emerged with two developments. Firstly, increasing feminist movements during the 1990s had also an influence on the international policies. This brought together a progress at organizational level and transparency at knowledge sharing. Secondly, developing economic conditions and rising trade also had effects on women's situation. Women's participation to labour markets increased; this paved the way for their further demands on gender equality and let women raise their voice at the global fora.

These developments have had various results. Globally changing definitions of gender equality has called as new trends in societal modernization³⁹³. Gender neutrality, gender equity instead of equality and divergence between women and gender were some examples of transformation. This change was also part of European gender concept through different valuations of the same gender notion³⁹⁴. (See figure 12a and 12b).

Another aspect of this process is the improvements on technical and institutional levels. As a result of the increase on interaction among countries, civil

³⁹² John Loughlin, *Subnational Democracy in the European Union - Challenges and Opportunities*, New York: Oxford, 2001, pp.387-401.

³⁹³ Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris, *Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change Around the World*, New York: Cambridge, 2003, pp.13 – 22.

³⁹⁴ Christine Booth and Cinnamon Bennett, "Gender Mainstreaming in the European Union -Towards a New Conception and Practice of Equal Opportunities?", *The European Journal of Women's Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 4, London: SAGE, 2002, pp.430-446.

society became more influential³⁹⁵. Together with the historical change on values and perceptions both international platform became more visible and the new definitions found their place in international organizations. The EU as an important global actor is also part of this transformation. Future policies and initiatives of the EU will be shaped under these conditions.

4.3.2. Need of New Policies

Global movements on gender equality had an effect on bottom-up demands. Increasing transitions led to an increase on innovative ideas. As a result of this process administrative gaps of new implementations brought together the need of new policies³⁹⁶. Continuous participation of civil society to the process provided an international legitimization of human rights³⁹⁷.

Situation was the same from the EU side. Kantola links the gendering Europeanization and the EU enlargement with a change of roles and discourses³⁹⁸. The need of widening of existing policies and change on political structure also shows the EU's political shift towards human rights³⁹⁹.

As a result of international developments, the EU's need of modernization kept its existence. Even today, EU endeavours of gender equality do not pose a certain satisfaction from its citizens. (See figure 7). Both European enlargement and expanding nature of gender equality have influence on this policy change⁴⁰⁰. As a result of this, the EU will be following new developments on gender and equality issues.

³⁹⁵ Maria Regina Tavares de Silva, "National Mechanisms for Gender Equality", *United Nations*, 2010, <http://www.unece.org/index.php?id=1475> (23.10.2012), p.17.

³⁹⁶ Johanna Kantola, *Gender and the European Union*, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010, pp. 168-188.

³⁹⁷ Jack Donnelly, 'Human Rights in the New World Order' in Charles W. Kegley Jr. and Eugene R. Witkopf (ed.), *The Global Agenda Issues and Perspectives*, New York: McGraw Hill, 1995, pp.190-200.

³⁹⁸ Johanna Kantola, *Gender and the European Union*, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010, p.189.

³⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.

4.3.3. Need of New Stakeholders

Articulation of civil movements and legitimized power of grassroots movements emerged as the need of new stakeholders of policy-making process⁴⁰¹. Networking among NGOs, IGOs, civil associations and other groups initially included through an exclusive approach. Sub-departments, commissions or other newly forming governmental bodies were the first steps of this change of mechanism.

Gradual institutionalization of policy demanders finally had an effect on European and international policy systems. At the end, civil society, particularly NGOs attained a consultative status⁴⁰². These developments had particular influence on changing the existing agenda of gender equality policies and inserting new policy tools.

Actual context of social equalities has two main axes; promotion of human development and empowerment of non-state factors⁴⁰³. However, participation level of non-state actors and type of activism depend on type of society⁴⁰⁴. Although the results change from region to region, the need of improvement and adaptation to new developments remain as a necessity for every region.

The EU is compatible to catch a sufficient level of civil participation to decision-making process. However differences among member states (e.g. Finland and Poland) still keep the need of further improvements for coherence. Main criticism at the EU level derives from the Union's long-lasting market-driven attitude⁴⁰⁵. Nevertheless, considering the EU's ability to improve, this situation only exposes a technical issue to solve. On the other hand, Union's already existing implementations on sustainability of gender mainstreaming makes technical issues promising for the long-term.

⁴⁰¹ Pascale Dufour, Isabelle Giraud, "Globalization and Political Change in the Women's Movement: The Politics of Scale and Political Empowerment in the World March of Women", *Social Science Quarterly*, Vol.88 No.5, December 2007, pp. 1152-1173.

⁴⁰² John Baylis and Steve Smith, *The Globalization of World Politics*, New York: Oxford, 2001, pp.582-597.

⁴⁰³ Charles W. Kegley Jr and Shannon L. Blanton, *World Politics - Trend and Transformation*, Boston: Cengage Learning, 2011, pp.136-184.

⁴⁰⁴ Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris, *Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change around the World*, New York: Cambridge, 2003, pp.108-140.

⁴⁰⁵ Lilja Mósessdóttir, "Gender (In)equalities in the Knowledge Society", *Gender, Work and Organization*, Vol. 18, No. 1, 2011, pp.31-47.

4.4. TURKEY'S CANDIDACY PROCESS AND INTERACTION WITH THE EU MEMBERSHIP

4.4.1. Changing Concepts and Turkey

Globally changing definitions of women, gender, equality and Turkey's cultural perceptions towards these terms create the concept of equality policies. Definitions and understandings towards gender show the existence of traditional views in the society. Together with disproportionate regional developments, this situation becomes more important. Surveys on eastern male university students' views on gender equality expose current situation on the issue. Researchers evaluate students' definitions towards gender violence, as a classical problem of Turkish gender equality concept. The results expose the lack of awareness on this issue. Scholars' explanations on this survey are as follows:

“Results showed that male students had traditional views about social gender roles. Although we expect university students as intellectual individuals results showed the opposite. Equality based on social gender roles must be in every section of the society. It was considered that the students should be educated on the definition of violence, situations involving violence and directed to consultancy services”⁴⁰⁶.

Another aspect of Turkey's stance towards global changes is related with country's political structure. Recent gender equality policies contain a level of modernization. However, conservative recent views of existing policies create an alternative way of democratization. Narlı explains this change on Turkish political structure and its effects on civil movements as follows:

“Yet the gravity of its religiously conservative grassroots occasionally urge the AKP to push “customary and patriarchal moral” values to satisfy those resisting change in the status of women. In response to this, women will adopt a combination of Islamic and universal concepts in articulating and justifying their new demands”⁴⁰⁷.

⁴⁰⁶ Filiz Adana, Hülya Arslantaş, Filiz Ergin, Necla Biçer, Nilüfer Kıranşal and Sultan Şahin, “Views of Male University Students About Social Gender Roles; An Example From East of Turkey”, *Journal of Family Violence*, No.26, 2011, pp.519-526.

⁴⁰⁷ Nilüfer Narlı, “Pro-Islamic Parties, Gender and Social Class in Turkey”, *Quaderns de la Mediterrània*, http://www.afaemme.org/studies/5%20CM_Parties%20Gender%20Social%20Class%20Turkey_Narli.pdf (23.10.2012).

Discrete characteristic of Turkey’s conservative policies also expose one of the main differences with EU⁴⁰⁸. Thus, existence of the array of views on gender equality and Turkey’s engagement to modernity indicates country’s position within the global context⁴⁰⁹ (See figure 17).

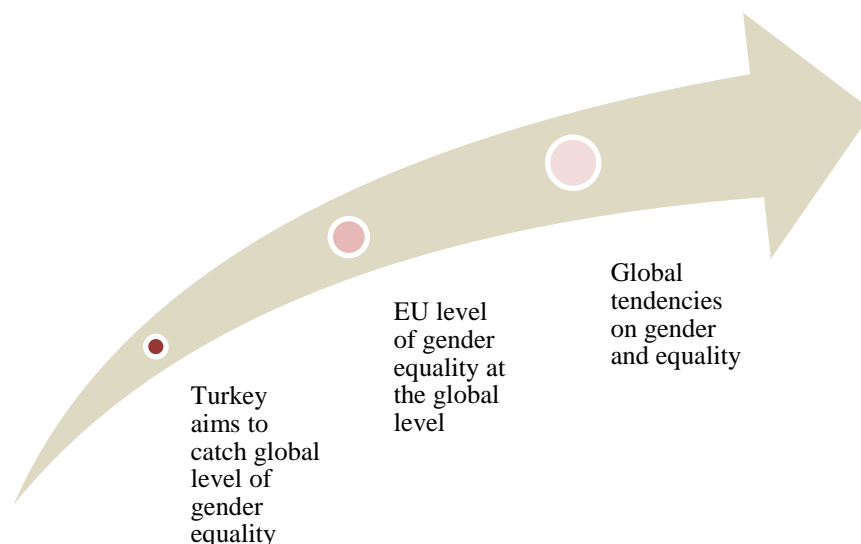


Figure 17: Global Transformations on Gender Equality and Turkey’s Position

Gender equality problems and definitions are about to become the whole Europe’s problem at the global level⁴¹⁰. Considering this tendency of the Union, ability of adaptation to these developments might bring the question of Turkey’s limits towards Europeanization on gender equality.

