

**REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
YILDIZ TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS
MASTER OF ARTS PROGRAMME IN ECONOMICS**

MASTER’S THESIS

**GENDER-BASED DISCRIMINATION IN HIRING
PROCESS: AN EXAMPLE OF TURKISH
EMPLOYMENT AGENCY**

**NUR BANU KARTAL
16729010**

**THESIS SUPERVISOR
Asst. Prof. ÖZGE KAMA MASALA**

**İSTANBUL
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ABSTRACT

GENDER-BASED DISCRIMINATION IN HIRING PROCESS: AN EXAMPLE OF TURKISH EMPLOYMENT AGENCY

Nur Banu Kartal

June 2019

In 2019, women are still hindered and get discriminated in working life. Problems encountered by women in working life are; participation gap, the wage gap, horizontal gender segregation in vocational and sectoral distribution, vertical gap, the wealth and property gap, motherhood gap, unpaid domestic labor and care services, the feminization of labor. In line with that fact, the indicators show that in Turkey, women participate 38.3% less to the labor force, they are 36,5% less employed and yet, 3.8% more in unemployment with 12,6% of unemployment rate in comparison with men (TÜİK, 2018). The inadequate representation of women in employment is a universal issue, but when comparing Turkey with OECD countries, women's representation is far behind than the OECD average which brings a huge potential loss to the economy. At this point, one needs to ask this critical question: What constitutes gender-based discrimination that prevents women to have equal opportunities in working life? This study investigates gender discrimination in the hiring process based on the Turkish Employment Agency's annual data. The gender discrimination is analyzed through public institutions, integrated with a comprehensive data of education levels and age compared to the more general studies.

Keywords: gender-based discrimination, the wage gap, labor economics

JEL Classification: E24, J16, J13

ÖZ

İŞE ALIM SÜRECİNDE CİNSİYETE DAYALI AYRIMCILIK : TÜRKİYE İŞ KURUMU ÖRNEĞİ

Nur Banu Kartal

Haziran, 2019

2019'da kadınlar çalışma hayatında hala engellenmekte ve ayrımcılığa uğramaktadır. Kadınların çalışma hayatında karşılaştıkları başlıca sorunlar; iş gücüne katılım açığı, ücret eşitsizliği, mesleki ve sektörel dağılımda yatay cinsiyet ayrışması, dikey cinsiyet ayrışması, servet ve mülkiyetteki eşitsizlik, annelik ayrımcılığı, ücretsiz ev içi emek ve bakım hizmetleri, emeğin feminizasyonudur. Göstergeler, Türkiye'de, kadınların erkeklerle karşılaştırıldığında, iş gücüne %38,3 daha az katıldığını, %36,5 daha az istihdam edildiğini ve buna rağmen %12,6 işsizlik oranıyla erkeklerden %3,8 daha fazla işsizlikte olduğunu göstermektedir (TÜİK, 2018). Kadınların istihdamda yetersiz temsili evrensel bir sorundur, ancak Türkiye OECD ülkeleriyle karşılaştırıldığında, kadınların iş hayatındaki temsili OECD ortalamasının çok gerisindedir, bu durum potansiyelin kullanılmadığını gösterir. Bu noktada şu soruyu sormak önemlidir : Kadınların çalışma hayatında eşit fırsatlara sahip olmasını önleyen cinsiyete dayalı ayrımcılık nedir? Yapılan bu çalışma, Türkiye İş Kurumu'nun (İŞKUR) yıllık verilerine dayanan, işe alım sürecindeki cinsiyet ayrımcılığını incelemektedir. İş hayatındaki cinsiyete dayalı ayrımcılık, kamu kurumları doğrultusunda analiz edilmekte, daha genel çalışmalara kıyasla, eğitim düzeyi ve yaşın da bulunduğu kapsamlı bir veri seti ile bütünleştirilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: cinsiyete dayalı ayrımcılık, ücret eşitsizliği, çalışma ekonomisi

JEL Kodları: E24, J16, J13

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ABBREVIATIONS

ILO: International Labour Organization

İŞKUR: Turkish Employment Agency

NGO: Non-Governmental Organization

PwC: PricewaterhouseCoopers

STEM: Science, Technology, Engineering and Maths

TOBB: Turkish Union of Chambers and Exchange Commodities

TurkStat: Turkish Statistical Institute

1. INTRODUCTION

Working is essential in one's life to sustain themselves. It can be either paid or unpaid, but in the world, everybody in the working-age works one way or another. Women as half of the population, however, are still hindered and get discriminated in working life. To solve this problem, some questions should be addressed; why there is no equal participation rate in the labor force? Why do women earn less in general, and also in Turkey? Why do women work in less secure jobs? Does it generate welfare inequality? The main purpose of the study is to show that there is a gender effect on the labor market which results in inequalities and insecurity of women in the labor market which shows its impact on the Turkish Employment Agency (İŞKUR) as well.

After a brief introduction, this study in section 2 explains the concepts that it aims to analyze: gender, labor market discrimination, gender-based discrimination in working life, feminist economics are explained and Turkey's position in gender gap is examined through Global Gender Gap Index and OECD data. Section 2.1. underlines the demographical features of women in Turkey through the Turkish Statistical Institution (TukStat) statistics to give a clear foresight. Afterward, the relationship between education and the gender gap is interrogated since studies are focusing on the return of higher education for women on the female labor force participation, in the literature. Section 2.3. reveals the problems women face in the labor market like the participation gap, the wage gap, glass ceiling, gender division of labor, wealth inequality, the feminization of labor and searches for their reasons. Also showing the gender gap in working life in Turkey through the statistics of the labor market and its intersection with women's demographical features. Section 3 emphasizes the fact that, with the social problems gender-based discrimination in working life creates, it is also creating macroeconomic problems such as loss of economic growth, more people benefiting from social transfers along with less inclusive development, less welfare. In chapter 4, gender-based labor market discrimination, especially hiring discrimination and its reflections on İŞKUR is examined; first, the concept of hiring discrimination is explained and then İŞKUR's Annual Statistics macro data between 1980 and 2017 is overviewed with the applicant's demographical features and

interpreted in terms of participation gap and feminization of labor with respect of the concepts mentioned before. In section 5, the policies followed by the Ministry of Family and Social Services, the Ministry of Labor and Social Security and İŞKUR are introduced and criticized in line with the concepts mentioned before. Finally, in section 6, policy suggestions are given according to the outputs reached in the previous section.

2. OVERVIEW OF GENDER EQUALITY

Gender is a social construct based on biological sexes, which contains certain roles attained to both genders by the society starting the moment one is born. Discrimination is an unequal treatment conducted by a more advantageous group to the group of suppressed people based on the group identity like being women, black, disabled, elderly, etc. Gender-based discrimination is an unequal treatment to genders.

Gender discrimination in working life is an unfavorable treatment to an employee or a job applicant because of their gender. It implies consequences like; participation gap, the wage gap, horizontal gender segregation in vocational and sectoral distribution, vertical gap, the wealth and property gap, motherhood gap, unpaid domestic labor and care services, the feminization of labor, etc.

Feminist economics is a subset of heterodox economics which focuses on women in economic life and aims to engender economics, representing men and women equally, counting women as well as men; taking into account that unpaid domestic labor exists, that women have barriers that limit them entering the labor market or having decent jobs, getting hired, getting promoted, earning the same wages. Feminist economics is mainly focused on domestic labor, unpaid work, reproduction of labor, engendering macroeconomics, targeting inclusive development, rather than economic growth and acknowledges that “*there is no economic policy or policy that is gender-neutral*” (İzdeş Terkoğlu et al., 2017). As women’s movement got stronger and as there are more and more women in economics academia, academics started to address the problems women are facing in working life. The topics related to feminist economics have started to be studied in the 1970s and Turkey followed it by the 1980s (Ecevit, 2018). The main subjects that have been studied in Turkey are based on gender-based discrimination in the labor market, the participation gap, the wage gap, motherhood penalty, care economics.

Overall Global Gender Gap Index is gauging where a country is positioned concerning gender equality, which used economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health and survival and political empowerment indicators as indicators.

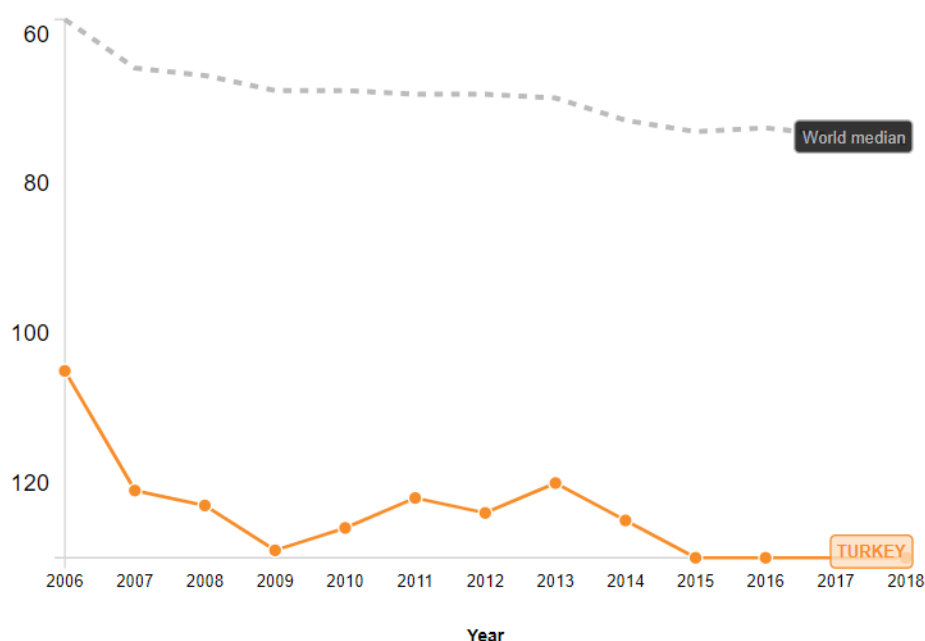


Figure 1: Overall Global Gender Gap Index, Rank

Source: The World Bank, 2006-2018,
https://tcdata360.worldbank.org/indicators/af52ebe9?country=TUR&indicator=27962&viz=line_chart&years=2006,2018&compareBy=region

As can be seen from Figure 1, in 2006, Turkey's position in the global index of gender gap was very low and the country was ranked as 105th out of 115 countries, in the following years, it had a sharp decline and since then it is ranked in between 120 and 131, far beyond than the world median. In the latest index, Turkey ranked as 130th out of 149 in 2018 where Iceland was ranked 1 and Yemen had the lowest rank, 149. According to the report, in 2017, Turkey had progress on decreasing the gap in the legislator, senior official and manager positions, professional and technical roles and educational enrolment while it has a decline in political empowerment and health and survival (Schwab, Samans, Zahidi, Leopold, & Ratcheva, 2017).

Table 1: Turkey's Global Gender Gap Rank in 2006 and 2018

TURKEY	2006		2018	
	Rank	Score	Rank	Score
Global Gender Gap Score	105	0,6	130	0,628
Economic Participation and Opportunity	106	0,4	131	0,466
Educational Attainment	92	0,9	106	0,968
Health and Survival	85	1,0	67	0,976
Political Empowerment	96	0,1	113	0,101
Rank out of	115		149	

Source: World Economic Forum, 2018

Table 1 shows Turkey's position in the Global Gender Gap Rank, between 2006 and 2018, Turkey's overall rank had declined by 25 rows while 34 more countries are included in the index. Economic participation and opportunity dropped by 25 rows, educational attainment by 14 rows, political empowerment by 18 rows whereas health and survival inclined by 18 rows in the rankings. In this index, 0 represents inequality, 1 represents equality and 1,5 represents women-oriented positive discrimination. Turkey has a very low score on political empowerment and economic participation and opportunity and has rather higher scores on health and survival and educational attainment indicators.

Table 2: Employment/Population Ratio, Labor Force Participation Rate, Employment Rate of Working Age Population in Turkey and OECD Countries' Average

Time		2000		2006	
Country	Series	Female	Male	Female	Male
Turkey	Employment/population ratio	26,2	71,7	22,7	66,8
	Labour force participation rate	28,0	76,9	25,6	74,4
	Unemployment rate	6,5	6,8	11,4	10,1
OECD countries	Employment/population ratio	55,0	76,1	56,8	75,6
	Labour force participation rate	59,2	80,9	60,8	80,4
	Unemployment rate	7,0	5,9	6,6	6,0
Time		2012		2017	
Country	Series	Female	Male	Female	Male
Turkey	Employment/population ratio	28,7	69,2	32,2	70,7
	Labour force participation rate	32,3	75,8	37,6	78,2
	Unemployment rate	11,0	8,7	14,4	9,6
OECD countries	Employment/population ratio	57,1	73,1	60,1	75,5
	Labour force participation rate	62,2	79,6	64,0	80,2
	Unemployment rate	8,2	8,1	6,1	5,8

Source: OECD, **Employment Data**, 2000-2017,
https://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=LFS_SEXAGE_I_R

Turkey, in terms of female labor participation rate, is far behind the average of OECD countries. While in 2017, OECD countries' female labor force participation rate is 60,2%, in Turkey, it is only %32,2 while in 2000, it is 59,2% for the OECD and 28% for Turkey. It lets to conclude that almost in any society (in the frame of OECD), there is a certain gender role in the working environment.