4.4.2. Future and EU Membership

European Union accession process has been shaping democratization process of the candidate countries. Impact of conditionality had also a considerable influence on Turkey’s democratization process. However the need of harmonization with EU

⁴⁰⁸ Arda Can Kumbaracıbaşı, *Turkish Politics and the Rise of AKP – Dilemmas of Institutionalization and Leadership Strategy*, New York: Routledge, 2009, pp. 155-189.

⁴⁰⁹ Nora Fisher Onar and Meltem Müftüler-Baç, “The Adultery and the Headscarf Debates in Turkey: Fusing “EU-niversal” and “Alternative” Modernities?”, *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol.34 No.5, 2011, pp. 378-389.

⁴¹⁰ Lilja Mósesdóttir, “Gender (In)equalities in the Knowledge Society”, *Gender, Work and Organization*, Vol.18 No.1, 2011, pp.31-47.

requirements for gender equality includes some problems at legislative and practical levels⁴¹¹.

Recent progress report of the Commission recognizes Turkey's progress on certain issues (e.g. legal initiatives, political establishments) however, the EC still emphasizes the need of further initiatives on broader policy framework, existing stereotypes and awareness-raising⁴¹². Commission also points discriminative attitudes towards LGBTT people under 'public morality' concept⁴¹³.

Female employment rate is an important subject that calls a serious attention. Employment rate continuously rises in the EU; however Turkey does not able to ensure a sufficient improvement yet⁴¹⁴. (See figure 18). Considering female employment as a prerequisite for EU gender equality, Turkey's need of technical improvement becomes an important issue⁴¹⁵.

⁴¹¹ Kadriye Bakırcı, "Gender Equality in Employment in Turkish Legislation with Comparisons to EU and International Law", *Workplace Rights*, Vol.15 No.1, 2010-2011, pp. 3.25.

⁴¹² European Commission, "Turkey 2012 Progress Report", Brussels, 2012, http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2012/package/tr_rapport_2012_en.pdf (23.10.2012).

⁴¹³ Ibid.

⁴¹⁴ TUSIAD, "A 2020 Perspective for the European Union and Turkey", 2011, http://www.tusiad.org.tr/_rsc/shared/file/ALDE-Conference-FINAL-MAYIS2011.pdf (23.10.2012).

⁴¹⁵ Ümmühan Bardak, "Female Employability as a Prerequisite for Gender Equality Cross-Country Review of the Union for the EU-Mediterranean Partnership" in TUSIAD, "A 2020 Perspective for the European Union and Turkey", 2011 http://www.tusiad.org.tr/_rsc/shared/file/ALDE-Conference-FINAL-MAYIS2011.pdf (23.10.2012), pp. 54-64.

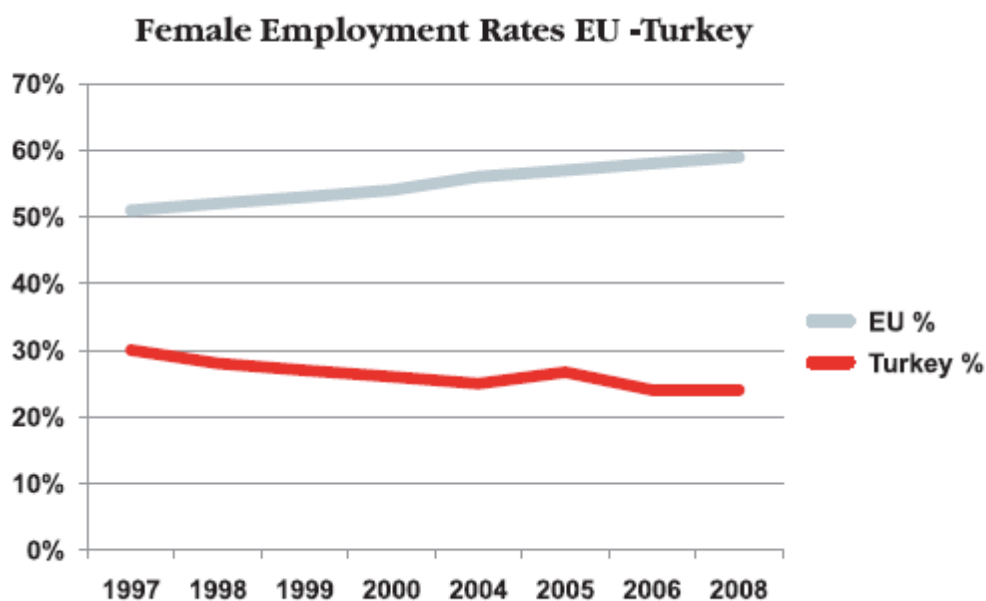


Figure 18: Female Employment Rates EU and Turkey

Source: TUSIAD, “A 2020 Perspective for the European Union and Turkey”, 2011, http://www.tusiad.org.tr/_rsc/shared/file/ALDE-Conference-FINAL-MAYIS2011.pdf (23.10.2012), p.27.

Civil society participation is another issue between the EU and Turkey. European Union Delegation to Turkey emphasizes certain need of development on civil society participation in decision-making and broadening of the social inclusion⁴¹⁶. Evaluation of the Delegation shows differentiation between targets of the EU and Turkey on gender equality policies; e.g. Turkey tends to resolve its existing problems rather than providing a deepening and widening of the policy context, the EU on the other side, targets a global level of improvement (See figure 19).

The EU’s recent change with the Treaty of Lisbon addresses the goal of ‘knowledge based economy’⁴¹⁷. Further initiatives on labour markets call newer members of the Union to undertake major changes on their economic and sociological structures⁴¹⁸. At this point, Turkey’s degree of development emerges as an issue. Meeting with EU level of progress requires both a technical support, and a strong and

⁴¹⁶ Delegation of European Union to Turkey, “The European Union and Turkey - Cooperating on Gender Equality”, <http://www.avrupa.info.tr/eu-and-civil-society/eu-and-gender-equality.html> (23.10.2012).

⁴¹⁷ Arno Tausch, “Passive Globalization and the Failure of European Union’s Lisbon Strategy, 2000-2010: Some New Cross-National Evidence”, *Turkish Journal of International Relations*, Vol.9 No.1, 2010, pp.1-18.

⁴¹⁸ EU - Lisbon - Labour Market Outcomes

determinant will of change (See figure 18). However, the existence of a certain will towards a convergence to European modernity has recently been at stake⁴¹⁹.

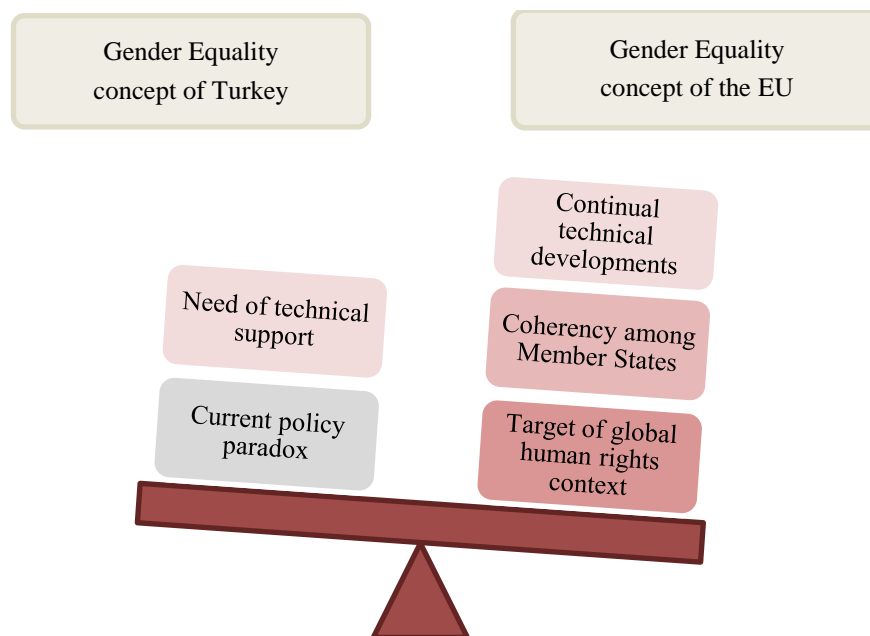


Figure 19: Current Gender Equality Concepts for Turkey and the EU

Cultural difference might pose an obstacle for future of the relations. The EU also considers different levels of tolerance between eastern and western countries for Union's self-assessments⁴²⁰. Considering Turkey's distinct regional characteristics and the challenges that EU have met after the CEECs' accession, cultural factors may emerge as limits for Turkey's Europeanization or for the EU's enlargement.

European Parliament recent evaluations on Turkey have launched under 2020 perspectives. According to current situation, main issues those Turkey needs to be following are; legislation, coordination and civil society, violence against women, education, participation in the labour market and political participation⁴²¹. Within these

⁴¹⁹ Nora Fisher Onar and Meltem Müftüleri-Baç, "The Adultery and the Headscarf Debates in Turkey: Fusing 'EU-niversal' and 'Alternative' Modernities?", *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol.34 No.5, 2011, pp. 378-389.

⁴²⁰ Sandra Marquart-Pyatt and Pamela Paxton, "In Principle and in Practice: Learning Political Tolerance in Eastern and Western Europe", *Political Behavior*, Vol.29 No.1, 2007, pp.89-113.

⁴²¹ Emine Bozkurt, "On a 2020 Perspectives for Women in Turkey", 2012, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+REPORT+A7-2012-0138+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN> (26.10.2012).

evaluations, particular attention has been paid for the need of change on rigid values regarding women's role in the society and tolerance mentioned as compulsory for future advancements. Achieving 'genuine' gender equality in all parts of society has finally emphasized in this document⁴²². These prominent requirements show the portrait of Turkey's existing gender equality concept. In line with its political structure, country's future tendencies on gender and equality will expose Turkey's stance towards gender equality as a tool of anti-discrimination policies.

⁴²² Ibid.

CONCLUSION

Gender equality as a tool of European Union anti-discrimination policies has long been discussed under different political views. The source of these discussions has been constantly changing dynamic nature of the gender issue. The goal of this comparative study was to explain these changes from both perspectives of the EU and Turkey, and evaluate Turkey's capacity to adapt itself European context of gender equality.

Gender equality is examined within the context of anti-discrimination policies of the EU and Turkey. Therefore, differentiations on definitions and types of discriminations that feed gender inequality have been included in the first Chapter. Initial part of the study showed the strong influence of social perceptions on discriminative attitudes. Legal regulations of the EU and Turkey evaluated in comparison with international legal standards. Result of this part portrayed importance of two main factors that affect the level of progress on gender equality. First, social and economic developments which determine the ability to catch technical developments were revealed. Second, cultural characteristics those also arise from regional and historical tenets emerged. At the end, politically multi-layered characteristic of the EU and dynamic social structure of Turkey formed two main determinants of two separate gender equality policy concepts.

Gender and equality perspectives were also evaluated as policy tools of the EU and Turkey in Chapter II. Positive discrimination, gender mainstreaming and participation of civil society were main tools of both the EU and Turkey. Comprehensive character of these gender equality tools showed that future policies will be based on a broader human rights concept. However, this part of the study also exposed difference on development levels between the two parties. Future of each part's gender equality analysed under the EU's and Turkey's own policy perspectives and their own political structure.

Future estimations of gender policies showed need of wider equality perspectives. Global movements and policy changes are included to better understand

next steps of the evolution of gender equality. Therefore, the goal of the Chapter III was to analyse concrete examples from both Turkey and the EU. Considering the EU's heterogeneous structure with its Member States, Finland and Poland were selected as representatives of developed and developing states.

Finland exposed optimum implementation of equality policies under existing conditions. Country also identified with its trend-setter stance for equality policies among EU member states. Poland on the other hand, provided a good example of integration to the EU in terms of gender equality. Despite country's long-lasting problems that come from past, strong will of change and progress emerged as elements of development. Another interesting aspect of the country was also the reason of its inclusion to this study; with its restrictive background on women equalities and its rather recently establishing democratization, Poland poses a similarity to Turkey. This similarity includes both cultural conservative elements and technical development levels. From this point, Poland's capability to adapt itself to an EU level of equalities concept, described Turkey's position. Thus the factors behind Poland's success provided a sample of requirements for Turkey.

Overall evaluations on the future of gender equality in Chapter IV, covers the EU's future perspectives on this issue. In line with global developments, the EU will be going through a broader set of gender equality implementations. This progress has actually been initiated since the early times of EU gender equality. Today, international transitions and changing structure of gender equality calls the EU to apply further democratization policies. Considering the Lisbon Treaty, EU has already launched this transformation on legal base.

The EU's future developments indicate broader and stronger human rights policies. Within this formation, EU will be targeting a two-way improvement; deepening technical developments and widening social inclusions. This progress will also be leading to new definitions of gender and equality terms. As a socially constructed term, gender will be addressing a broader scope of gender minorities in future policies of the EU. This will include economic, ethnic, sexual minorities etc... At

this point, Turkey's capability of adaptation to the EU's future gender equality concept emerges as an issue to discuss.

Politically dynamic structure of Turkey plays an important role for country's future tendencies. Changing international developments on gender definitions and systematic developments on grass-roots movements emerge as contentious issues for Turkey; e.g. today NGOs are professionally adapted to most of the EU countries' political system but this is not the case for Turkish civil society.

Another aspect that creates an ambiguity for Turkey's stance is current political tendencies of the country which do not affirm existence of a complete will towards EU gender equality. This transformation and establishment of democratization in Turkey presents a modernization which does not pose an exact harmony with EU gender equality.

Together with the need of technical improvement at governmental level, Turkey's situation shows a divergence between EU gender equality perception and country's conservative perception. This difference of views also emerged as an important item in comparison with Finland and Poland in terms of existence of a strong political will on gender equality policies.

Recent evaluation of the EU on Turkey's gender equality also exposed the importance of strong political will and coherency. European Commission 2012 Progress Report and European Parliament's 2020 Perspectives on Turkey emphasize the need of change on rigid stereotypes and tolerance. Finally, this study showed that the need of ensuring 'genuine' gender equality emerges as a must within the EUs evaluations.⁴²³ Together with these documents, Turkey's future policies determines gender equality aspect of the relations between Turkey and the EU. Active stance that Turkey might employ at technical levels and progressivist measures on gender and equality will bring country closer to a precise context of gender equality.

⁴²³ Emine Bozkurt, "On a 2020 Perspectives for Women in Turkey", 2012, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+REPORT+A7-2012-0138+0+DOC+XML+V0/EN> (26.10.2012).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books and Articles

- Adana, Filiz, Hülya Arslantaş, Filiz Ergin, Necla Biçer, Nilüfer Kıranşal and Sultan Şahin. “Views of Male University Students about Social Gender Roles; an Example from East of Turkey”, *Journal of Family Violence*. No. 26, 2011.
- Altınay, Hakan, Gökçe Tüylüoğlu and Nafiz Güder. *Open Society*. Istanbul: Open Society Assistance Foundation, 2006.
- Anderson, Leah Seppanen. “European Union Gender Regulations in the East: The Czech and Polish Accession Process”, *East European Politics and Societies*. Vol.20, No. 101, 2006.
- Arat, Yeşim. “On Gender and Citizenship in Turkey”, *Middle East Report*. No. 198, 1996.
- Arat, Yeşim. “Religion, Politics and Gender Equality in Turkey: Implications of a Democratic Paradox?”, *Third World Quarterly*. Vol. 31, No. 6, 2010.
- Arat, Yeşim. “Religion, Politics and Gender Equality in Turkey”, İstanbul: Heinrich Böll Stiftung Foundation, September, 2000.
- Avdeyeva, Olga. “States' Compliance with International Requirements: Gender Equality in EU Enlargement Countries”, *Political Research Quarterly*. Vol. 63, No. 1, 2010.
- Aydın, Senem. “Avrupa Birliği'nde Kadın Hakları ve Türkiye”, *İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı*. No. 175, İstanbul: İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı, July 2003.
- Bakırcı, Kadriye. “Gender Equality in Employment in Turkish Legislation with Comparisons to EU and International Law”, *Workplace Rights*. Vol. 15, No. 1, 2010-2011.
- Baylis, John and Steve Smith. *The Globalization of World Politics*. New York: Oxford, 2001.
- Bardak, Ümmühan. “Female Employability as a Prerequisite for Gender Equality Cross-Country Review of the Union for the EU-Mediterranean Partnership” in TUSIAD, “A 2020 Perspective for the European Union and Turkey”, 2011. http://www.tusiad.org.tr/_rsc/shared/file/ALDE-Conference-FINAL-MAYIS2011.pdf (23.10.2012).
- Berktaş, Fatmagül. “Kadınların İnsan Haklarının Gelişimi ve Türkiye”, *Sivil Toplum ve Demokrasi Konferans Yazıları*. No: 7, 2008. http://stk.bilgi.edu.tr/docs/berktay_std_7.pdf (01.08.2011).