Of course, it depends on the economic activities the countries are focused on, the cultural structures the society has, how equalitarian the society is, how the gender roles are shaped in the society, how the societies' laws are structured etc. i.e. it can be seen that, in some countries, the labor participation rates of women are so similar to that of men's, like in many Australian, Asian and African countries whose main economic activity is agriculture like Lao People's Democratic Republic, Papua New Guinea, Nepal, Angola, Congo, Democratic Republic, Congo, Mozambique, Ghana, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea (ILO, 2019). The fact that a country is classified as a developed country does not mean women would not face discrimination in the labor market. Discrimination in each country might be in different fields and forms, as well as in male and female-dominated fields. A work that is considered to be a woman's work in one country can be regarded as a male job in another country (Günlük Şenesen, Özar, & Pulhan, 2000). According to Günlük Şenesen et al. (2000), every country has

different gender patterns; from 1970s on many women displaced to the professions deemed as ‘male jobs’ in the developed countries: *“For example, while half of the women graduated from college in 1960 were mostly teachers, this ratio fell below 10% in 1990. There are many reasons for this. In developing countries; women's labor force participation rate as a percentage of women's education is considered as migration to urban areas, change in family structure, higher marriage age and increase in productive activities.”*

According to the OECD report's data, Turkey has the second-lowest labor participation rate after India (OECD, 2018). The statistics of the prevalence of women in executive positions in Turkey has the third-lowest place after South Korea and Japan. When all statistics brought together, Turkey was registered as gender inequality is felt one of the most among OECD countries.

2.1. Women in Turkey

Even though Turkey is one of the first countries that women got the right to elect and be elected in 1934, still, in political attainment, women are far behind than men in Turkey. Ministers, judges, prosecutors, local governors, ambassadors are predominantly men. Women in Turkey are still playing very traditional gender roles in comparison with developed countries and countries with similar development levels. The number of women in the population is almost the same as men, but still, in social, economic and political life, women are underrepresented. Even though it is a universal fact, Turkey is far behind the OECD average for the representation of women in society. It is not sensible since Turkey has very similar laws with more egalitarian countries (Aslantepe, 2015). Then the main problem occurs to be the lack of public inspections to the institutions of the society.

According to the Statistical Institute of Turkey, Women with Statistics 2018, the female population in Turkey, in 2017 was 40 million 275 thousand. It is 49,8% of the total population. Women are living longer than men, therefore the ratio is 56% in the elderly (65+) population. Life expectancy for women is 80,7 years in Turkey. It is 78 years for the total population and 75,3 years for men. According to TurkStat (2018), Address Based Population Registration System, 2007-2018 Survey, the median age for women in 2018 is 32,7 while it is 31,4 for men. The marriage age for women married in 2017 is 24,6; 27,7 for men.

Table 3: Ratio of City-Village Population, 1927-2018

(%)

Year	Ratio of city population			Ratio of village population		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Population Censuses						
1927	24,2	26,1	22,5	75,8	73,9	77,5
1935	23,5	24,8	22,3	76,5	75,2	77,7
1940	24,4	26,2	22,6	75,6	73,8	77,4
1945	24,9	26,5	23,4	75,1	73,5	76,6
1950 ⁽¹⁾	25,0	26,6	23,4	75,0	73,4	76,6
1955	28,8	30,6	26,9	71,2	69,4	73,1
1960	31,9	33,7	30,1	68,1	66,3	69,9
1965	34,4	36,2	32,6	65,6	63,8	67,4
1970	38,5	40,6	36,2	61,5	59,4	63,8
1975	41,8	43,4	40,1	58,2	56,6	59,9
1980	43,9	45,3	42,5	56,1	54,7	57,5
1985	53,0	54,6	51,4	47,0	45,4	48,6
1990	59,0	60,3	57,7	41,0	39,7	42,3
2000	64,9	65,3	64,5	35,1	34,7	35,5
Address Based Population Registration System						
2007	70,5	70,5	70,5	29,5	29,5	29,5
2013	91,3	91,3	91,4	8,7	8,7	8,6
2018	92,3	92,2	92,4	7,7	7,8	7,6

(1) Population by sex has been estimated by 1945 and 1955 sex ratios.

Source: TurkStat, **Population Census,** 1927-2000, 2007-2018,
<http://tuik.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=kategorist>

According to Table 3, until 2000, there are more women living in villages and more men living in the cities because of the characteristics of internal migration in Turkey. After 2007, men and women living in the cities and the villages are scattered more homogenously due to the decreasing importance of the agricultural sector and migrating to bigger cities because of seeking job opportunities.

When Turkey is compared to the countries that have similar development levels, there is a significant higher rural population in Turkey that can be deduced. Although this fact indicates the potential of creating employment in urban areas, there are some structural problems such as the alarming rates of female employment. If poverty is wanted to be reduced, the quality of the workers is another factor combined with the number of workers. Businesses that generate higher wages have to be expanded to reduce poverty Taymaz (2010) concludes.

Table 4: Satisfaction from Marriage by Sex, 2003-2018

							(%)
		2003	2006	2009	2013	2016	2018
Male							
	Very satisfied	32,1	22,7	25,9	17,6	16,5	20,1
	Satisfied	62,0	72,9	69,5	78,8	79,4	76,1
	Neither satisfied, nor unsatisfied	5,2	3,8	3,6	2,5	2,7	2,7
	Not satisfied	0,5	0,5	0,7	0,8	1,1	0,7
	Not satisfied at all	0,2	0,1	0,3	0,3	0,2	0,4
Female							
	Very satisfied	27,6	21,9	20,7	14,1	15,3	15,3
	Satisfied	58,5	68,3	67,8	77,5	76,2	74,8
	Neither satisfied, nor unsatisfied	12,3	7,3	8,5	5,8	6,1	6,8
	Not satisfied	1,0	1,9	1,8	1,7	1,6	2,3
	Not satisfied at all	0,6	0,6	1,1	1,0	0,8	0,9

Source: TurkStat, **Life Satisfaction Survey**, 2003-2018, 2011-2017,
<http://tuik.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=kategorist>

The average divorce age is 34,8 for women and 39,1 for men. According to Table 4, men are more satisfied with marriage than women do. While men who are very satisfied and satisfied with their marriages are more than that of women, women who are neither satisfied nor unsatisfied, not satisfied and not satisfied at all are more than that of men.

Table 5: Basic Fertility Indicators, 2001-2017

Year	Number of births	General fertility rate (%)	Total fertility rate (Number of children)	Mean age of mother
2001	1 323 341	82,7	2,38	26,7
2002	1 229 555	75,8	2,17	26,8
2003	1 198 927	73,2	2,09	27,0
2004	1 222 484	73,8	2,11	27,0
2005	1 244 041	74,3	2,12	27,0
2006	1 255 432	74,2	2,12	27,1
2007	1 289 992	75,6	2,16	27,2
2008	1 295 511	75,2	2,15	27,3
2009	1 266 751	73,6	2,10	27,4
2010	1 261 169	72,8	2,08	27,7
2011	1 252 812	71,7	2,05	27,8
2012	1 294 605	73,2	2,11	28,0
2013	1 296 762	72,3	2,11	28,2
2014	1 349 467	74,4	2,18	28,4
2015	1 334 465	72,9	2,15	28,5
2016	1 311 895	71,0	2,11	28,6
2017	1 291 055	69,5	2,07	28,7

Source: TurkStat, **Birth Statistics**, 001-2017, <http://www.tuik.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=kategorist>

As can be seen from Table 5, the number of children per person decreased by 0,31 along with general fertility rate which has dropped by 13,2%, the mean age of mother increased by 2 years. This situation can be explained by increasing education level and accordingly, labor force participation.

Table 6: Age Group of Mother

Year	Total	Age group of mother										Unknown
		<15	15-17	18-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50+	
2001	100,0	0,2	3,8	7,8	33,0	28,2	14,9	8,6	2,2	0,7	0,2	0,4
2005	100,0	0,1	2,8	7,1	31,5	29,5	18,4	7,3	2,5	0,4	0,1	0,2
2011	100,0	0,0	2,1	5,7	26,7	31,1	22,4	9,3	1,9	0,3	0,0	0,5
2017	100,0	0,0	1,1	4,2	23,3	31,1	23,9	12,8	2,6	0,2	0,0	0,7

Source: TurkStat, **Birth Statistics**, 2001-2017, <http://www.tuik.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=kategorist>

In 2001, women gave birth mostly at 20 – 24 and 25 – 29 age groups, in 2017 it is shifted to the age groups of 25 – 29 and 35 – 39. It is compatible with the increase in the mean age of mothers, seen in Table 5.

2.2. The Relationship between Education and Gender Gap

There are a few variables that determine the choices of participation in the labor force market. One of the most important variables is the education level as it is the education level that determines the wages. Besides, there is a positive correlation between being employed and education level. Age, marital status, social benefits and having or not having kids are the other important factors when the decision is being made.

Table 7: Educational Attainment of the Population by Sex, 2008-2017
[25+ age]

Year	Total	Male	(%) Female
2008	81,1	89,8	72,6
2009	82,7	90,8	74,8
2010	85,2	92,6	78,0
2011	86,5	93,5	79,6
2012	87,0	93,8	80,3
2013	87,3	94,0	80,8
2014	87,8	94,3	81,5
2015	88,3	94,7	82,0
2016	88,9	95,1	82,8
2017	89,5	95,5	83,6

Source: TurkStat, **National Education Statistics Database**, 2008-2017, <http://tuik.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=kategorist>

Table 7 shows that the educational attainment for both men and women increased; 11% for women and 5,7% for men. Even though the increase in female attainment is more than men, male educational attainment is 11,9% more than female educational attainment.

Table 8: Formal Education Completed and Sex Ratio, 1975-2016

[Population of 25 years of age and over]

											(%)
Year	Total	Illiterate	Literate without diploma	Primary School	Primary Education	Junior high school and equivalent	High school and equivalent	Higher education	Master	Doctorate	Unknown ⁽²⁾
Male											
1975	100,0	29,1	12,6	45,2	-	4,5	5,2	3,0	-	-	0,3
1980	100,0	24,8	10,7	46,7	-	5,4	6,6	5,7	-	-	0,1
1985	100,0	16,3	9,2	53,0	-	6,4	9,0	6,0	-	-	0,1
1990	100,0	13,2	5,7	54,9	-	7,9	10,8	7,3	-	-	0,1
2000	100,0	7,0	5,3	50,3	-	11,2	16,0	10,2	-	-	0,0
2008 ⁽¹⁾	100,0	4,5	4,9	42,8	1,0	9,0	18,8	10,2	0,8	0,2	7,7
2012 ⁽¹⁾	100,0	2,3	2,5	30,3	12,7	6,4	25,1	15,4	1,2	0,4	3,7
2016 ⁽¹⁾	100,0	1,6	3,2	24,9	14,9	10,2	23,4	18,7	1,7	0,4	0,9
Female											
1975	100,0	65,6	5,1	23,9	-	2,1	2,5	0,7	-	-	0,1
1980	100,0	62,4	5,6	24,7	-	2,2	3,5	1,6	-	-	0,0
1985	100,0	45,9	8,4	36,1	-	2,8	4,9	1,8	-	-	0,1
1990	100,0	40,2	5,6	41,6	-	3,6	6,1	2,8	-	-	0,1
2000	100,0	27,4	7,5	45,2	-	5,3	9,1	5,4	-	-	0,1
2008 ⁽¹⁾	100,0	18,0	7,4	42,7	0,7	4,9	12,2	6,5	0,5	0,1	7,0
2012 ⁽¹⁾	100,0	10,7	9,0	40,0	4,2	5,6	16,0	10,6	0,4	0,2	3,2
2016 ⁽¹⁾	100,0	8,5	8,5	33,6	10,3	7,0	15,6	14,1	1,2	0,3	1,0
Sex ratio											
1975		45	250	191	-	221	213	429	-	-	-
1980		39	189	186	-	238	187	358	-	-	-
1985		35	108	146	-	227	184	324	-	-	-
1990		33	101	132	-	218	177	258	-	-	-
2000		25	69	110	-	209	174	188	-	-	-
2008 ⁽¹⁾		24	65	98	140	178	151	154	154	179	-
2012 ⁽¹⁾		21	28	75	297	112	155	144	271	161	113
2016 ⁽¹⁾		18	37	73	143	143	147	130	136	149	96

(1) TurkStat, National Education Statistics Database

(2) Unknown n includes unknown n for literacy and education level.

Source: TurkStat, **National Education Statistics Database** 1975-2000, **Adress Based Population Registration System**, 2008-2017, <http://tuik.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=kategorist>

As can be seen from Table 8, men completed higher levels of education in Turkey. Women are concentrated more on the primary school level since 1975, while men are concentrated equally in primary school and high school and equivalent levels. For both men and women, the level of formal education completed increased between 1975 and 2016. When it comes to education, in Turkey, women attain education less than their male counterparts. Non-literate women are 5 times more than non-literate men. The data gathered in 2017 shows that the non-literate ratio for women over 25 years old is %8,5 and %1,6 for men.

Table 9: Education Level of Young People Aged 15-24, Neither in Employment nor in Education or Training, 2014-2018

Population between aged 15-24									
Year	Total	Illiterate					Less than high school		
		Neither in employment nor in education or training rate (NEET) (%)	Total	Neither in employment nor in education or training rate (NEET) (%)	Total	Neither in employment nor in education or training rate (NEET) (%)	Total	Neither in employment nor in education or training rate (NEET) (%)	
Male									
2014	5 866	862	14,7	78	55	70,5	3 855	500	13,0
2015	5 909	844	14,3	83	59	71,1	3 899	488	12,5
2016	5 965	868	14,6	85	65	76,5	3 817	457	12,0
2017	6 021	879	14,6	91	64	70,3	3 732	430	11,5
2018	5 983	936	15,6	96	67	69,8	3 627	436	12,0
Female									
2014	5 858	2 052	35,0	235	187	79,6	3 700	1 299	35,1
2015	5 891	1 991	33,8	188	149	79,3	3 679	1 227	33,4
2016	5 881	1 970	33,5	158	132	83,5	3 577	1 173	32,8
2017	5 854	1 993	34,0	135	113	83,7	3 494	1 128	32,3
2018	5 802	1 947	33,6	128	109	85,2	3 344	1 070	32,0

Population between aged 15-24									
Year	Total	High school		Total	Vocational high school		Total	Higher education	
		Neither in employment nor in education	Neither in employment nor in education		Neither in employment nor in education	Neither in employment nor in education		Neither in employment nor in education	Neither in employment nor in education
Male									
2014	845	108	12,8	651	103	15,8	438	95	21,7
2015	838	115	13,7	661	92	13,9	429	90	21,0
2016	863	122	14,1	716	115	16,1	484	109	22,5
2017	872	119	13,6	833	142	17,0	493	124	25,2
2018	857	128	14,9	898	171	19,0	506	134	26,5
Female									
2014	865	228	26,4	537	166	30,9	521	171	32,8
2015	812	205	25,2	616	190	30,8	596	221	37,1
2016	819	213	26,0	671	209	31,1	655	242	36,9
2017	841	235	27,9	691	233	33,7	694	284	40,9
2018	875	246	28,1	758	268	35,4	698	254	36,4

Source: TurkStat, Labour Force Statistics, 2014-2018, <http://tuik.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=kategorist>

Another problem considering the labor market is the fact that women are more inactive than men. According to Table 9, even though women outnumber men in some education levels such as illiterate and less than high school, women are always more in neither in employment nor in the education section for all the years and sections. The biggest gender gap shows itself in less than a high school section and the most inactive group for both men and women is the illiterate group as expected.