- Bisio, Laura and Alessandra Cataldi. "The Treaty of Lisbon from a Gender Perspective: Changes and Challenges", Brussels: WIDE, 2008. http://www.wunrn.com/news/2008/08_08/08_11_08/081108_europe.htm (22.11.2012).
- Booth, Christine and Cinnamon Bennett. "Gender Mainstreaming in the European Union -Towards a New Conception and Practice of Equal Opportunities?", *The European Journal of Women's Studies*. Vol. 9, No. 4, London: SAGE, 2002.
- Bozkurt, Emine. "On a 2020 Perspectives for Women in Turkey", 2012. <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+REPORT+A7-2012-0138+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN> (26.10.2012).
- Bozkurt, Gülnihal. "Türk Kadınının Hukuki Durumu", *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi*. Vol. 34. <http://atam.gov.tr/turk-kadininin-hukuki-durumu/> (14.10.2012).
- Bridges, William P. "Rethinking Gender Segregation and Gender Equality: Measures and Meanings", *Demography*. Vol. 40, No. 3, 2003.
- Caporaso, James and Joseph Jupille "Europeanization of Gender Policy and Domestic Structural Change" in Maria Green Cowles, James Caporaso and Thomas Rose (ed.). *Transforming Europe – Europeanization and Domestic Change*. New York: Cornell University Press, 2001.
- Chalmers, Damian, Christos Hadjiemmanuil, Giorgio Monti and Adam Tomkins. *European Union law – Text and Materials*. New York: Cambridge, 2006.
- Chiva, Cristina. "The Limits of Europeanization: EU Accession and Gender Equality in Bulgaria and Romania", *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*. Vol. 10, No. 2, 2009.
- Cichowski, Rachel A. "Women's Rights, the European Court and Supranational Constitutionalism", *Law and Society Review*. Vol.38, 2004, <http://aei.pitt.edu/3023/1/CichowskiPanel10A.pdf> (14.09.2012).
- Cindoglu, Dilek. "Women's Microenterprise Activity' in World bank. "Bridging the Gender Gap in Turkey: A Milestone towards Faster Socio-economic Development and Poverty Reduction". 16.09.2003. <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTECAREGTOPGENDER/Resources/TurkeyCGA.pdf> (22.10.2012).
- Cindoglu, Dilek, Adnan Boynukara, Selin Akyüz and Edip A. Bekaroğlu. "An Action Research Report on the Rising Democracy Discourse in 2000's Turkey: Does Eros Contour the Demos?", *Women's Studies International Forum*. Vol. 30, 2007.

- Collins, Hugh. "Discrimination, Equality and Social Inclusion", *The Modern Law Review*. Vol. 66, No. 1, 2003.
- Donnelly, Jack. "Human Rights in the New World Order" in Charles W. Kegley Jr. and Eugene R. Witkopf (ed.). *The Global Agenda Issues and Perspectives*. New York: McGraw Hill, 1995.
- Dufour, Pascale and Isabelle Giraud. "Globalization and Political Change in the Women's Movement: The Politics of Scale and Political Empowerment in the World March of Women", *Social Science Quarterly*. Vol. 88, No. 5, December 2007.
- Duncan, Simon. "Diverse Worlds of European Patriarchy" in Maria Dolors Garcia-Ramon and Janice Monk (ed.). *Women of the European Union*. London: Routledge, 1996.
- Einhorn, Barbara and Charlotte Sever. "Gender and Civil Society in Central and Eastern Europe", *International Feminist Journal of Politics*. Vol. 5, No. 2, 2003.
- Ellis, Evelyn. *EU Anti-Discrimination Law*. New York: Oxford, 2005.
- Facio, Alda and Martha I. Morgan. "Equity or Equality for Women? Understanding CEDAW's Equality Principles", *Alabama Law Review*. 2009, Vol.60, No.5.
- Fisher Onar, Nora and Meltem Müftüleri-Baç,"The Adultery and the Headscarf Debates in Turkey: Fusing 'EU-niversal' and 'alternative' modernities?", *Women's Studies International Forum*. Vol. 34. No. 5, 2011.
- Gdula, Maciej. "A New Opening in European Politics?" in Agnieszka Grzybek, "Gender in the EU". Warsaw: Heinrich Böll Foundation, 2009. http://www.pl.boell.org/downloads/Gender_in_the_UE_WWW.pdf (17.11.2012).
- Gemalmaz, Mehmet Semih. *Ulusal üstü İnsan Hakları Belgeleri*. İstanbul: Alkım, 2000.
- Gerhards, Jürgen, Mike. S.Schäfer and Sylvia Kämpfer. "Gender Equality in the European Union: The EU Script and its Support by European Citizens", *Sociology*. Vol.43, 2009.
- Grony, Agata and Dorota Pudzianowska. "Same Letter, New Spirit: Nationality Regulations and Their Implementations in Poland", in Rainer Bauböck, Bernhard Perchinig and Wiebke Sievers (ed.). *Citizenship Policies in the New Europe*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007.
- Hale, William and Ergun Özbudun. *Islamism, Democracy and Liberalism in Turkey – The Case of AKP*. New York: Routledge, 2010.

- Halme, Miia. "Human Rights in Action", Helsinki: University of Helsinki, 2008. <https://helda.helsinki.fi/bitstream/handle/10138/23345/humanrig.pdf?sequence=2> (06.11.2012).
- Hausmann, Ricardo, Laura D. Tyson and Saadia Zahidi. "The Global Gender Gap Report 2012", 2012. http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GenderGap_Report_2012.pdf (27.10.2012).
- Heinen, Jacqueline. "Gender - Social and Political Citizenship in Eastern Europe", *Theory and Society*. Vol. 26, No. 4, Special Issue on Recasting Citizenship, August 1997.
- Heinrich Böll Stiftung Foundation. "The Debate on Gender Mainstreaming in Turkey", August 2007. http://old.boell-tr.org/images/cust_files/080107133527.pdf (24.10.2012).
- Heinrich Böll Stiftung Foundation. *The Debate on Gender Mainstreaming in Turkey*. İstanbul: Sena, 2007.
- Holli, Anne Maria, Eva Magnusson and Malinn Rönnblom. "Critical Studies of Nordic Discourses on Gender and Gender Equality", *Nordic Journal of Women's Studies*. Vol. 13, No. 3, December 2005.
- Humana, Charles. *World Human Rights Guide*. New York: Oxford, 1992.
- Inglehart Ronald and Pippa Norris. *Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change Around the World*. New York: Cambridge, 2003.
- Jachanová-Doleželová, Alexandra. "Good Policies - No Implementation" in Agnieszka Grzybek, "Gender in the EU". Warsaw: Heinrich Böll Foundation, 2009. http://www.pl.boell.org/downloads/Gender_in_the_UE_WWW.pdf (17.11.2012).
- Kantola, Johanna. *Gender and the European Union*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010.
- Karadağ, Nergis. *Cinsel Azınlıkların Bireysel Hakları*. İstanbul: On iki Levha, 2008.
- Kegley, Charles W. Jr. and Shannon L. Blanton. *World Politics - Trend and Transformation*. Boston: Cengage Learning, 2011.
- Keinz, Anika. "Negotiating Democracy's Gender between Europe and the Nation", *European Journal of Anthropology*. No. 53, 2009.
- Kofman, Elenor and Rosemary Sales, "The Geography of Gender and Welfare in Europe" in Maria Dolors Garcia-Ramon and Janice Monk (ed.). *Women of the European Union*. London: Routledge, 1996.

- Kumbaracıbaşı, Arda Can. *Turkish Politics and the Rise of AKP – Dilemmas of Institutionalization and Leadership Strategy*. New York: Routledge, 2009.
- Lindström, Anders. “Finland: Geo-political Changes and Europeanization” in John Loughlin. *Subnational Democracy in the European Union – Challenges and Opportunities*. New York: Oxford, 2001.
- Loughlin John. *Subnational Democracy in the European Union - Challenges and Opportunities*. New York: Oxford, 2001.
- Marquart-Pyatt, Sandra and Pamela Paxton. “In Principle and in Practice: Learning Political Tolerance in Eastern and Western Europe”, *Political Behavior*. Vol. 29, No. 1, 2007.
- Masselot, Annick. “State of Gender Equality Law in the European Union”, *European Law Journal*. Vol.13, No.2, March 2007.
- Molen, Irna van der and Irina Novikova. “Mainstreaming Gender in the EU-Accession Process: the Case of the Baltic Republics”, *Journal of European Social Policy*. Vol. 15, 2005.
- Monaghan QC, Karon. “Equality and Non-discrimination”, *Juridical Review*. 2011, Hart Publishing, Oxford.
- Moroglu, Nazan. “Kadına Yönelik Şiddetin Önlenmesi – 6284 Sayılı Yasa ve İstanbul Sözleşmesi”
http://calismaekonomisi.org/tr/images/kad%C4%B1na-yonelik-siddet_karsilastirmali-bir-yazi.pdf (06.01.2013).
- Mósesdóttir, Lilja. “Gender (In)equalities in the Knowledge Society”, *Gender, Work and Organization*. Vol. 18, No. 1, 2011.
- Narlı, Nilüfer. “Pro-Islamic Parties, Gender and Social Class in Turkey”, *Quaderns de la Mediterrània*.
http://www.afaemme.org/studies/5%20CM_Parties%20Gender%20Social%20Class%20Turkey_Narli.pdf (23.10.2012).
- Nicholson, Linda. “Interpreting Gender”, *Journal of Women in Culture and Society*. Vol. 20, No. 1, 1994.
- Nousiainen, Kevät. “Finland – News from the Member States and EEA Countries” in European Commission, “European Gender Equality Law Review 2010-1”, 2010.
http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/egelr_2010-1_en.pdf (22.11.2012).
- Odyakmaz Altınbaş, Zehra. “Anayasalarımızda Kadın Hakları”, *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi*. Vol. 14.

<http://atam.gov.tr/anayasalarimizda-kadin-haklari/> (14.10.2012).

- Ostolski, Adam. "The European Union, Gender Politics and Social Change" in Agnieszka Grzybek, "Gender in the EU". Warsaw: Heinrich Böll Foundation, 2009.
http://www.pl.boell.org/downloads/Gender_in_the_UE_WWW.pdf
(17.11.2012).
- Plantenga, Janneke, Chantal Remery, Hugo Figueiredo and Mark Smith. "Towards a European Union Gender Equality Index", *Journal of European Social Policy*. Vol. 19, No. 19, 2009.
- Pollack, Mark A. and Emilie Hafner-Burton. "Mainstreaming Gender in the European Union", *Journal of European Public Policy*. Vol. 7:3, 2000.
- Rankin, Bruce H. and Işık A. Aytaç. "Gender Inequality in Schooling: The Case of Turkey", *Sociology of Education*. Vol. 79, 2006.
- Regulska, Joanna. "The 'Political' and its Meaning for Women – Transition Politics in Poland" in John Pickles and Adrian Smith (ed.). *Theorizing Transition – The Political Economy of Post-Communist Transformations*. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Robertson, David. *A Dictionary on Human Rights*. London: Europa, 1997.
- Rumińska-Zimny, Ewa. "Gender Architecture in the European Union: Achievements, Challenges and the Future" in Agnieszka Grzybek, "Gender in the EU". Warsaw: Heinrich Böll Foundation, 2009.
http://www.pl.boell.org/downloads/Gender_in_the_UE_WWW.pdf
(17.11.2012).
- Sanal, Mustafa. "Factors Preventing Women's Advancement in Management in Turkey", *Education*. Vol. 128 No. 3, 2008.
- Schiek, Dogmar. "Equality as a Right: Lessons to be Learned from EC Sex Equality Law for a Multi-Dimensional EC Anti-Discrimination Law" in Erna Appelt and Monika Jarosch. *Combating Racial Discrimination Affirmative Action as a Model for Europe*. New York: Berg, 2000.
- Siemienska, Renata. "Gender, Family, and Work - The Case of Poland in Cross-National Perspective", *International Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 38, No. 4, 2008–9.
- Sözen, Edibe. "Gender Politics of the JDP" in Hasan Yavuz (ed.). *The Emergence of a New Turkey – Democracy and the AK Parti*. Utah: University of Utah Press, 2006.

- Süral, Nurhan. "Turkey' in European Network of Legal Experts in the Field of Gender Equality" in European Commission, "European Gender Equality Law Review 2010-1", 2010.
http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/egelr_2010-1_en.pdf
 (17.11.2012).
- Szelewa, Dorota. "The Policy on Gender Equality in Poland", Brussels: European Parliament, 2011.
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/document/activities/cont/201107/20110725ATT24649/20110725ATT24649EN.pdf> (11.11.2012).
- Steiner, Henry J., Philip Alston and Ryan Goodman. *International Human Rights in Context*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Tausch, Arno. "Passive Globalization and the Failure of European Union's Lisbon Strategy, 2000-2010: Some New Cross-National Evidence", *Turkish Journal of International Relations*. Vol. 9, No. 1, 2010.
- Tavares de Silva, Maria Regina. "National Mechanisms for Gender Equality" 2010.
<http://www.unece.org/index.php?id=1475> (23.10.2012).
- True, Jacqui and Michael Mintrom. "Transnational Networks and Policy Diffusion: The Case of Gender Mainstreaming", *International Studies Quarterly*. Vol.45, 2001.
- Turkish Statistical Institute. *Women in Statistics 2011*. Ankara: Turkish Statistical Institute, 2012.
- TUSIAD. "A 2020 Perspective for the European Union and Turkey", 2011.
http://www.tusiad.org.tr/__rsc/shared/file/ALDE-Conference-FINAL-MAYIS2011.pdf (23.10.2012).
- Üstün, İlknur. 'Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliğini Hesaba Katabiliyor muyuz?', *Civil Society Development Centre*, July 2011,
<http://panel.stgm.org.tr/vera/app/var/files/t/o/toplumsal-cinsiyet-esitligi-2-basim.pdf> (24.10.2012).
- Vaiou, Dina. "Women's work and Everyday Life in Southern Europe in the Context of European Integration" in Maria Dolores Garcia-Ramon and Janice Monk (ed.). *Women of the European Union*. London: Routledge, 1996.
- Women in Development Europe (WIDE). "Gender in the Institutions - Status quo or an Opportunity to Change?" in Agnieszka Grzybek, "Gender in the EU". Warsaw: Heinrich Böll Foundation, 2009.
http://www.pl.boell.org/downloads/Gender_in_the_UE_WWW.pdf
 (17.11.2012).

Zachorowska-Mazurkiewicz, Anna. "Role of Macroeconomic Policy in Reinforcing Gender Inequality – A Case Study of Poland in the European Union", *Journal of Economic Issues*. Vol. 43, No. 2, 2009.

Zanden, James W. Vander. *Sociology the Core*. New York: Mc Graw Hill, 1990.

Zarinebaf-Shahr, Fariba. "Osmanlı Kadınları ve 18.Yüzyılda Adalet Arama Geleneği" in Madeline C. Zilfi (ed.). *Modernleşmenin Eşiğinde Osmanlı Kadınları*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000.

Zielińska, Eleonora. "Poland" in European Commission, "European Gender Equality Law Review 2010-1", 2010.
http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/egelr_2010-1_en.pdf
(10.11.2012).

Other Sources

European Commission. "Manual for Gender Mainstreaming", Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2008.

CHP Kadın Kolları. "İlk Kadın Kongresi".
<http://chpkadin.chp.org.tr/2012/02/04/ilk-kadin-kongresi-18-26-nisan-1935/>
(27.10.2012).

Council of Europe. "National Machinery, Action Plans, and Gender Mainstreaming in the Council of Europe Member States since the 4th World Conference on Women (Beijing, 1995)". Strasbourg: Council of Europe 2009.
[http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/standardsetting/equality/06resources/recent-publications/EG\(2009\)2_en.pdf](http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/standardsetting/equality/06resources/recent-publications/EG(2009)2_en.pdf) (11.11.2012).