Table 10: Female Labor Force Participation according to Education Level, 1988-2018

(15 + age)
(Female)

Years	% Vocational							
	Illiterate	Literate without Diploma	Primary School	Primary Education	Junior High School and Equivalent	High school and Equivalent	High School and Equivalent	Higher education
1988	32,3	31,7	34,3		19,5	45,7	52,5	82,5
1989	33,9	36	36,8		21,7	43,2	46,4	81,3
1993	24,3	17,5	27,3		14,3	37,2	48,5	78,4
1994	28,5	25,3	32,3		17,2	35,8	42,1	79,9
1998	25,1	22,2	29,4		15,7	32,6	47,1	75,3
1999	26,8	24,9	29,9		17,2	32,2	42,5	71,4
2003	23,6	21,1	24,8	11,9	19,9	25,2	36,4	69,5
2004	16,6	17,9	21,4	10,4	20,6	26,1	39,4	70,3
2008	14,5	18,5	21,1	16,9	21,6	29,1	38,3	70
2009	15	19,2	23,3	18	22,8	30,4	39,1	70,8
2013	17,4	20,8	29,5	21,5	27,5	32,1	39,3	72,2
2014	16	21,3	28,1	24	22,7	31,9	39,8	71,3
2017	15,9	22,1	30,8	33,9	19,6	34,3	42,6	72,7
2018	16,1	21	31,3	33,9	22,2	34,7	42,7	71,6

Note: Data before 2004 and after 2004 are not compatible.

Source: TurkStat, Household workforce Survey, 1988-2018, <http://www.tuik.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=kategorist>

Table 10 shows the labor force participation of women according to their education level. The highest participation rate is from the women with the highest education level and vice versa. Illiterate women's participation in the labor force is %16,1, it is 21% for literate women without any diploma, 31,3% for primary school graduates, 33,9% for primary education, 22,2% for junior high school and equivalent graduates, %37,4 for high school while the women graduated from higher education participate by 71,6% in labor force.

When the employment rate by education level and sex is examined, the employment rate of men is higher than that of women, regardless of their education level. For example, while the employment rate of men who do not finish primary school is 49,3%, this rate is 19,1% for women with the same education level. 64,9% of high school graduate men are in employment while it is only 27,7% for women. Within higher education graduates, there is also a significant difference between the employment rates of men and women. The employment rate of men who graduated from higher education institutions is 78,3% and for women, it is 59,4% in 2018. When the issue of gender and education level is examined as a subset of unemployment, the

unemployment rate of men with lower education level is relatively lower than the ones with higher education level. When it comes to high school and higher education levels, female unemployment is much higher than male unemployment with according education levels. This suggests that in Turkey, having a higher level of education is more important for women to participate in the labor force than for men since the employment rate is higher for men regardless of their education level.

According to CORIF (2017), Enquête conditions de travail 2013 data show that women are more educated than men in France. Besides, as education level increases, the employment rate is increasing for women. And the difference in the employment rate between men and women decreases as education level increases. Access to employment is easier for women with higher education. But women who have higher education are not able to work as much as men do in higher positions even though more women have a higher level of education. Moreover, as the education level increases, the wage gap increases to the detriment of women. According to the study, women who have BAC +3 and more education level, has a loss, in reel terms, of 477 823 euros.

According to Génération 2010, CEREQ data, the unemployment rate is lower as education level increases, but still, it is higher for women than their male counterparts in general. The most disadvantaged group is women who have BAC diploma in France (CORIF, 2017). It might be because of competition in the labor market is being higher for the BAC level. When the rate of part-time employment is examined, it can be seen that, as the education level increases, the rate of working in part-time jobs is decreasing, but still women work in part-time jobs more than men do.

Since there is not enough data that can explain all variables compatibly and at all points, it is hard to say that women with higher education have a very good professional life, it is hard to see the net effect that education level has in professional life. However, the existing data show that the less education a person has, the more likely that person is unemployed, working in a part-time job and having an indetermined contract duration (CORIF, 2017). As education level increases, the revenues of the individuals' increase, the contribution to the economy increases parallelly. As men earn more money, on one hand, it is more profitable for the governments to invest in boys' education since for the girls, the cost of education is the same but the return is less. On the other hand, if it happens, inequality will be

reproduced through the government. In addition to this, in less egalitarian countries, the return on investment in education is higher since they are not using their sources at their potential level.

According to Parlaktuna (2010), the problems women face in the labor market based on their gender can be solved by the policies. According to Neo-Classical Discrimination Theory, the labor market is effective and every individual in the economy acts rationally. The supply-side human capital model is the most acceptable model for examining discrimination within the neoclassical economics framework. According to Parlaktuna (2010), the supply of formal jobs in developing countries is more than the number of educated people. If the gender proportion in the labor market and gender proportion in education are close to each other, then, it can be assumed that there is equality in the formal sector. A second observation is a situation called “inadequate participation dilemma”. Women are not equipped with enough skills so they have to work with low wages. This problem causing the dilemma of families willing to make less expenditure for their girls to invest their education, and since, in Turkey, education integrates women into the labor-force easily and closes the gap, this dilemma might cause a vicious cycle.

The level of education is a very important factor for equal pay. More education results in less gender pay gap. But it is one of the essential rights and everyone should get equal pay for the same job. In the beginning, a greater education level might change the imbalance because of its effects on the socioeconomic level; if girls get more education, then the girls from the next generation would get even more equal pay but also, the reasons of the discriminatory structure of labor market should be taken into account. In Turkey, even though women graduated from Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math (STEM) fields, the Honeypot index showed that even though 37,11% of tertiary STEM fields graduates are women, only 9,91% of people working in STEM fields are women (Honeypot, 2018).

According to İlkkaracan (2010), in 1980-90 the feminist economics literature focused on the lack of education and skills as the main obstacle women face when entering the labor market and pursuing the employment process and asserts the policies focused on increase in the educational level; at the end of the 1990s it involved focusing on the gender roles, gender division of labor, patriarchal family structure and the restrictions directed to women and emphasized the importance of the policies towards women

empowerment and transformation of traditional gender roles, while in the 2000s, holistic approaches about the subjects have stood out, examining the distribution of the gender roles shaped by burden of unpaid domestic labor along with legislations which regulate the labor market, institutional structurings in the public sphere linked with macroeconomic policies and the policy suggestions constituted according to those holistic approaches.

2.3. The Problems Women Face in Labor Market

According to Albelda (1997), labor market discrimination refers to negative treatment in hiring, during employment, and firing; not being able to get a job, having restricted job options and getting paid less than those in the suppressing group, compared to features that are not related to a person's ability or effort. It can result in people's withdrawal from the labor, since it decreases the opportunity cost of not working, if people think that they won't be hired, paid, promoted equally because of their group identity, they can drag to the alternatives they have, mostly it is unpaid domestic labor for women.

In some fields, women and men start equally in all terms. Then, the labor market discrimination can occur and women and men end up in different places with considerably high gaps. Therefore, labor market discrimination is the reason for the hiring discrimination, the wage gap, promotion discrimination, motherhood penalty, participation gap, firing discrimination and all combined with traditional gender patterns, wealth inequality.

2.3.1. Participation Gap

In the world, there is no country where the female labor force participation rate is higher than men (ILO,2019). Even the most egalitarian countries like Northern Europe has it. The participation gap is the difference between female and male labor force participation. In Turkey, women tend to stop working after they marry or after they have their first child. According to the research conducted by İpsos (2015), every 4 women out of 10 quit their job after getting married. It is a traditional pattern that women's movement is trying to preclude and manipulate towards the more egalitarian case. As a cultural and social factor, it is important to understand the motivation of the low female labor force participation rate to resolve it with proper policies.

Table 11: Career Breaks or Stop Work to Take Care of Children by Educational Attainment, April- June 2018

[18-64 age]

(Thousand person)

Educational attainment	Career breaks or stop work for childcare reasons									
	Total		Not worked for at least one month		Never took a break from working		Never worked for childcare reasons		Never worked for other reasons	
	Number	(%)	Number	(%)	Number	(%)	Number	(%)	Number	(%)
Male	16 476	100,0	156	0,9	16 184	98,2	-	-	136	0,8
Illiterate	288	100,0	1	0,3	266	92,5	-	-	21	7,2
Less than high school	9 993	100,0	99	1,0	9 834	98,4	-	-	60	0,6
High school	1 674	100,0	15	0,9	1 622	96,9	-	-	37	2,2
Vocational high school	1 774	100,0	17	0,9	1 748	98,5	-	-	9	0,5
Higher education	2 746	100,0	24	0,9	2 713	98,8	-	-	9	0,3
Female	18 815	100,0	2 241	11,9	12 836	68,2	248	1,3	3 490	18,5
Illiterate	2 289	100,0	69	3,0	1 643	71,8	22	1,0	555	24,2
Less than high school	11 627	100,0	664	5,7	8 377	72,1	185	1,6	2 401	20,6
High school	1 538	100,0	230	15,0	997	64,8	22	1,5	289	18,8
Vocational high school	1 143	100,0	215	18,8	770	67,3	13	1,2	145	12,7
Higher education	2 216	100,0	1 064	48,0	1 048	47,3	5	0,2	99	4,5

Source: TurkStat, **Reconciliation Between Work and Family Life, Quarter II, 2018**,
<http://tuik.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=kategorist>

According to Table 11, more women are taking a career break for childcare reasons; 248 thousand women are corresponding 1,3% of females from the sample who never worked for childcare reasons while there are no men in this section. 18,5% of women from the sample, doesn't work due to other reasons; according to Table 12, in 2018, 55% of women do not work to be housewives. Hence, combined with İpsos' research, one of the other reasons for the other reasons section might be marrying if the data is somehow compatible.

Table 12: Reasons for not Being in the Labor Force, 2004-2018
[15+ age]

(Thousand person)

		Reason							
		Not seeking a job, but available to start							
Year	Population not in labour force	Discouraged	Other ⁽¹⁾	Working seasonally	Housewife	Education/ Training	Retired	Disabled, old, ill etc.	Other
Male									
2004	6 903	207	352	114	-	2 000	2 559	1 081	589
2005	6 969	292	426	81	-	1 981	2 528	1 132	530
2006	7 258	364	527	83	-	2 035	2 587	1 202	462
2007	7 415	383	424	82	-	2 082	2 824	1 196	425
2008	7 440	371	460	72	-	2 086	2 806	1 270	375
2009	7 471	447	451	20	-	2 134	2 858	1 252	308
2010	7 544	416	462	15	-	2 210	2 847	1 238	355
2011	7 453	406	446	13	-	2 175	2 844	1 232	336
2012	7 804	479	463	13	-	2 256	2 959	1 277	358
2013	7 815	401	485	13	-	2 244	3 006	1 307	359
2014 ⁽²⁾	8 089	370	614	27	-	2 220	3 003	1 410	445
2015 ⁽²⁾	8 120	416	582	26	-	2 211	3 156	1 351	377
2016 ⁽²⁾	8 133	406	584	24	-	2 220	3 201	1 351	345
2017 ⁽²⁾	8 166	370	535	28	-	2 204	3 322	1 317	390
2018 ⁽²⁾	8 206	311	512	55	-	2 148	3 406	1 344	429
Female									
2004	18 624	104	438	270	13 042	1 417	565	1 803	984
2005	18 936	194	651	310	12 703	1 472	584	1 966	1 056
2006	19 164	261	758	259	12 409	1 553	651	2 096	1 179
2007	19 464	229	706	207	12 124	1 598	695	2 029	1 875
2008	19 526	241	778	243	12 186	1 670	682	2 144	1 582
2009	19 466	310	854	67	12 101	1 832	763	2 143	1 397
2010	19 357	300	835	49	11 914	1 912	730	2 156	1 461
2011	19 414	271	821	50	11 872	2 043	772	2 174	1 410
2012	19 581	212	840	51	11 992	2 153	836	2 182	1 316
2013	19 524	237	956	37	11 463	2 221	831	2 360	1 419
2014 ⁽²⁾	20 111	246	1 255	67	11 589	2 250	824	2 512	1 368
2015 ⁽²⁾	20 056	260	1 144	68	11 498	2 275	926	2 527	1 359
2016 ⁽²⁾	20 052	252	1 177	64	11 098	2 320	958	2 685	1 498
2017 ⁽²⁾	20 085	267	1 092	58	11 133	2 263	1 045	2 692	1 535
2018 ⁽²⁾	20 174	236	1 112	100	11 061	2 324	1 130	2 696	1 515

(1) These were the persons who were not seeking a job for reasons such as being seasonal workers, busy with household chores, student, property income earner, retired, or disabled, but available to start a job.