Council of Europe. "Gender Mainstreaming – Conceptual Framework, Methodology and Presentation of Good Practices", 1998.
http://www.gendermainstreaming-planungstool.at/_lccms_/downloadarchive/00003/Europarat.pdf (01.11.2012).

Council of Europe. "European Convention on Human Rights".
http://www.echr.coe.int/NR/rdonlyres/D5CC24A7-DC13-4318-B457-5C9014916D7A/0/CONVENTION_ENG_WEB.pdf (13.10.2012).

Delegation of European Union to Turkey. "The European Union and Turkey - Cooperating on Gender Equality".
<http://www.avrupa.info.tr/eu-and-civil-society/eu-and-gender-equality.html>
(23.10.2012).

Equinet European Network of Equality Bodies. "Equinet E-Newsletter No. 22", 2011.
<http://www.equineteurope.org/spip.php?page=recherche&recherche=gender>
(18.11.2012).

- Eur-lex. “Council Directive 2000/43/EC of 29 June 2000 Implementing the Principle of Equal Treatment between Persons Irrespective of Racial or ethnic Origin”.
<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:32000L0043:en:HTML>
 (24.10.2012).
- Eur-lex. “Council Directive 2004/113/EC of 13 December 2004 Implementing the Principle of Equal Treatment between Men and Women in the Access to and Supply of Goods and Services”.
<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:32004L0113:EN:HTML>
 (24.10.2012).
- Eurofound. “Positive Action/Positive Discrimination”.
<http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/emire/SWEDEN/ANCHOR-POSITIVS-Auml-RBEHANDLING-SE.htm>
 (16.10.2012).
- Europa. “Equal Pay”.
http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/employment_and_social_policy/employment_rights_and_work_organisation/c10905_en.htm
 (22.10.2012).
- Europa. “Occupational Pension Schemes”.
http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/employment_and_social_policy/equality_between_men_and_women/c10908_en.htm
 (24.10.2012).
- Europa. “Roadmap for Equality between Women and Men (2006-2010)”.
http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/employment_and_social_policy/equality_between_men_and_women/c10404_en.htm
 (16.10.2012).
- Europa. “Social Security: Equal Treatment for Men and Women”.
http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/employment_and_social_policy/equality_between_men_and_women/c10907_en.htm
 (22.10.2012).
- Europa. “Strategy for Equality between Women and Men 2010-2015”.
http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/employment_and_social_policy/equality_between_men_and_women/em0037_en.htm
 (22.10.2012).
- Europa. “The Treaty at a Glance”.
http://europa.eu/lisbon_treaty/glance/index_en.htm
 (22.11.2012).
- Europa. “The Treaty of Lisbon”. 2010.
http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/institutional_affairs/treaties/lisbon_treaty/ai0033_en.htm
 (18.11.2012).
- Europa. “Equal Treatment as Regards Access to Employment, Vocational Training and Promotion”.
http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/employment_and_social_policy/equality_between_men_and_women/c10906_en.htm
 (22.10.2012).

- European Commission. "Benchmarking Policy Measures for Gender Equality in Science". 2008.
http://ec.europa.eu/research/science-society/document_library/pdf_06/benchmarking-policy-measures_en.pdf
 (01.11.2012).
- European Commission. "Description of the Technique". 2009.
http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docgener/evaluation/evalsed/sourcebooks/method_techniques/conducting_impact_assessments/gender/description_en.htm (17.11.2012).
- European Commission. "Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion Policy Framework".
<http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=753&langId=en> (16.10.2012).
- European Commission. "FP7: Future of the European Union Research Policy".
http://ec.europa.eu/research/fp7/index_en.cfm (16.09.2012).
- Eurobarometer. "Gender Equality in the EU in 2009".
http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_326_en.pdf (22.10.2012).
- European Commission. "Non-Governmental Organizations".
<http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=330&langId=en> (25.10.2012).
- European Commission. "The European Women's Lobby Brings a Gender Equality Perspective to Intergenerational Solidarity".
<http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=89&langId=en&newsId=1296&furtherNews=yes> (18.10.2012).
- European Commission. "The Fight Against Discrimination and the Promotion of Equality – How to Measure Progress Done". 2008.
- European Commission. "Tools for Gender Equality".
<http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/tools/> (16.10.2012).
- European Commission. "Turkey 2012 Progress Report". 2012.
http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2012/package/tr_rapport_2012_en.pdf (23.10.2012).
- European Commission. "Women in European Politics – Time for Action". Brussels: European Communities, 2009.
- Eurostat. "Commission Staff Working Document on Equality Between Women and Men". 2011.
http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/swd2012-85-gendereq_en.pdf
 (14.11.2012).
- European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions. "Gender Mainstreaming in Surveys: Finland".

<http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/ewco/reports/TN0608TR02/FI0608TR02.pdf>
(01.11.2012).

European Institute for Gender Equality. “A Brief EIGE History”
<http://www.eige.europa.eu/content/brief-eige-history> (24.10.2012).

European Institute for Gender Equality. “Rationale for the Gender Equality Index for Europe”.
<http://www.eige.europa.eu/content/rationale-for-the-gender-equality-index-for-europe> (22.10.2012).

European Network International Planned Parenthood Federation. “Abortion Legislation in Europe”.
http://www.ippfen.org/NR/rdonlyres/DB347D31-0159-4C7D-BE5C-428623ABCA25/0/Pub_AbortionlegislationinEuropeIPPFEN_Feb2009.pdf
(06.01.2013).

European Parliament. “Women in the European Parliament”.
[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/publications/2011/0001/P7_PUB\(2011\)0001_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/publications/2011/0001/P7_PUB(2011)0001_EN.pdf) (22.10.2012).

European Parliament. “Women’s Rights and Gender Equality”.
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/committees/en/femm/home.html> (22.10.2012).

European Women’s Lobby. “About Us”.
<http://www.womenlobby.org/spip.php?rubrique43&lang=en> (22.10.2012).

Finland Ministry of Employment and Economy. “Equality and Preventing Discrimination in Working Life”. 2007.
http://yhdenvertaisuus-fi-bin.directo.fi/@Bin/bd7f7436103b437fe8cf55da558ea0e7/1353145927/application/pdf/115104/Monimuotoisuusopas_en.pdf (10.09.2010).

Finland Ministry of Social Affairs and Health. “Gender Equality Policies in Finland”. Helsinki: 2006.
http://www.stm.fi/c/document_library/get_file?folderId=28707&name=DLFE-4178.pdf (02.11.2012).

Finland Ministry of Social Affairs and Health. “Promoting Gender Equality in Finland”. Helsinki: 2008.
http://www.stm.fi/c/document_library/get_file?folderId=39503&name=DLFE-7825.pdf (06.11.2012).

Haklı Kadın Platformu. “Hayatın Her Alanında Eşit Temsil İstiyoruz”.
<http://www.haklikadinplatformu.org/icerik/20-hayatin-her-alaninda-esit-temsil-istiyoruz> (22.11.2012).

Hale, Jacqueline. “A new narrative for Europe”. *Euroobserver*, 18.10.2012.

- Inter-Parliamentary Union. "Gender Sensitive Parliaments – A Global Review of Good Practice". Report No. 65, 2011.
<http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/gsp11-e.pdf> (23.10.2012).
- Inter-Parliamentary Union. "Women in Politics: 60 Years in Retrospect". 01.02.2006.
http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/wmninfokit06_en.pdf (18.10.2010).
- Inter-Parliamentary Union. "Women's Suffrage".
<http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/suffrage.htm> (22.11.2012).
- KA-DER Association for the Support of Women Candidates. "4+1 Eşittir Sıfır! Türkiye Kadın-Erkek Eşitliğinde Yine 'Sıfır' Çekti". 06.03.2012.
http://www.ka-der.org.tr/tr/down/2012_KADIN_ISTATISTIKLERI.pdf (22.10.2012).
- Tsegai, Maija Sala and Una Murray. "Gender Baseline Study for Finnish Development Cooperation". Helsinki: Hakapaino Oy, 2005.
<http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cedaw/docs/ngos/CFWA.pdf> (11.11.2012).
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland. "UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) 'Women, Peace and Security' - Finland's National Action Plan 2012-2016".
http://www.kopijyva.fi/ejulkaisut/ulkoasiainministerio/UM_05_2012/UM_05_2012.pdf (06.11.2012).
- Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. "United Nations International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights".
<http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/ccpr.htm> (12.10.2012).
- Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. "International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights".
<http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/cescr.htm> (12.10.2012).
- Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. "Convention on the Rights of Child".
<http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/crc.htm> (12.10.2012).
- Official Journal of the European Union. "Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union".
http://www.europarl.europa.eu/charter/pdf/text_en.pdf (22.08.2012).
- Official Journal of the European Union. "Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union".
<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2010:083:0047:0200:en:PDF> (20.08.2012).