(2) Series are not comparable with the previous years due to the new arrangements made since 2014.

Source: TurkStat, **Labour Force Statistics**, 2004-2013, 2014-2018
<http://tuik.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=kategorist>

One of the main problems concerning labor force in Turkey is that being a member of 15+ aged, people, especially women rather not to work. There are significant gender differences in the numbers and causes of those who do not participate. 28 million 380 thousand people in Turkey are not seeking for a job, but in the working-age population (15-64); 20 million 174 thousand of female and 8 million 206 thousand of male. As can be seen from Table 12, the main reasons for women (for 11 million 61 thousand of women) to not to work are taking care of the house works, childcare and elderly care (housewife) followed by being disabled, ill, old, etc. (2 million 696 thousand) and education/training (2 million 324 thousand) while the main reasons of not working for men are being retired (3 million 406 thousand), followed by education/training (2 million 148 thousand) and being disabled, old, ill, etc. (1 million 344 thousand). Also,

the decreasing number of women whose main motivation for not working is to become a housewife can be explained by increasing female labor force participation.

One reason is a negotiation between partners; say, the one with more income would work, the other stay home. Since there is a horizontal and vertical dissolution against women in working life, women are the ones staying home, taking care of the child/ren. The other reason is that sometimes having a childcare service's opportunity cost can be equal to or greater than women's salaries. Combined with the negotiation, women stay home to take care of their children in opposition to their partners (Ferber, 2003). According to Ferber (2003), the inadequate benefit of women's labor will probably diminish and maximize household benefit in both ways; if the women who have little interest to do paid work and have very few marketable talents in the labor market marry men whose skills are highly valued in the labor market, their household utility maximizes. But if both work and pay for the care services for the housework and childcare, it diminishes. Therefore, the ideal match would be between a woman who has that kind of education and background, which will probably make her a good housewife and a gifted host in the house with a well-trained man whose labor is more valuable in the labor market. Conversely, a woman who acquires a highly rewarded human capital in the labor market must marry a man who has no relative advantage in the labor market and is therefore expected to do good housework. Instead, Ferber (2003) saw that highly educated men and women tend to marry each other. This is undoubtedly a result of the fact that such young people are more likely to meet each other, but at the same time, men and women are more interested in enjoying the friendship of individuals who have their interests, pleasures, and concerns, rather than maximizing the economic gain from marriage. In that case, in Turkey the overall female education level is lower than in men, in all reason, the majority of women would get to marry a man with a higher education level besides the marriages where the couple has the same education level. Therefore, according to Ferber (2003), it is understandable that the negotiation of the couple would result in detriment to the one with less education level who would end up being dependent on the other economically because of being withdrawn from working life. In the second case where the couples have a similar education level, it is a fact that women stay home rather than men. Even if specialization leads to maximum income to the household, the household utility is not maximized, since the model does not take the diminishing marginal utility for each

type of work into account, as it ignores the benefit or inefficiency associated with the work itself. However, an individual who likes to do a particular type of job will get less pleasure as they keep doing the same job over and over; and if they didn't like the job in the first place, the boredom would become even more intense (Ferber, 2003).

2.3.2. The Wage Gap

It is essential to get an equal wage for the same occupation with similar characteristics regardless of their race, gender, beliefs, etc. is prohibited by laws. When people are not guaranteed equal pay, it can result in people's withdrawal from the labor force since the opportunity cost of not working decreases.

According to OECD data (OECD, 2017), the difference in median wages in detriment to women was 13,8% which women, on average, make 13,8% less than men in every hour worked. The difference is 6,9% in Turkey. That difference might be explained by the female labor force participation rate and employment rate, also social structure in the countries and by the difference of the companies' transparency while gathering data that should be interrogated in the presence of correspondent data sets. Even though the results concerning many headlines and relationships between measures (education and salary) are similar, the percentages are different due to gender norms which are affected by the differences in the cultures.

According to Aktaş & Uysal (2017) concerning the minimum wage, since the minimum income, is the same for everyone and people can obtain the minimum income level with a lower level of education, the wage gap is lower than the gap the women who have a higher level of education. Aktaş & Uysal (2017) concluded that women earn 8 percent less in the median by using quantile regressions, which could examine the relationship between the whole wage distribution and the gender gap. They also saw that at the top of the wage distribution, women earn 4.5 percent less than men when they checked the differences in basic labor market characteristics, such as education and job experience. The results of the decomposition revealed that the inexplicable part of the gender gap was greater than that observed in the raw data. Methods used while calculating the wage gap affects the results. Tekgüç et al. (2017) investigated the gender wage gap based on an educational level for full-time formal sector employees, to understand the real gender wage gap of which is formed by comparing men and women who have the same/similar educational level as in CORIF

study held in France the same year. In the study, Tekgüç et al. (2017) first created homogeneous sub-groups disaggregated by educational level. According to their output, the wage gap was 13% without disaggregating the population into education groups, but by doing so they found that in full-time formal employment, it was 9% for women with higher education and 24% for less-educated women. It is harder for less-educated women to work in a decent job. In the frictional unemployment process, they would be looking for more egalitarian companies to work with. But since less educated women earn less, they don't have a chance to quit the work just because they think there is a wage gap unless they are entitled to have unemployment benefits. Their opportunity cost of looking for a better job is higher for less-educated women. Women working in Turkey, in general, are from more egalitarian families where working women conceived as normal, from families where head of the house is disabled or dead, without any received social transfer or retirement pension, which results in women working and sustain the expenses of the household or from families with very low-income level where the household wouldn't be able to sustain without women working. According to TurkStat statistics, women are more likely to work if they have tertiary education (see Table 10).

Table 13: Gender Pay Gap by Educational Level, 2014

Education level	Annually average gross wage (TL)			Gender pay gap
	Total	Male	Female	(%)
Total	26.032	26.002	26.113	-0,4
Primary school and below	17.943	18.691	15.321	18,0
Primary education and secondary school	17.879	18.433	15.593	15,4
High school	20.207	20.712	18.831	9,1
Vocational high school	26.217	27.342	22.010	19,5
Higher education	46.729	50.468	41.490	17,8

Source: TurkStat, Structure of Earnings Survey, 2014, <http://tuik.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=kategorist>

Table 13 shows that, in 2014, the gender pay gap is 18% for women with primary school and below educational level, 15,4% for female primary and secondary education graduates, 9,1% for female high school graduates, 19,5% for female vocational school graduates and 17,8% for women with higher education level.

It shouldn't be ignored the fact that the wage gap is at the current level although women participate in the labor force much less than their male counterparts. Considering the kind of jobs women work which are concentrated mainly in the services sector with low positions, if women participated equally, the gap would have been even wider. According to Antoine Math (2014)'s evaluation, the wage gap is 37% and since the employment rate of men is 13% higher than women in France in 2012; it is even more $1,37 \times 1,13 = 1,55$. *"The annual remuneration for the women in employment is 27% inferior to men, or, for men, it is 37% superior to women which are the bottom of the range of estimates of the gap. But this estimation wouldn't be that reliable since the working rate is lower for women."* He indicated that in the working-age population, the employment rate for men is %13 higher than women, so does the economic activity rate. In total, the cost for women in their active age if the working rate was the same with men's, the difference would be even more significant; 37%. If we reconsider the employment rate of the men is 13% more and they earn 37% more than women; it would correspond to an increase of their overall income by a factor $1.37 \times 1.13 = 1.55$, or 55%. *"It is huge but accurate"* (CORIF, 2017). Even though it would be pretentious considering the method used would differ across the countries, if we were to apply this evaluation in Turkey since the difference in the employment rate for women in 2017 is %38,4 inferior to men according to the National Statistics Institute of Turkey (2017). Taking the wage gap in 2016 as 8% as in the study conducted by Aktaş & Uysal (2017); $1,384 \times 1,08 = 1,495$, or %49. Math also points out that wage inequality would affect the retirement fees; therefore, the gap is even wider than it is thought. If there weren't any differences in terms of wages, thus the salaries, pensions, unemployment benefits, the economic activity rate and the years of working; there wouldn't be wage inequality (Math, 2014). This is an important statement to interiorize since it is acknowledged that because of the cultural structures of the societies, the inequalities arise and they affect the members of the society's life and the future of the society. Considering the pensions and unemployment benefits are derived from the salary and the economic activity rate is affected by the potential discrimination people would face while

working, so the years of working. In Turkey, because of the cultural code imposed on society, as in many countries, women are the essential caregivers both to the children and to the elderly. That's why many women are quitting their job after they give birth in the case where the household's budget is at the break-even point for a professional caregiver, women stay home to sustain the household's budget. In the case where the parents want their children to be raised by them without a professional caregiver because of insecurities towards the professionals and costly childcare services, women stay home and men work. This behavior takes many problems with itself: when women quit their job after they get married or give birth, because of the long period of being gotten away from their working life, they face the probability of missing the developments in their field and as it is hard to integrate to work-life after a long break, they don't get involved in the social security system after paid maternal leave, they tend to pay their insurance premium from the lowest level or rather paying for social insurance, not the premium since it is cheaper. That's why in Turkey, in the process of looking for a job, the most important criteria for women is corporateness while for men, it is career opportunities (PwC, 2018). The reason for that statement might be the case in Turkey; while corporate firms guarantee more equal wages, the low scaled and family companies do not guarantee that.

Table 14: Gross Annual Wages, by Job Groups and Gender Pay Gap, 2014

Job groups	Annually average gross wage			Gender pay gap ⁽¹⁾
	Total	Male	Female	(%)
Managers	76.618	78.045	72.486	7,1
Professionals	53.576	58.761	47.500	19,2
Junior professionals	31.739	32.601	29.872	8,4
Clerical employees	24.308	24.947	23.546	5,6
Service and sales workers	18.192	18.593	17.223	7,4
Qualified agriculture, husbandry, hunting, forestry and fishing	18.185	19.266	15186,6	21,2
Artists and related workers	20.121	20.623	16.712	19,0
Machine and plant operators and installers	19.250	19.962	15.478	22,5
Non-qualified workers	16.561	16.979	15.342	9,6

⁽¹⁾ Gender pay gap methods of calculation; (male wages/female wages)/male wages*100

Source: TurkStat, **Structure of Earnings Survey,** 2014, <http://tuik.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=kategorist>

Table 14 represents the gender pay gap in terms of gross annual wages. The field of which the wage gap felt the most is machine and plant operators and installers by 22,5% followed by qualified agriculture, husbandry, hunting, forestry by 21,2%, professionals by 19,2%, artists and related workers by 19%, non-qualified workers by 9,6%, junior professionals by 8,4%, service and sales workers by 7,4%, managers by 7,1% and the most egalitarian position is clerical employees by 5,6%.

Table 15: Employment by Occupational Group, 2012-2018

[15+ age]

(Thousand person)					
Occupation (ISCO 08)					
Year	Employed	Managers	Professionals	Technicians and associate professionals	Clerical support workers
Male					
2004	14 585	1 676	861	751	680
2008	5 258	1 677	799	1 035	822
2011	17 137	1 770	1 047	969	930
2014 ⁽¹⁾	18 244	1 160	1 347	1 032	999
2018 ⁽¹⁾	19 720	1 267	1 564	1 258	1 145
Female					
2004	5 047	126	427	311	431
2008	5 595	183	522	471	584
2011	6 973	204	661	479	736
2014 ⁽¹⁾	7 689	179	1 035	360	732
2018 ⁽¹⁾	9 018	220	1 434	459	866

Year	Service and sales workers	Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers	Craft and related trades workers	Plant and machine operators and assemblers	Elementary occupations
Male					
2004	1 746	2 826	2 557	1 812	356
2008	2 005	2 331	2 736	2 075	548
2011	2 239	2 743	2 814	2 191	745
2014 ⁽¹⁾	3 367	2 574	3 253	2 140	2 370
2018 ⁽¹⁾	3 684	2 574	3 395	2 441	2 392
Female					
2004	356	2 141	335	195	725
2008	548	1 790	287	207	1 002
2011	745	2 158	360	239	1 391
2014 ⁽¹⁾	1 385	1 750	437	273	1 538
2018 ⁽¹⁾	1 901	1 532	489	308	1 810

(1) Series are not comparable with the previous years due to the new arrangements made since 2014.

Source: TurkStat, Labour Force Statistics, 2004-2011, 2012-2018, <http://tuik.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=kategorist>

The composition of occupations of women and men working from the one with the highest wage gap to the least is as follows; on average between 2004 and 2011, in machine and plant operators and installers occupational group, men are working 8,2 times of women followed by skilled agriculture, husbandry, hunting, forestry 1,5 times of women, professionals by 1,2 times of women, artists and related workers 7,5 times of women, non-qualified workers 1,4 times of women, service and sales workers 2,3 times of women, managers 6,1 times of women and for clerical employees 7,5 times of women. Women work the most in skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery occupations followed by elementary occupations, occupations concerning service and sales, as professionals, clerical support occupations, craft, and related trades occupations, as technicians and associate professionals, plant machine operators, and assemblers' occupations and lastly, manager positions.

2.3.3. Gender Division of Labor in Turkey

Gender division of labor is different orientations to the varieties of labor caused by gender roles. Gender division of labor in the labor market is horizontal segregation of labor in vocational and sectoral distribution. It is caused by gender roles and reproduces itself throughout the years.

Women are intuitively perceived as caregivers while men are perceived as breadwinners. Parlaktuna (2010) also emphasizes the identities of women when they have participated in the labor force. There seem to be such identities of women like a mother, housewife, and a wife is the identities causing discrimination. These identities are the reason for the attribution of certain jobs to women. Women with lower education are suffering from gender-based discrimination more. Traditional values can be changed with a different point of views in the education process. To attain a higher education level for girls, government intervention is essential until the goal is achieved. Then, it would balance itself with increasing socioeconomic levels resulting in higher education for girls.