- Parliament of Poland. “The Constitution of the Republic of Poland”. 1997.
<http://www.sejm.gov.pl/prawo/konst/angielski/kon1.htm> (22.11.2012).
- Poland Government Plenipotentiary for Equal Treatment. “Start-up Meeting, Poland 18 May 2012”.
<http://rownetraktowanie.gov.pl/en> (14.11.2012).
- Poland Government Plenipotentiary for Equal Treatment. “The Government Plenipotentiary for Equal Treatment”
<http://rownetraktowanie.gov.pl/en/the-government-plenipotentiary-for-equal-treatment> (11.11.2012).
- Poland Ministry of Labour and Social Policy. “Meeting of the High Level Group on Gender Mainstreaming – Summary”. 2011.
<http://www.mpips.gov.pl/en/presidency/gender-events/eetingoftheighelevelrouponenderainstreaming-arsaw5-6eptember2011/> (14.11.2012).
- Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs. “The Right of Women, Gender Equality and Struggle with Violence against Women”.
http://www.mfa.gov.tr/the-right-of-women_-gender-equality-and-struggle-with-violence-against-women.en.mfa (14.09.2012).
- Hausmann, Ricardo, Laura D. Tyson and Saadia Zahidi. “The Global Gender Gap Report 2012”. World Economic Forum, 2012.
http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GenderGap_Report_2012.pdf (27.10.2012).
- Statistical Office in Katowice and Central Statistical Office. “Sustainable Development Indicators for Poland”. 2011.
http://www.stat.gov.pl/cps/rde/xbcr/gus/PUBL_as_Sustainable_Development_Indicators_for_Poland.pdf (14.11.2012).
- T.C. Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü. “Kadına Yönelik Şiddetle Mücadele Ulusal Eylem Planı”
http://www.kadininstatusu.gov.tr/upload/mce/2012/kadina_yonelik_sid_2012_2015.pdf (01.06.2013)
- T.C. Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü. “Misyorumuz, Vizyonumuz”
<http://www.kadininstatusu.gov.tr/tr/html/97/Misyon+ve+Vizyon/> (22.10.2012).
- T.C. Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü. “Tarihçe”.
<http://www.kadininstatusu.gov.tr/tr/html/96/Tarihce/> (22.10.2012).
- T.C. Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü. “Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliği Ulusal Eylem Planı 2008-2013”. 2008.
http://www.kadininstatusu.gov.tr/upload/mce/eski_site/Pdf/TCEUlusaleytemplani.pdf (22.10.2012).

- T.C. Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü. “Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliği Ulusal Eylem Planı 2008-2013”. 2008. http://www.kadininstatusu.gov.tr/upload/mce/eski_site/Pdf/TCEUlusaleytemplani.pdf (22.10.2012).
- T.C. Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü. “Uluslararası Kuruluşlar”. <http://www.kadininstatusu.gov.tr/tr/html/177/Uluslararası+Kuruluşlar/> (22.10.2012).
- T.C. Resmî Gazete. “Ailenin Korunması ve Kadına Karşı Şiddetin Önlenmesine Dair Kanun”. 2012. <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2012/03/20120320-16.htm> (06.01.2013).
- The European Networks of Legal Experts in the Non-Discrimination Field. “European Anti-Discrimination Law Review” 2011. http://ec.europa.eu/justice/discrimination/files/antidiscrimination_law_review_12_en.pdf (10.09.2012).
- The European Union Seagull Project. “Gender Equality in the Euroregion Baltic”. 2003. http://www.eurobalt.org/seagull_deverb/wp1/Genderreport.pdf (30.10.2012).
- Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi. “Toplumsal Cinsiyet Açısından Anayasa Konulu Komisyon Raporu”. 2012. http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/komisyon/kefe/docs/komisyon_yay%C4%B1n_no_9.pdf (01.11.2012).
- Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi. “Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Anayasası”. http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/anayasa/anayasa_2011.pdf (14.11.2012).
- UN Women. “The UN Secretary-General’s Database on Violence against Women”. <http://sgdatabase.unwomen.org/countryInd.action?countryId=1326> (12.11.2012).
- UN Women. “The UN Secretary-General’s Database on Violence against Women”. <http://sgdatabase.unwomen.org/countryInd.action?countryId=1046> (12.11.2012).
- UN Women. “About UN Women”. <http://www.unwomen.org/about-us/about-un-women/> (10.08.2012).
- United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. “Integrated Civil Society System”. <http://esango.un.org/civilsociety/login.do> (30.10.2010).
- United Nations Development Programme. “Gender and EU Enlargement – Potential and Progress”.

- <http://www.undp.org.tr/PF/Newsletter/ENG/2008/01/GenderAndEu.html>
(18.10.2012).
- United Nations Development Programme. “Gender Empowerment Measure”.
http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/HDR_20072008_GEM.pdf (22.10.2012).
- United Nations Development Programme. “Gender Inequality Index”.
<http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/gii/> (22.10.2012).
- United Nations Development Programme. “International Human Rights Development Indicators”. 2011.
<http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/indicators/24806.html> (24.10.2012).
- United Nations Development Programme. “Turkey Needs Affirmative Gender Policies”. 15.04.2010.
<http://www.undp.org.tr/Gozlem2.aspx?WebSayfaNo=2431> (22.10.2012).
- United Nations Development Programme. “UNDP Turkey and Gender in Development”.
<http://www.undp.org.tr/Gozlem2.aspx?WebSayfaNo=86> (22.10.2012).
- United Nations. “The Four Global Women’s Conferences 1975 - 1995: Historical Perspective”.
<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/followup/session/presskit/hist.htm>
(10.08.2012).
- United Nations. “The Universal Declarations of Human Rights”.
<http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml> (12.10.2012).
- Women for Women’s Rights (WWHR) – New Ways Association. “Birleşmiş Milletler’de Kadının İnsan Hakları ve Türkiye’nin Taahhütleri”. Istanbul: Euromat, 2009.
- Women In Development Europe (WIDE). “Gender in the Institutions. Status quo or an Opportunity to Change?” in Agnieszka Grzybek, “Gender in the EU”. Warsaw: Heinrich Böll Foundation, 2009.
http://www.pl.boell.org/downloads/Gender_in_the_UE_WWW.pdf
(17.11.2012).
- Women’s Dialogue on EU. “Women’s Journey in Turkey”. Belgium: Women’s Initiative for Turkey in the European Union.
- World Bank. “Globalization’s Impact on Gender Equality, What Happened and What is Needed”. World Development Report, 2012.
<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTWDR2012/Resources/7778105-1299699968583/7786210-1315936222006/chapter-6.pdf> (23.10.2012).
- World Bank. “Bridging the Gender Gap in Turkey: A Milestone towards Faster Socio-Economic Development and Poverty Reduction”.

<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTECAREGTOPGENDER/Resources/TurkeyCGA.pdf> (24.10.2012).

Neel, Alyson. “NGOs, Academics Call for Holistic Approach to Reach Gender Equality”. *Today’s Zaman*, 05.09.2012.

“Ultra nationalist party meets with LGBT group”. *Hurriyet Daily News*, 19.09.2012.

Goksel, Diba Nigar. “Time for Turkish Women's Voices to be Heard”. *Al Jazeera*, 17.06.2011.

Pankakoski, Kaisa and Isabella Kaminski. “Why Finnish Pupils are Top of the European Game”, *Euroobserver*, 08.10.2010.

“Gender Imbalance and Positive Discrimination”. *Euronews*, 28.01.2010.

“Report Highlights Problems in Turkey”. *Hurriyet Daily News*, 11.02.2011.

“Turkish Courts a Bright Spot for Gender Equality”. *Hurriyet Daily News*, 22.10.2012.

Kubosava, Lucia. “Agencies Fight Could end up on EU Summit Agenda”. *Euroobserver*, 24.11.2006.

Mahony, Honor. “EU’s Most Powerful Women Take Aim at Male Elite”. *Euroobserver*, 18.09.2009.

Kadın Dostu Kentler Project. “Proje Hakkında”. <http://www.kadindostukentler.com/hakkinda.html> (13.11.2012).

Women in Development Europe (WIDE). “Gender in the Institutions. Status quo or an opportunity to Change?” in Agnieszka Grzybek “Gender in the EU”. Warsaw: Heinrich Böll Foundation, 2009. http://www.pl.boell.org/downloads/Gender_in_the_UE_WWW.pdf (17.11.2012).