Table 16: Number of Students in Higher Education by Field of Education, 2015-2018

(Population of 6 years of age and over)

Educational year	Information and Communication Technologies	Humanities&Arts	Natural Sciences, Mathematics and Statistics	Education	Services
Male					
2015-2016	9 503	189 991	59 130	100 109	58 882
2016-2017	5 112	204 584	57 695	99 976	67 639
2017-2018	5 834	222 718	59 246	101 338	69 105
Female					
2015-2016	3 769	259 834	60 712	170 474	27 866
2016-2017	1 503	280 925	59 985	167 270	39 911
2017-2018	1 655	302 765	62 817	169 343	42 382

Educational year	Business, Administration and Law	Engineering, Manufacturing and Construction	Health and Welfare	Social Sciences, Journalism and Information	Agriculture, Forestry, Fisheries and Veterinary
Male					
2015-2016	986 369	306 460	82 494	301 597	28 466
2016-2017	998 895	332 110	88 401	318 550	29 104
2017-2018	1 014 550	360 018	94 530	335 134	30 069
Female					
2015-2016	659 849	127 685	142 273	310 937	13 713
2016-2017	681 360	136 517	157 446	330 093	14 061
2017-2018	693 944	145 558	170 285	346 043	14 507

Source: TurkStat, Higher Education Council, 2015-2018,

<http://tuik.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=kategorist>

As can be seen from Table 16, female students tend to choose the fields related to social sciences and health care while male students tend to choose natural sciences which also happens to be the fields of which pays more. The exception is the table is agriculture, forestry, fisheries and veterinary which doesn't have a high difference. Because of the gender norms, it is more likely for boys to choose STEM fields than girls. It is a vicious cycle that could be prevented by the intervention of government or awareness-raising campaigns of non-governmental organizations (NGOs). In the female-dominated fields where women have higher education, women earn less than the high educated men in male-dominated fields and women working in male-dominated fields earn much more less than male counterparts and more than other women working in other fields while men working in female-dominated fields earn even more than female counterparts but earn less than men working in other fields.

From which it can be seen that, again, male-dominated fields are much more worthy than female-dominated fields. This is where the segregation starts. The composition of the fields according to the education level differs parallelly to gender norms. For instance, according to Pôle Emploi data, women who work in the technician field are more educated than their male counterparts (CORIF, 2017).

2018 Labor Market Research which is conducted by the Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Services (2018) between 2 April-11 May 2018 by visiting workplaces with 2-9, 10-19 and 20+ employees to obtain results across the sample taken. A complete census was conducted in 77 provinces for the workplaces and a sample was conducted in 4 provinces which employ more than 20 employees. Data covering 1 million 295 thousand 77 overall in the workplace has compiled all across Turkey. It was found that 10 million 619 thousand 386 employees working in 1 million 295 thousand 77 workplaces. When the employment status is analyzed by sectors; 10,619,386 people, 7,895,185 of whom are male and 2,724,201 of them are employed in the workplaces covered by the research, and the number of female employees working in the “human health and social service activities” and “education” sectors is higher than the number of male employees in those sectors. In all other sectors, the number of male employees is higher than the number of female employees. The three sectors with the highest number of employees were “manufacturing”, “wholesale and retail trade” and “construction”, respectively. The sector with the least number of employees is water supply; sewerage, waste management, and remediation activities sector. The number of male employees in these occupational groups is more than the number of female employees. The occupational group with the highest proportion of female employees is employed in office services with 48.2 percent, followed by professionals with 36.6 percent. Craftsmen and related workers are the fields that have the most employees working in are followed by the plant and machine operators, installers and service and sales personnel. The occupational group where most of the women work is professionals. Approximately 1 out of 5 women employees are in this occupational group. Women work intensively in occupations that do not require qualifications as office services employees, salespeople, plant and machine operators and installers (more than 10 percent). Profession groups where men work most (more than 10 percent) are craftsmen and related workers, plant and machine operators and installers, service and salespeople, professionals and non-qualified professions. The gender

division of labor is obvious. In total, 5 thousand 440 different professions are employed, while men are employed in 5 thousand 298 different professions, women are employed in 3 thousand 761 different professions. For the first time, the call center representatives, customer representatives, packaging worker, and cashier professions for women, and the plasterer for men were the most frequently employed professions. Nine out of the first 20 professions where men and women work most are common.

STEM is a part of our everyday lives. We wash our hands, we cook, we use products which are designed thanks to STEM. STEM is an educational approach where the aim is to detect problems, create practical and creative solutions to them with a multidisciplinary approach by uniting science, technology, engineering and maths from preschool to tertiary education.

We witness fast developing information flow in the globalized world every day. To adapt, we need to change our educational system. Is it normal to use an educational system which was created a century ago? STEM education aims to invest young brains to reach sustainable inclusive development, innovative environment and to create added value to the economy and society.

However, with already generated and practiced gender roles for the centuries, today, in the 21st century, still, boys tend to enroll in STEM education more than girls do and girls enrolling in social sciences more. Having studied in a STEM field teaches young women to have greater self-confidence, to ask, and not giving up. They know that they can have career and family together and that those are not an obstacle for a woman to be a scientist.

The problem is that, as it is stated before, STEM education generates added value to the society and the economy, additionally, since STEM education has more return in terms of wages, men in the society, overall, earn more than women. Moreover, it is found that in France, men in the male-dominated fields as STEM, earn more than their women counterparts so do men in female-dominated fields and men in female-dominated fields earn less than men in male-dominated fields.

Hence, how we can relate the gender pay gap to STEM education? We can simply investigate the gap between the fields of education. On the other hand, in Turkey, gender roles are being practiced differently than in many countries in Europe. The fact can be revealed by the differences in unemployment benefits

According to Honeypot 2018 Women in Technology index, Turkey has the highest girl enrollment to STEM education (%37.11) among 41 countries including OECD countries and the US. Honeypot co-founder Emma Tracey. Additionally, Turkey has the lowest STEM wage gap amongst OECD countries. On the other hand, Turkey has the lowest labor participation of women by 31,55%. *"Even though Turkish women have cultural barriers to work, the ones working in STEM fields get more equalitarian wages than in Germany and England (Intellinews, 2018)."*

Since STEM field is and going to be the most economically rewarding platform of today and the future, it is so important to empower women to choose and work in those fields. According to the statistics, Turkey's performance in women in STEM is promising.

According to Schwab, Samans, Zahidi, Leopold, & Ratcheva (2017), there is no gender pay gap in STEM fields. According to Honeypot (2018), a start-up committed to promoting women in technology fields, women labor participation is 31,55% in 2018 and the median gender pay gap is 6,88%. Women's employment in technology is 9,91%. While the average revenue in the technology field is 50,335 US dollars, the revenue of women working in the technology field is 46,098 US dollars and difference of women in the workforce and women in tech is 21.64% in detriment to women even though female STEM graduates are 37.11% of total STEM graduates (Honeypot, 2018).

According to the Accenture (2017) Report, surveyed 28000 women and men in 29 countries, it seems that in the developed markets, equal pay would be reached by 2044. According to the report, for the equality to be reached, there are three steps to be followed and accomplished which are; digital fluency, which would enable people to be connected, and thanks to that, women labor would be increased. According to Accenture, digital fluency, itself, can drop the gender pay gap by 21% by 2030. Secondly, thanks to the dissemination of career strategies, women can tend to choose STEM fields more which would increase their power more, therefore having less pay gap considering Turkey has one of the lowest pay gaps in technology in the Honeypot Index. Thirdly, dissemination of technology would allow women to obtain less gender pay gap by increasing their digital and technological competence. According to the report, accomplishing those three strategies might decrease the gender pay gap by 35% which would give 4 trillion US dollars in the countenance of women. According to the

report, developing countries can reach an equal pay goal by 2066 by accomplishing those strategies.

Table 17: Average Activity Time Spent on Paid Work and Unpaid Domestic Work by Sex, 2006, 2014-2015

[15+ age]

(Hours)						
Year	Unpaid domestic work			Paid work and unpaid domestic		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
2006	03:05	00:51	05:17	05:52	05:18	06:25
2014-2015	02:45	00:53	04:35	05:34	05:17	05:51

Source: TurkStat, **Time Use Survey,** 2006, 2014-2015,
<http://tuik.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=kategorist>

According to Table 18, about the unpaid domestic work in 2006, men spent 51 minutes doing housework while it was 3 hours 5 minutes for women; in 2015, men spent increased to 53 minutes while women's time spent on housework decreased to 2 hours 45 minutes. For paid work and unpaid domestic work, in 2006 men spent 5 hours 18 minutes while it was 6 hours 25 minutes for women. In 2015 it was 5 hours 17 minutes for men and women, it increased to 5 hours 51 minutes. Consequently, women work more and are paid less.

Table 18: The Distribution of Activities Done or Participated During the Last Four Weeks by Sex, 2014-2015

[10+ - age]

	(%)		
Activity name	Total	Male	Female
Going to cinema	9,8	10,8	8,8
Going to theatre	1,7	1,6	1,8
Going to concert	2,2	2,3	2,1
Going to art exhibition, museum etc.	1,4	1,3	1,4
Going to library	3,1	2,8	3,3
Participating in sports activities as a spectator	3,5	5,9	1,2
Visiting relatives	69,9	68,3	71,4
Visiting friends	55,7	55,1	56,4
Going to kermis, fair, festival etc.	3,5	3,2	3,8
Picnic	12,8	13,6	12,1
Reading book	34,2	30,2	38,2
Reading newspaper, magazine etc.	39,4	48,8	30,1
Watching TV	94,6	95,6	93,6
Listening to radio	39,6	43,2	36,1
Going to places of entertainment and socializing (bakeries, coffee shops, cafes, bars, taverns, etc.)	28,8	38,6	19,2
Going to internet cafe	4,0	7,1	1,0
Going around shopping mall	40,5	42,8	38,3
Daily tours, participating to nature walks	2,1	2,3	1,9
Spending time on social media	33,9	41,7	26,2
Solving puzzles, sudoku etc.	13,0	15,5	10,6
Knitting, patchwork, sewing, embroidery, wood painting	12,7	0,4	24,8
Other	0,2	0,3	0,2

Source: TurkStat, **Time Use Survey**, 2014-2015,
<http://tuik.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=kategorist>

The notion of gender shows itself even in the preferences of time use. Table 19 shows that women tend to prefer the activities traditionally assigned as women's role which is constraining women in their houses as knitting, sewing, reading a book, visiting

relatives and men tend to prefer activities corresponding to men's roles like solving puzzles, sudoku, reading the newspaper, magazine and going to places of entertainment and socializing. It can be said that men are guiding the public space while it is a private, personal space for women. As feminist doctrine implies; the personal is political.

Table 19: Persons Responsible for Household Chores by, in Turkey by Sex, 2016

Turkey									%
Cooking			Painting the house			Paying monthly bills			
Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	
96,9	8,8	91,2	49,0	80,4	19,6	95,1	77,7	22,3	
Basic needlework (sewing, buttons etc.)			Serving tea in the evenings			Laying and cleaning the table			
Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	
93,7	7,6	92,4	97,8	10,7	89,3	98,0	10,1	89,9	
Daily ordering/cleaning the house			Weekly/monthly cleaning of the house			Daily shopping for food and beverage			
Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	
97,1	8,7	91,3	90,9	8,0	92,0	96,8	45,5	54,5	
Dishes (even if dishwasher available)			Basic maintenance and repair			Ironing			
Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	
97,5	9,2	90,8	80,6	88,9	11,1	89,6	10,3	89,7	

Source: TurkStat, 2019, <http://tuik.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=kategorist>

As can be seen from Table 19, housework is gendered; cooking, laundry, basic needlework, serving tea in the evenings, laying and cleaning the table, daily ordering/cleaning the house, weekly/monthly cleaning of the house, washing the dishes and ironing predominantly made by women; basic maintenance and repair, paying monthly bills, painting the house are predominantly made by men while daily shopping for food and beverage seems to be a common responsibility. It is also a fact that 90,8% of the housework is done by a household member and 71,2% of the

housework is done by women (87,2% when the monthly or annually housework such as painting the house and paying the bills are excluded from the average).

Table 20: Daycare of Kids in Turkey, 2016

						(%)	
	Total	Mother	Grandmother	Nursery or kindergarden	Nanny	Other close relatives or neighbor	Having more than one day care
Turkey	100,0	86,0	7,4	2,8	1,5	1,3	1,0

Source: TurkStat, 2016, <http://tuik.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=kategorist>

Table 20 shows that, in Turkey, 86% of children are given daycare by their mother followed by grandmother, 7,4%, nursery or kindergarden by 2,8%, other close relatives or neighbors by 1,3% and having more than one daycare by 1%.

2.3.4. Glass Ceiling

Another important problem is that, worldwide, the executive positions predominantly held by men. Glass ceiling is the vertical job segregation women face in their working lives. Glass ceiling is a sad reality, a universal issue and a frustrating experience for women. Therefore, women's decision-making mechanism is lacking. While men are represented at higher levels, they are paid higher wages while women with the same characteristics work at lower levels and receive fewer wages.

Table 21: Share of Employed who are Managers by Sex, Turkey and the OECD Average, 2011 – 2017

Indicator		Share of employed who are managers, by sex						
Age Group		Total						
Unit		Percentage						
Time		2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Country	Sex							
Turkey	Men	8,2	7,5	6,2	6,4	6,5	6,3	6,2
	Women	2,5	2,5	2,4	2,3	2,3	2,5	2,4
OECD - Average	Men	8	7,9	8	8	8	7,9	7,8
	Women	4,6	4,6	4,6	4,7	4,7	4,8	4,7

Source: OECD, **Employment**, 2011-2017, <http://tuik.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=kategorist>

Table 21 represents the share of managers in the employed group. When comparing turkey with the OECD average, it can be seen that the average difference between male and female managers in Turkey is 4,3% on average between 2011 and 2017, while it is 3,27% for the OECD average. There are 1% more female managers in the OECD Average.