Interviews

Armutçu, Emel. -Executive Board Member at Rightful Women Platform and Journalist at Hurriyet- interview on “Gender Equality in Turkey”. Istanbul: 12.11.2012.

Huldén, Anders. -Youth Work Coordinator at SETA- Interview on “Gender Equality in Finland”. Helsinki: 10.10.2010.

ANNEX

Annex 1: Attitude towards Gender Equality: Means by Country

	<i>Equality in the job market^a</i>	<i>Equality in political decision-making^a</i>	<i>Equality in education^a</i>	<i>Index of gender equality^b</i>
Sweden	3,761	3,499	3,753	1,518
Denmark	3,772	3,418	3,776	1,459
Netherlands	3,639	3,204	3,733	0,996
Finland	3,717	3,188	3,526	0,896
France	3,638	3,114	3,561	0,724
Spain	3,534	3,312	3,483	0,691
Belgium	3,613	3,041	3,520	0,681
Malta	3,462	3,149	3,493	0,598
United Kingdom	3,554	3,126	3,533	0,556
Luxembourg	3,550	3,059	3,456	0,396
Germany (East)	3,458	3,141	3,414	0,318
Germany (West)	3,436	3,130	3,258	0,317
Ireland	3,365	3,131	3,356	0,275
Portugal	3,578	2,796	3,382	0,163
Northern Ireland	3,561	2,937	3,320	0,125
Lithuania	3,519	2,550	3,316	-0,110
Poland	3,339	2,632	3,251	-0,240
Estonia	3,447	2,544	3,316	-0,252
Latvia	3,476	2,646	3,206	-0,274
Cyprus	3,328	2,608	3,375	-0,275
Italy	3,219	2,746	3,080	-0,349
Slovenia	2,937	2,722	3,468	-0,523
Bulgaria	3,414	2,381	3,090	-0,682
Austria	3,395	2,557	2,896	-0,705
Hungary	3,461	2,543	2,976	-0,751
Greece	3,021	2,717	3,150	-0,808
Czech Republic	3,032	2,480	3,164	-1,034
Romania	3,340	2,167	3,120	-1,055
Turkey	3,375	2,239	2,570	-1,608
Slovakia	2,803	2,407	2,705	-1,920

Source: Jürgen Gerhards, Mike. S. Schäfer and Sylvia Kämpfer, “Gender Equality in the European Union: The EU Script and its Support by European Citizens”, *Sociology*, Vol.43, 2009, p.521.

Annex 2: Mainstreaming Across Five Issue Areas

<i>Issue-area</i>	<i>Political opportunities</i>	<i>Mobilizing structures/ networks</i>	<i>Dominant frame/ Resonance of gender issue</i>	<i>Mainstreaming outcome</i>
Structural Funds	Open (multiple access points; elite allies)	Well developed	Interventionist frame; experience with gender issues	Successful adoption of new Regulation, yet to be implemented
Employment	Open (multiple access points; elite allies)	Well developed (large group of women's networks around Equal Opportunities Unit)	Interventionist frame; Employment DG with primary responsibility for gender issues	Mainstreaming in 1999 Employment Guidelines
Development	Moderate (multiple access points, but few elite allies in key positions; implementation highly decentralized)	Moderate	Interventionist frame; previous involvement in WID/gender and development debate	1998 Council Regulation; increased training, new procedures. Action plan in progress
Competition	Closed (minimal participation by non-firm actors, few elite allies within DG)	Minimal (women's NGOs inattentive to competition issues)	Neo-liberal frame; deliberate effort to ignore social/industrial policy considerations	None
Research	Open (multiple access points; elite allies)	Moderate (a few European-level groups, many national networks)	Dominant frame emphasizes technical efficiency, excellence	Women and Science Programme

Source: Mark A. Pollack and Emilie Hafner-Burton, "Mainstreaming Gender in the European Union", *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 7, No. 3, 2000, pp.451.

Annex 3: Overall Ranking of 25 EU Member States on the European Union Gender Equality

	Participation	Unemployment	Pay	Income	Political power	Socio-economic power	Care activities	Leisure	Composite index score
Finland	0.91	0.96	0.41	0.96	0.72	0.47	0.85	0.66	0.74
Sweden	0.90	0.98	0.50	0.85	0.90	0.51	0.46	0.68	0.72
Denmark	0.81	0.91	0.34	0.93	0.71	0.32	0.87	0.64	0.69
The Netherlands	0.67	0.93	0.23	0.89	0.70	0.35	0.62	0.78	0.65
Belgium	0.65	0.81	0.44	0.81	0.66	0.51	0.48	0.56	0.61
Larvia	0.80	0.96	0.32	0.81	0.36	0.81	0.46	0.24	0.60
Lithuania	0.84	0.99	0.43	0.78	0.38	0.82	0.46	0.04	0.59
Germany	0.72	0.86	0.16	0.78	0.60	0.42	0.46	0.70	0.59
United Kingdom	0.71	0.92	0.01	0.78	0.33	0.59	0.46	0.70	0.56
Hungary	0.70	0.96	0.52	0.96	0.09	0.60	0.46	0.20	0.56
France	0.73	0.82	0.44	0.93	0.16	0.65	0.48	0.26	0.56
Portugal	0.71	0.81	0.36	0.89	0.36	0.59	0.25	0.45	0.55
Slovenia	0.78	0.90	0.64	0.70	0.16	0.58	0.46	0.18	0.55
Estonia	0.88	0.83	0.12	0.78	0.31	0.66	0.46	0.33	0.55
Luxembourg	0.52	0.76	0.38	1.00	0.41	0.28	0.46	0.45	0.53
Poland	0.70	0.75	0.54	0.56	0.34	0.54	0.46	0.32	0.53
Austria	0.67	0.94	0.13	0.67	0.64	0.39	0.24	0.45	0.52
Czech Republic	0.59	0.67	0.19	1.00	0.27	0.46	0.46	0.45	0.51
Slovakia	0.67	0.83	0.04	0.52	0.26	0.49	0.46	0.45	0.47
Ireland	0.55	0.94	0.14	0.59	0.18	0.51	0.13	0.45	0.44
Italy	0.40	0.61	0.38	0.67	0.14	0.54	0.37	0.21	0.41
Spain	0.41	0.48	0.18	0.33	0.69	0.52	0.10	0.28	0.37
Malta	0.02	0.78	0.19	0.56	0.09	0.09	0.46	0.45	0.33
Cyprus	0.49	0.79	0.08	0.04	0.25	0.04	0.46	0.45	0.32
Greece	0.31	0.08	0.16	0.48	0.18	0.38	0.02	0.45	0.26

Source: Janneke Plantenga, Chantal Remery, Hugo Figueiredo and Mark Smith, 'Towards a European Union Gender Equality Index', *Journal of European Social Policy*, Vol. 19, No. 19, 2009, p. 31.

Annex 4: Women at Governance Level in Turkey: Parliament and Local Authorities

4. a. Parliament

ELECTION YEAR	NUMBER OF MPs AT THE PARLIAMENT	NUMBER OF WOMEN DEPUTIES	PROPORTION OF WOMEN
1935	393	18	4.6
1943	435	16	3.7
1950	487	3	0.6
1957	610	8	1.3
1965	450	8	1.8
1973	450	6	1.3
1991	450	8	1.8
1999	550	22	4.2
2002	550	24	4.4
2007	550	50	9.1
2011	550	79	14.3

Source: KA-DER, 'Yönetim kademelerinde Kadınlar: Parlamento', 2012, http://www.kader.org.tr/tr/down/2012_KADIN_ISTATISTIKLERI.pdf (10.10.2012)

4. b. Local Authorities

	NUMBER OF MEN	NUMBER OF WOMEN	TOTAL NUMBER	PROPORTION OF WOMEN
Mayor	2.924	26	2.950	% 0.8
City Council Member	30.450	1.340	31.790	% 4.2
Member of Provincial Assembly	3.269	110	3.379	% 3.2
Village Headman	34.210	65	34.275	% 0.2
Village Council Member	137.848	329	138.177	% 0.2
Reeve	18.178	429	18.607	% 2.3
Neighbourhood Council Member	71.174	1.409	72.583	% 1.9
TOTAL	298.053	3.708	301.761	% 1.2

Source: KA-DER, 'Yönetim kademelerinde Kadınlar: Yerel Yönetimler', 2012, http://www.kader.org.tr/tr/down/2012_KADIN_ISTATISTIKLERI.pdf (10.10.2012)