Table 22: Distribution of Individuals in Senior and Middle Management Positions by Sex, 2012-2018

	(%)		
Year	Total	Male	Female
2012	100,0	85,6	14,4
2013	100,0	83,4	16,6
2014	100,0	84,5	15,5
2015	100,0	85,6	14,4
2016	100,0	83,3	16,7
2017	100,0	82,7	17,3
2018	100,0	83,7	16,3

Source: TurkStat, **Household Labour Force Survey,** 2012-2018, <http://tuik.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=kategorist>

As can be seen from Table 22, between 2012 and 2018, men are 68,2% more represented in senior and middle management positions. Even though women in senior and middle management positions increased by 1,9%, in 2018, there is still 67,4% of the difference in 2018.

Table 23: Distribution of Individuals in Management positions by Sex, 2012-2018

		(%)	
Year	Total	Male	Female
2012	100,0	87,8	12,2
2013	100,0	85,5	14,5
2014	100,0	86,6	13,4
2015	100,0	86,8	13,2
2016	100,0	84,9	15,1
2017	100,0	85,0	15,0
2018	100,0	85,2	14,8

Source: TurkStat, **Household Labour Force Survey,** 2012-2018, <http://tuik.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=kategorist>

Between 2012 and 2018, men are, on average, 72% more represented management positions while the difference on average is 67,4% for senior and middle management positions, it can be said that the difference is caused by junior managers being predominantly male.

2.3.5. Wealth Inequality

Wealth inequality is the difference in wealth between men and women. In many countries, there is a sociological phenomenon of leaving a legacy to the son though, in some of the countries, they have the right to share the legacy equally not regarding their gender. Hence, men got to accumulate the capital through the years. Therefore, women have an obligation to marry to live comfortably.

In Forbes' Annual World's Billionaire Rankings, out of 2208 billionaires, only 256 are women. 72 out of 256 female billionaires are self-made billionaires. In the top 20, there are only 2 women and in the top 10, there are no women (Forbes, 2018).

Table 24: Registered Property/Vehicles on Individuals

Rate of registered real estate / vehicles on individuals by sex (%)	Male	Female
None	39,6	80,2
Detached house / flat	28,3	11,5
Workplace (office, shop)	3,1	0,7
Land, field, vineyard garden etc.	13,2	5,2
Cars (special use)	14,4	2,2
Other	0,2	0,1
Tractor, yacht etc.	1,3	0,1

Source: TurkStat, **Family Structure Survey**, 2006, <http://tuik.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=kategorist>

As can be seen from Table 24, women are outcompeted men in no property title and men own more every type of property in Turkey. It could be related to traditional practices due to the traditional gender role patterns. But also, as mentioned in the sections above, women participate less in the labor force, hence less in employment and more in unemployment under the labor market where the labor market discrimination such as the wage gap, glass ceiling, and motherhood penalty exist. Therefore, it is harder for women to buy properties with their earned money.

2.3.6. Feminization of Labor

As the female participation in the labor force increases, women are placed less and less decent work without guarantee; informal sector rather than formal sector, part-time and jobs with flexible working hours rather than full-time jobs, private sector rather than public sector, agricultural sector rather than non-agricultural sector which put women in more vulnerable positions in the patriarchal societies.

Table 25: Informal Employment as a Percentage of Agriculture and Non-Agricultural Employment by Sex, 2007-2018

[15+ age]

Year	(%)					
	Agriculture			Non-agriculture		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
2007	88,1	78,5	99,0	32,3	32,4	32,2
2008	87,8	77,8	99,1	29,8	30,0	28,9
2009	85,9	77,0	96,2	30,1	29,7	31,3
2010	85,5	75,7	96,1	29,1	28,6	30,8
2011	83,9	72,5	96,2	27,8	27,2	29,8
2012	83,6	72,6	96,0	24,5	23,7	27,1
2013	83,3	71,7	96,3	22,4	21,2	26,0
2014	82,3	71,8	94,4	22,3	21,1	25,9
2015	81,2	70,2	94,0	21,2	20,2	24,1
2016	82,1	72,2	94,3	21,7	20,8	24,2
2017	83,3	74,4	94,2	22,1	21,0	24,9
2018	82,7	76,2	90,9	22,3	21,2	24,9

Source: TurkStat, **Household Labour Force Survey**, 2007-2018,
<http://tuik.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=kategorist>

In informal employment, women are both more involved than men overall. In the agricultural sector, women are 21,3% more in informal employment on average between 2007-2018 and it is 2,7% more for the non-agricultural sector. From the previous tables, it is seen that women are more in agricultural employment and more in unpaid family work in agriculture.

Table 26: Economic Activity by Years and Sex, 2014-2018

[15+ age]	(Thousand person)					
Years	Male			Female		
	Industry			Industry		
	Agriculture	(*)	Service	Agriculture	(*)	Service
NACE Rev.2						
2014	16,1	32,4	51,5	32,9	17,1	50,0
2015	15,9	32,0	52,1	31,4	16,2	52,5
2016	15,5	31,6	53,0	28,7	15,9	55,4
2017	15,4	31,4	53,2	28,3	15,6	56,1
2018	14,9	31,6	53,5	26,1	16,0	57,9

Note 1) Total figures may not be exact due to the rounding of the numbers,

2) Sample size is too small for reliable estimates for figures less than construction sector

Source: TurkStat, **Labour Force Statistics,** 2014-2018,
<http://tuik.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=kategorist>

According to Table 26, women are 13,9% more in agriculture, 15,6% less in industry, 1,7% more in the service sector on an average of 5 years in the formal sector. It is compatible with Table 27 in terms of the agricultural sector, but the fact that women are 2,7% more in informal non-agricultural sector and women working less in formal non-agricultural sector women working less and it shows that women are more in a less secure position in the working life.

Table 27: Employment by the Status of the Workplace, 2004-2018

[15+ age)

					(Thousand person)
Year	Total employment	Field	Fixed place	Mobile, irregular	Home
Male					
2004 ⁽¹⁾	14 585	3 085	9 825	1 649	27
2005 ⁽¹⁾	14 958	2 713	10 648	1 574	23
2006 ⁽¹⁾	15 165	2 539	11 164	1 440	22
2007 ⁽¹⁾	15 382	2 515	11 419	1 426	21
2008	15 598	2 584	11 603	1 394	17
2009	15 406	2 721	11 332	1 326	26
2010	16 170	2 886	11 968	1 295	20
2011	17 137	3 108	12 547	1 448	33
2012	17 512	3 125	12 804	1 547	36
2013	17 884	3 089	13 200	1 563	32
2014 ⁽²⁾	18 244	2 860	13 656	1 673	55
2015 ⁽²⁾	18 563	2 844	14 033	1 629	57
2016 ⁽²⁾	18 893	2 821	14 326	1 679	66
2017 ⁽²⁾	19 460	2 894	14 781	1 717	69
2018 ⁽²⁾	19 720	2 849	15 163	1 647	61
Female					
2004 ⁽¹⁾	5 047	2 559	2 203	65	220
2005 ⁽¹⁾	5 108	2 359	2 428	68	253
2006 ⁽¹⁾	5 258	2 283	2 662	70	242
2007 ⁽¹⁾	5 356	2 279	2 802	60	215
2008	5 595	2 339	2 961	78	216
2009	5 871	2 433	3 054	66	318
2010	6 425	2 701	3 271	60	393
2011	6 973	2 915	3 587	59	412
2012	7 309	2 845	3 973	57	434
2013	7 641	2 800	4 271	53	517
2014 ⁽²⁾	7 689	2 507	4 608	65	509
2015 ⁽²⁾	8 059	2 486	5 002	74	497
2016 ⁽²⁾	8 312	2 349	5 345	73	545
2017 ⁽²⁾	8 729	2 437	5 580	85	627
2018 ⁽²⁾	9 018	2 319	5 965	88	646

(1) Data from 2004 are weighted by the renewed population projections.

(2) Series are not comparable with the previous years due to the new arrangements made since 2014.

Source: TurkStat, Labour Force Statistics, 2004-2018,
<http://tuik.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=kategorist>

Table 27 represents employment with the status of the workplace. On average men are 2,5 more in total employment. Women working from home are 11,37 times more than men on average while men working mobile, irregular is, on average, 22,87 times more than women. As can be seen from Table 34, it is obvious that women are less in working life and the status of workplaces is compatible with assigned gender roles.

Table 28: Employment by Status in Employment (Agriculture-Non-agriculture), 2004-2018

[15+ age]

(Thousand person)										
Agriculture					Non-Agriculture					
	Regular employee/ Casual	Own account worker	Unpaid family worker			Regular employee/ Casual	Own account worker	Unpaid family worker		
	Total	employee	Employer			Total	employee	Employer		
Male										
2004	3 148	264	74	2 028	782	11 437	8 166	876	2 053	342
2005	2 787	271	82	1 836	598	12 171	8 696	969	2 186	320
2006	2 613	272	82	1 749	509	12 552	9 086	1 010	2 147	309
2007	2 578	257	69	1 761	493	12 803	9 469	1 046	2 008	281
2008	2 663	264	90	1 812	496	12 936	9 698	1 081	1 896	260
2009	2 795	281	78	1 878	558	12 612	9 490	1 054	1 801	266
2010	2 959	308	85	1 993	573	13 211	10 194	1 034	1 733	249
2011	3 199	385	92	2 120	602	13 938	10 892	1 065	1 751	230
2012	3 225	392	71	2 177	585	14 287	11 260	1 074	1 729	224
2013	3 189	373	68	2 146	601	14 693	11 657	1 019	1 805	212
2014 ⁽¹⁾	2 937	332	49	1 935	621	15 307	12 166	1 030	1 842	268
2015 ⁽¹⁾	2 956	371	45	1 952	589	15 606	12 485	1 035	1 809	276
2016 ⁽¹⁾	2 920	345	49	1 941	585	15 973	12 756	1 077	1 860	279
2017 ⁽¹⁾	2 993	356	57	2 007	574	16 467	13 069	1 110	1 986	302
2018 ⁽¹⁾	2 943	341	48	1 995	560	16 776	13 302	1 121	2 039	314
Female										
2004	2 565	136	6	337	2 086	2 482	2 127	43	154	158
2005	2 367	155	8	445	1 759	2 741	2 313	42	222	164
2006	2 295	156	10	434	1 695	2 964	2 515	59	225	164
2007	2 288	147	9	435	1 697	3 068	2 663	66	182	157
2008	2 354	170	14	400	1 770	3 242	2 805	64	216	157
2009	2 445	173	7	408	1 857	3 426	2 826	70	342	188
2010	2 724	219	10	426	2 070	3 701	3 041	73	397	190
2011	2 945	238	8	434	2 265	4 028	3 361	79	381	207
2012	2 872	213	8	413	2 238	4 437	3 753	86	376	222
2013	2 826	218	5	406	2 197	4 815	4 104	89	416	206
2014 ⁽¹⁾	2 533	214	4	268	2 047	5 156	4 413	90	434	219
2015 ⁽¹⁾	2 527	228	3	257	2 039	5 531	4 743	91	450	247
2016 ⁽¹⁾	2 384	203	4	248	1 929	5 928	5 073	108	486	261
2017 ⁽¹⁾	2 471	214	3	256	1 997	6 258	5 322	109	567	261
2018 ⁽¹⁾	2 353	203	3	267	1 880	6 665	5 689	109	608	258

(1) Series are not comparable with the previous years due to the new arrangements made since 2014.

Source: TurkStat, Labour Force Statistics, 2004-2018, <http://tuik.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=kategorist>

As can be seen from Table 28, in total, in agriculture, the composition of men and women are very close while in non-agriculture, men represented 3,47 times more than women. The composition of regular employee shows us that, in the agricultural sector male regular employees are on average 1,67 times more and in no-agricultural sector,

mal regular employees are 3,1 times more than females. in the agricultural sector, unpaid family worker women in the agricultural sector are on average, 3,4 times more than men. Men in the non – agricultural sector are on average 1,4 times more than in women. The more women stay in rural areas, the more unpaid family worker women are. The decrease of unpaid family worker women in the non – agricultural sector, can be explained by women's withdrawal from working life and stay home as housewives which is not included in the description of the unpaid family worker, it is rather unpaid domestic laborer. When the employer indicator is checked, can be seen that in the agricultural sector male employers are 11,5 times more than female employers. In the non – agricultural sector, male employers are 14,2 times more than female employers. When own account workers are checked male own account workers are 6 times more than female account workers on average. Even though men and women represented in agricultural sector quantitatively equally, the composition shows that women are more in unpaid family labor, less in employer status, working for their own account and regular employee while women in non– agriculture represented more unequal in working life; they are represented less in any indicators especially in employer status.

For men, the number of paid and self-employed people is much higher than in women. When it is analyzed from the perspective of economic activities, it is seen that women take part in agriculture and service sector. 26.1% of the women work in agriculture, 16% in the industry including the construction sector and 57.9% in the service sector in 2018(see Table 27). According to Parlaktuna (2010), the reason for employing women in the agricultural and industrial sector is attributed to two different reasons. The first one is women's wages are 1/3 of the men's wages in those sectors. Secondly, women's' working hours are more than men in these sectors.

According to Azevedo & Atamanov (2014), poverty is greater in the rural areas in which observed shrinking of poverty the most and middle-class people are more likely to live in urban areas. The problem is that there is an increase in inequality after the recession period. Retired people have a higher chance of joining the middle class, while children have the highest chances to have live under poverty. The data claims that the contribution of women to poverty and inequality reduction is very limited. This might be the cause of the fact that females getting married earlier than males, so they are less likely to participate in the labor force. According to Azevedo and Atamanov (2014) “...the cause of the low participation of women in labor force might

be associated with a combination of different supply and demand factors as shown by the following observations: the wage gap is large between low skilled man and low skilled women, childcare is creating a problem in urban low skilled women's lives, urban low skilled women are less likely to work if the wealth of the household increases and the education of the head of household is higher.”

Table 29: Poverty Rates According to the Educational Status of the Household Members, 2011-2017

[By 60% of equivalised household disposable median income]

[aged 15 years or over]

	Poverty rate (%)					
	2011		2014		2017	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total	16,0	16,7	15,4	16,1	13,9	15,1
Illiterate	49,0	36,3	46,9	36,4	40,9	34,0
Literate with no degree	41,0	33,0	40,9	30,5	37,5	27,4
Less than high school	21,8	18,1	21,2	17,7	19,5	17,5
High school or equivalent	10,1	7,2	10,3	7,9	9,8	9,3
Higher education	2,3	1,5	2,1	2,3	3,1	3,5

Relative poverty thresholds based on income are used as poverty threshold.

Source: TurkStat, **Income and Living Conditions Survey**, 2011-2017, <http://tuik.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=kategorist>

Table 29 represents the poverty rates according to the education level, overall, women are more in poverty. From the table, for each level of education men seems to be more in poverty compared to women, but since women are more concentrated in the lower level of education while men are concentrated in a higher level of education as mentioned in Table 7. Additionally, female poverty is likely to be masked depending on the method used while deriving the table, since the majority of women are domestic unpaid workers who are in general working with their families and getting little but sufficient (according to their expectations) money from the head of the house.

Table 30: Poverty Rate of the Elderly Population by Sex, 2012-2016

	%		
	2012	2014	2016
Male			
Total	22,2	21,4	20,8
Elderly (65+)	17,7	18,3	14,7
Female			
Total	22,9	22,2	21,6
Elderly (65+)	19,4	18,2	17,0

Source: TurkStat, **Income and Life Conditions Survey**, 2012-2016, Directorate-General for Disabled and Elderly Services, 2018 Statistical Bulletin

According to Table 30, unsurprisingly, in the elderly (+65) population, women are more in poverty than men are. One reason for that is, again, unprovided care service for the children. As Math (2014) mentions, since there are no significant incentives for the childcare, women tend to have more break in their working life which causes women to have less retirement pension.

2.3.7. Gender Gap in Working Life in Turkey

Gender roles keep being performed in working life as well. According to TurkStat, (2018), in Turkey, the total population aged between 15 and 64 is 29 million 138 thousand; 9 million 218 thousand of female and 19 million 919 thousand of males. When we are to evaluate those numbers as proportions, the inequality is worth to attract one's attention. Participation rate for working-age population is 58,6%; 38,5 % of female and 78,4% of male while employment rate overall is 52,7% for the same group; 33,7% of female and 71,7% of male. For the unemployment rate, it is 9,9% overall; 12,7% of female and 9% of male while the unemployment rate for the working group who works except agricultural sector is 11,6% overall; 16,2% of female and 9,6% of male.

According to another study conducted by Taymaz (2010), the Turkish economy is changing dramatically since the 2001 crisis. The transformation of the economy from rural activities to urban activities brings the problem of workforce qualification in the manufacturing sector with it. Furthermore, the labor participation rate of women is rather low in urban areas. Taymaz (2010) interrogated the relationship between economic growth and employment. There are 4 growth phases of Turkey and every

phase took about 20 years. The first one is between the establishment of the republic and the Second World War and has a high volume of growth rates. The second phase starts after the Second World War and ends in 1960 and has relatively lower growth rates. In the third phase, the Turkish economy grows with a "planned economy" however this phase ends in 1980 with a problem in the balance of payments. The fourth phase contains external policies with the will of liberalizing the economy although it had an unsteady growth rate. The last growth phase ends with the 2001 Crises which is one of the worst slumps of the Republic of Turkey. In 2010, Turkey's economy is in the fifth phase. Growth rates and unemployment rates are rather promising after the crisis. Employees who have their education level on the primary school level had the biggest proportion of the total workforce, although there were promising facts about increasing levels of education after the education reform in 1997. There was a labor force transformation through the agricultural sector and industry in Turkey after the 2000s. The dramatic decrease in the agricultural sector couldn't match the increase in the industrial sector. There are 4 inferences the article makes; i) There were great wage differences between the sectors. Transporting and communication sectors had relatively higher wages than the construction, manufacture and agricultural sectors. ii) Workers in the shadow sector were getting lower wages than the others. iii) There was a higher inequality in terms of wages between men and women in the shadow sector.

Institutional Economics examines the problem by separating the labor market into two: "women occupations" and "men occupations". The theory states that women's occupations are relatively narrower than men's occupations; therefore, it causes a supply surplus for the labor market for women and wages to drop (Parlaktuna, 2010). At the same time, there are more jobs that men can work so that wages are higher for men. This theory couldn't explain well why there is a separation for women and men in the labor market. But the separation might be caused by cultural dynamics and gender. Feminist economics criticizes previous theories since they are focusing only on the labor market. There is also a discrimination problem in the education process that is affecting the labor market that should be discussed. The point of view of feminist economics is based on the prejudices and values societies have. Disadvantageous circumstances of women in the labor market are the problem of the patriarchal system and that is the issue should be solved (Parlaktuna, 2010).

Table 31: Attitudes towards Women in the Labor Force by Sex, Age Group and Educational Status, 2016

[15+ age]

	(%)	
	Yes	No
Turkey	84,9	15,1
Sex		
Male	78,1	21,9
Female	91,5	8,5
Age group		
15-19	86,1	13,9
20-24	86,0	14,0
25-29	86,1	13,9
30-34	85,7	14,3
35-39	85,0	15,0
40-44	83,4	16,6
45-49	84,7	15,3
50-54	83,8	16,2
55-59	85,4	14,6
60-64	84,9	15,1
65+	82,4	17,6
Educational status		
No school completed	78,2	21,8
Primary school	83,0	17,0
Primary education / Junior high school or vocational junior high school	82,8	17,2
High school or vocational high school	88,5	11,5
Higher education school, faculty, master/doctorate	93,2	6,8

Source: TurkStat, **Family Structure Survey**, 2016, <http://tuik.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=kategorist>

Table 31 represents people's reactions to the appropriateness of female participation in the labor force. Overall, 84,9% of people declared that it is appropriate while 15,1% don't think so. 8,5% of women answered no while it is 21,1% of men. It is a fact that as people got older, they get more conservative in terms of the norms which have changed over time; 17,6% people over 65 years old answered no while it is 13,9% for people who are between 15 and 19. And as education level increases fewer people are answering low as could be expected.

Table 32: Employment Rate by Marital Status, 2004-2018

	(%)			
	2004	2008	2013	2018 ⁽¹⁾
Female	20,8	21,6	27,1	29,4
Single	26,0	28,2	30,2	33,5
Married	20,5	20,9	28,0	30,7
Divorced	32,2	34,2	41,3	43,4
Widowed	8,6	8,2	8,5	8,1
Male	62,7	62,6	65,2	65,7
Single	44,0	46,8	51,7	55,0
Married	71,9	70,3	72,6	72,5
Divorced	58,6	55,2	62,1	64,1
Widowed	22,8	18,4	18,5	18,2

(1) Series are not comparable with the previous years due to the new arrangements made since 2014.

Source: TurkStat, Labour Force Statistics, 2004-2018, <http://tuik.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=kategorist>

As can be seen from Table 32 employed women are less than employed men and when comparing the marital status and women's employment, it can be seen that women tend to be employed more when they are divorced, followed by single, married and widowed. Since the main reason for women not to participate in working life is being housewives, it is understandable that divorced and single women are more in employment than married women. Likewise, men being in employment the most when they are married can be explained by this situation.

Table 33: Youth Unemployment Rate for Persons by Sex, 2007-2018**[15-24 age]**

Year	(%)		
	Total	Male	Female
2007	20,0	19,6	20,8
2008	20,5	20,1	21,2
2009	25,3	25,4	25,0
2010	21,7	21,0	23,0
2011	18,4	17,1	20,7
2012	17,5	16,3	19,9
2013	18,7	17,0	21,9
2014	17,9	16,6	20,4
2015	18,5	16,5	22,2
2016	19,6	17,4	23,7
2017	20,8	17,8	26,1
2018	20,3	17,6	25,3

Source: TurkStat, **Youth Unemployment Rate for Persons by Sex**, 2007-2018,
<http://tuik.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=kategorist>

According to Table 33, female youth unemployment is higher than that of male and female youth unemployment had increased while male youth unemployment had decreased between 2007 and 2018.

3. COST OF GENDER INEQUALITY

In Turkey, low female labor force participation rate is a serious problem with regards to development and welfare (Dayıoğlu, 2010). Gender inequality comes with its costs to the economy. It causes the lack of development in multidimensional ways; it is economically and socially disadvantageous, a lack of development causes the economy to not to be able to reach its potential and become more competitive. Secondly, women tend to invest in their children's education, health, personal development, etc. Therefore, it has a poverty-reducing effect that governments often miss out since they are more focused on faster solutions for economic growth rather than inclusive development.

3.1. Gender Gap and Potential Loss to the Economy

According to the Goldman Sachs Report (2007), when the difference between women and men employment disappears, GDP will be increased by 9% in the USA, 13% in Eurozone and 16% in Japan. But in the study, they take imaginary employment rates and calculate, if this imaginary employment rate for men was the same for women, there would be this amount of development while all the other things remaining the same. Therefore, this study is not reliable (CORIF, 2017).

According to PricewaterhouseCoopers (PwC) study (2012), when the difference between women and men employment disappears, GDP will be increased by 5% in the USA, 9% in Japan, 12% in the United Arab Emirates and 34% in Egypt. In France and Germany, this impact is between 4% and 7%. As it can be seen by looking to the country's inequality structure, as inegalitarian one country is, the expected impact is higher in the case of equality. The PwC study is more realistic than Goldman Sachs since they take into account the possibility for women to work in part-time jobs. They are acknowledged that many women with child/ren staying in the labor force might prefer to work part-time as it is assigned as a female role and they assumed that 60% of all entrants would work full-time and the rest would work part-time (CORIF, 2017).

According to Swiss study (2009) the potential increase in GDP that would come from women's having equal conditions the labor market is different for every country; ranging from 14% for Slovenia, 21% for France to more than 40% for Greece, Malta, and the Netherlands. CORIF (2017) criticizes this study for not having realistic assumptions in the first place.

In the report of Mc Kinsey Global Institute (2015), 95 countries are examined, and they concluded that the equal labor force participation would increase the global GDP by 26%, up to 28000 billion dollars in 2025. And if the countries were to converge the most equalitarian country, the increase in the global GDP would be up to 12000 billion dollars in 2025.

On the occasion of international women's day, Eurostat published an article on gender pay gap statistics. According to Eurostat (2018), in 2016, the gender pay gap of EU was 16% on average, women earned on average 84 cents for every euro a man makes per hour. This gap is ranged from 5% in Romania and Italy to more than 25% in Estonia.

According to Aşık (2013)'s report conducted is about the relationship between women labor participation and the growth rate of Turkey, examines the change in the GDP with 1988 price level, different scenarios of female labor force participation with unemployment rate of 20%, 15% and 10% compared to the base scenario which is the case where female labor force participation remains the same. According to the report, if female labor force participation was 38%, the GDP would increase from 3,2% to 5,6%, if it was 50%, it would be increased from 8,8% up to 11,7% and lastly if female labor force participation was 61,4%, the increase would range from 14% to 17.5%.

In the study of National Women's Law Center (2016), the annual median salary of women is only 80% of the annual median salary of men and there are 10 760 dollars of the wage gap. It is estimated that the difference between the revenues of American men and women and over a lifetime of work continuously on a full-time basis, American women earn, net, 35 000 euros less than American men. Then, the study explains that there are branches that have much more added value than the others; thus, the remunerations are higher in those fields. But yet, the return to the government is higher than the low remunerated branches. Still, those fields are male-dominated fields because of social norms.

According to Christiane Marty's study (2013), precluding the wage inequality would have a positive effect on the inequality of pensions; because it would generate a positive effect on pension funding. Besides if the economic activity rate of women was equal to that of men, regardless of the time at which it would be reached, the number of the active population would be higher by about 5%, 4.8% in 2020 and 4.9% in 2030.

4. GENDER-BASED HIRING DISCRIMINATION: AN EXAMPLE OF TURKISH EMPLOYMENT AGENCY

Turkish Employment Agency is a public institution established in 1946 in order to deliver public employment services suitably and has many functions in the labor market; having vocational courses with guaranteed jobs afterwards, job placements (domestic and international), vocational counseling, creating active labor policies, giving incentives for new-graduates, women, disableds to reach more egalitarian society. The hiring process in the Turkish Employment Agency is simply as follows; unemployed people seeking for a job or people seeking for a better job, people who want to attend to the vocational courses, people who want to obtain unemployment benefit apply to Turkish Employment Agency, meanwhile İŞKUR has interviews with the employers seeking employees, prepares courses, gives incentives, run projects, etc. Employers used to declare their requirements of the job including the sex of the employee, but İŞKUR removed this option since discriminatory. İŞKUR matches suitable employees and employers and presents them to the employer. With the confirmation of the employer, job seekers registered to İŞKUR have an interview with the employer. After the interview, if the employee and the employer agree to work together, the hiring process through İŞKUR ends. To attain a more egalitarian labor market, İŞKUR gives incentives to the employers in the scope of employment of the groups which are discriminated against. The incentives can vary from İŞKUR paying the wages for a period of time to giving insurance premium discounts to the employers. İŞKUR's branch office numbers reached to 2633 in 2018 (İŞKUR,2018).

According to Albelda, Drogo & Schulman (1997), institutions' regulations and rules might be discriminatory even though the persons working in those institutions are not. Policies of the public institutions as the attitude of the government towards less advantageous groups change constantly.

In this study, the Turkish Employment Agency is examined concerning the hiring process. The data are driven by the Turkish Employment Agency's Annual Statistics from 1980 to 2017. Some headlines start from 1984 since the statistics entered in those

headlines started from that year. The vacancies taken were gendered until 2004. The gender proportion of the applicants registered unemployed, vacancies taken from public and private sectors, placements in public, private; agricultural, non-agricultural sectors are examined along with the proportion of women in other public institutions.

Labor Market Survey conducted by the Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Services(2018) helps to understand the leading motives the employers have when applying İŞKUR and also the gender proportion of İŞKUR. Since it is linked with the employers in the hiring process as much as it is linked to İŞKUR when making policies. Within the scope of the 2018 Labor Market Survey, the requested gender information regarding vacancies taken was asked. In the data concerning vacancies taken by the employers received by İŞKUR, the data is collected without gender indicators to prevent gender discrimination. However, as this study is aimed at producing data, gender detail in open vacancies was asked. The options also included "gender does not matter" statement. The survey aims to identify the obstacles about female employment and to provide data to policymakers and users. Of the total 1 million 295 thousand 77 workplaces in the scope of the research, 162 thousand 569 were found to have open vacancies during the working period and it was obtained that there were 469 thousand 919 people in 162 thousand 569 workplaces. The manufacturing sector is the sector with the highest rate of open vacancies compared to other sectors. The overall manufacturing sector in Turkey, 1 out of every five workplaces (21.5 percent) has an outdoor job. Given the fact that male employees predominantly work in the production sector along with decreasing importance of the agricultural sector where women used to work predominantly, it can explain the reason why proportionally fewer women are placed in the private sector. The manufacturing sector is followed by other service activities, information and communication, and accommodation and food activities. All across Turkey, 1 million 295 thousand 77 workplaces have been visited and it is seen that the employers demanded 469 thousand 919 "only male" workers from 162 thousand 569 workplaces which happen to be 45,5% of all open vacancies. When compared with the Labor Market Survey in the previous year, it was observed that this rate decreased by 2.2 points in 2018, where the employers constituting 47.7% of the open vacancies, demanded "only male" workers. The tendency to employ "only the female" employees is 12.9% of the open vacancies received from the surveyed workplaces. This rate is 15.7 percent in 2-9 workplaces;

11.2 percent in 10-19 employed workplaces and 8.9 percent in 20+ workplaces. It is found that gender is not important for open vacancies in workplaces with more than 20 employees. *"The emergence of this tendency in corporate firms indicates that the demand for the more educated labor force and the employment of white-collar workers in such firms rather than the occupations that can be called as male jobs, and that the preference of men or women does not make much sense in this context."*(Aile, Çalışma ve Sosyal Hizmetler Bakanlığı, 2018).

When the distribution of 469,919 open vacancies in the scope of the research is examined according to the demanded education levels, the most demanded education level among all the open vacancies determined is "not looking for any education level". It appears that there is no connection between the work to be done and the level of education. At the requested level of education, the second place comes with 22.2 percent is "below secondary education" followed by general high school education with 16%. However, the rate of not demanding any level of education is higher among male employee demands. Employers who preferred to employ male labor in vacancies did not request any education level in 43.1% of these vacancies. This rate was found to be 36.2% among women. *"It supports the increase in labor force participation and employment rates as the education level of women increases in the labor market."* While 10.2% of female employees demanded is for higher education graduates, this rate is 4.4% for men. In the survey, 2 thousand 38 open jobs in different professions were requested. In 210 different occupations, it was indicated that gender would not matter for open vacancies. In total, there are open vacancies for 469 thousand 919 people, and when it comes to gender preference, 213 thousand 983 of them are indicated as "men", 60 thousand 822 of them are indicated as "women" and 195 thousand 114 of them are indicated as "gender is not important". In other words, 40.6% of open jobs do not require a particular level of education in open jobs, which is an indication that jobs are usually available for people with the lowest level of education.

27.7% of the vacancies taken with "only female" preference was from the occupations related to service and sales staff followed by plant and machine operators and installers, non-qualified professions, craftsmen and related workers. 45.2% of the male vacancies are from the occupations related to craftsmen and related workers followed by plant and machine operators and installers, service and sales staff are the

professional groups. Service and sales staff, plant and machine operators and assemblers occupational groups are in the top two in open vacancies that do not require gender discrimination. Another important finding of the report is that, as the desired education level increases in the occupational groups, gender differentiation decreases. The number of the first 50 occupations and vacancies constituting 182 thousand 738(71%) out of 255 thousand 937 occupations marked as “female” and "gender does not matter".

The most commonly searched skills among women are computer use, sales and marketing skills, communication and expression skills, and accounting skills. Physical competence and sufficient professional/technical knowledge and experience are the most commonly assigned skills for men. In open jobs where gender is not important, sufficient professional/technical knowledge and experience and physical competence are sought. The skills sought in open vacancies are also directly linked to the most open vacancies. The fact that physical competence was demanded more for male employees is because the male open vacancies are constituted from the occupational groups such as bodyworkers, waiter and gas welder occupations. The high demand for female sewing machine operators, sales consultant/specialists, quality controller and cleaning worker in the open vacancies showed an effect on the skills required. The gender division of open vacancies also differentiates the skills required by gender(Aile, Çalışma ve Sosyal Hizmetler Bakanlığı, 2018).

As a result of the research, it is seen that female employment is higher in part-time workplaces compared to non-part-time workplaces. It is stated that the consideration of the results of the work is very important in increasing female employment.

It is also stated that on-the-job training programs to be opened in the provinces, taking into account the demand from the employer, especially in the field of textile, can contribute positively to the increase in female employment. However, for the placement of office workers, service and sales personnel (secretary, sales representative, etc.) and professional occupations (engineers, etc.), newly graduated women from vocational colleges and faculties can be placed in related jobs through on-the-job training programs by automatical registration by İŞKUR.

According to the report, İŞKUR's on-the-job training programs and vocational training courses are of great importance in facilitating women's entry to the labor market.

Determining the duration of the on-the-job training program and the number of people to be employed by sectors in a way that encourages women's employment may positively affect women's employment. Women's childcare obligations can adversely affect labor force participation, stated by the report. At this point, it is thought that the nursery assistance provided by İŞKUR for the children of women participating in the on-the-job training program can positively affect the participation in the on-the-job training programs. The effectiveness of the application should be examined as İŞKUR started to give 400tl for the women participating in vocational training programs in the production sector.

To increase participation in the labor force and employment, policies for reconciliation of work and family life should be implemented and employment incentives should be activated. *"Increasing the number of day-care centers by 177 may facilitate labor force participation due to childcare obligations."* The peculiar nature of shift work also affects the lifestyle of the shift worker. In addition to the professional lives of women working in shifts; İŞKUR is aware that due to the disruptions in the division of labor and the social role often imposed; "Double Work" may be forced in household chores brought by the responsibility of mother and spouse. Especially low-educated mothers are more likely to work on non-standard hours and days than better-educated mothers. This is due to the fact that the hours worked in such jobs are long, the wages are low, and most of the time women cannot receive any help to resolve the role conflict in two areas. Besides, according to research results, in Turkey, the female employment ratio is 26%, while it is 33% in the workplace where one can work part-time and 24% in the workplace where the employees work full-time. *"This result reinforces the fact that part-time work positively affects women's employment and necessitates further studies."*(Aile, çalışma ve Sosyal Hizmetler Bakanlığı, 2018).

4.1. Gender-Based Hiring Discrimination

Gender-based hiring discrimination is the discrimination women face in the process of hiring; not to be called for an interview, not getting the offer, not being offered the same wage for a similar level of education, experience, etc. Hiring discrimination is the first tangible step of the labor market discrimination chain and the main reason for this behavior is the bias of perception. According to Kahneman, since the brain has a

lot of information in the deciding process, it tends to reduce the number of information to take into consideration, less information which makes it possible (Kahneman, 2011).

It is sensible that employers choose male employees over the female employee from the perspective of traditional gender roles. Human resources specialists may have a nonconscious bias towards the idea of the traditionally assigned roles in the family; men work women take care of children. Therefore, men need to earn more money to maintain their family's life as a breadwinner. It is consistent with the government's approach about housewives; İŞKUR prepared an intervention in favor of the housewives supporting home-based working which is unrequited and unregistered and offers to the women who went to the related course 800 tl of financial support (Kamu Personeli, 2019). While it is an important factor for women to earn money and have financial freedom, even a bit, this project does not help women to be completely free in economical wise, therefore the project wouldn't serve the empowerment of women and solving structural problems related to female employment.

Since it is too hard to assess an applicant's skills and motivations, employers evaluate the applicants' traits by assuming they have similar characteristics to the average of the demographical group they belong to. When it comes to the Turkish labor market, it is again too hard to obtain, therefore the employers rely on the presumptions and prejudices they have towards what the applicant presents (King,1990, Retrieved from Palaz, 2002).

Today, especially institutional and multinational companies attach great importance to the diversity policies and they have different experiences to increase diversity within the institution. According to the global CEO survey, 87% of CEOs surveyed are focused on talent diversity and greater coverage (PwC, 2017). Nevertheless, a significant proportion of female workers still think that they are discriminated against. For example, according to the report "Winning the Fight for Female Talent," 21% of women said they got discriminated during a job application or a job interview, while in men, this rate was only 5% (Flood, 2017). In Turkey, the proportion of women who think they had been discriminated against is 2 times more than in men among the participants in the survey (PwC, 2018).

Petersen & Togstad (2004) conducted a study on hiring discrimination in Scandivanian private banks with the data of 7400 employees. They collected 3,500

pages of inclusive data including sex, age, nationality, mother tongue, marital status, number of children, education level, type of education, GPA, where they studied, job experience, if the applicant was already working in the bank, if the applicant is appropriate for the job by the requirements, if they got an offer, if they accepted the offer and when etc. by hiring agents and they collected job advertisements from the newspaper advertisements. The Norwegian case shows that in a society where the gender gap is one of the lowest and where the hiring officials are aware of the fact that women are more discriminated against in society and the working life, so there is little or no hiring discrimination against women. According to Petersen & Togstad (2004), the unconscious bias for the belief of women being discriminated against might come from either repeating larger societal remark and interpretations about gender inequality, or can occur because of being exposed to the role of unconscious biases where employees have formed views from when they were younger and may still act on those views (Petersen & Togstad, 2004). Therefore, in the Norwegian case, women were in a more advantageous position. Also, the results showed that being married was a favorable situation for men while it is the opposite for women for getting the offer and having a child boosted the possibility of getting the offer for both men and women. According to Baert, S. (2018), interrogated the outcomes of the studies conducted on gender-based hiring discrimination across the world and out of 13 studies, 4(from US, Belgium, France, UK) studies indicated gender-based hiring discrimination whereas 4(from Australia, China, France, UK) studies found that women were more advantageous in the hiring process and 5 (Belgium, Spain, Sweden) studies found that the process was rather equal.

4.2. General View of the Turkish Employment Agency's Data

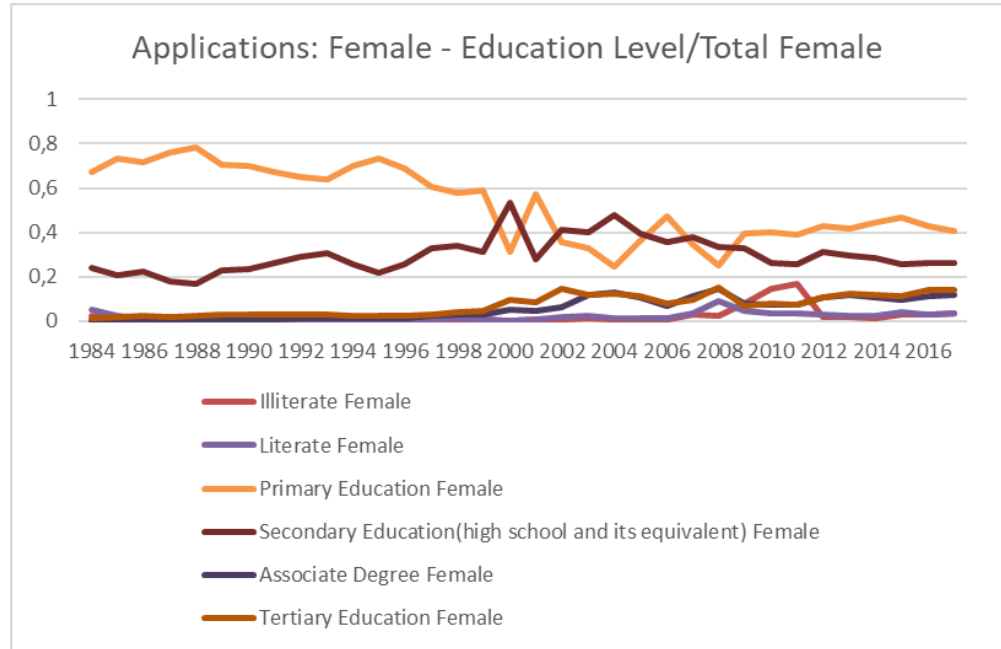


Figure 2: The Proportion of Women by Educational Group

Source: Turkish Employment Agency, **Annual Data**, <https://www.iskur.gov.tr/kurumsal-bilgi/istatistikler/>

Female applicants of İŞKUR are mostly from primary education, followed by secondary education, tertiary education, associate degree, literate and illiterate in 2017. Overall, there are more female applicants completed primary education and secondary education. It is compatible with Labor Market Survey (2018) outcomes as the most demanded education level among all the open vacancies is “not looking for any education level” followed by “below secondary education” and “general high school education”(see Section 4). It can be also due to the fact that women with higher degrees' skills are more valuable in the labor market; therefore, it is easier for them to find a job with their efforts or their social environment. The low application rate of illiterate and literate women can be due to the female illiterate and literate population being much less than the female population from other educational groups.

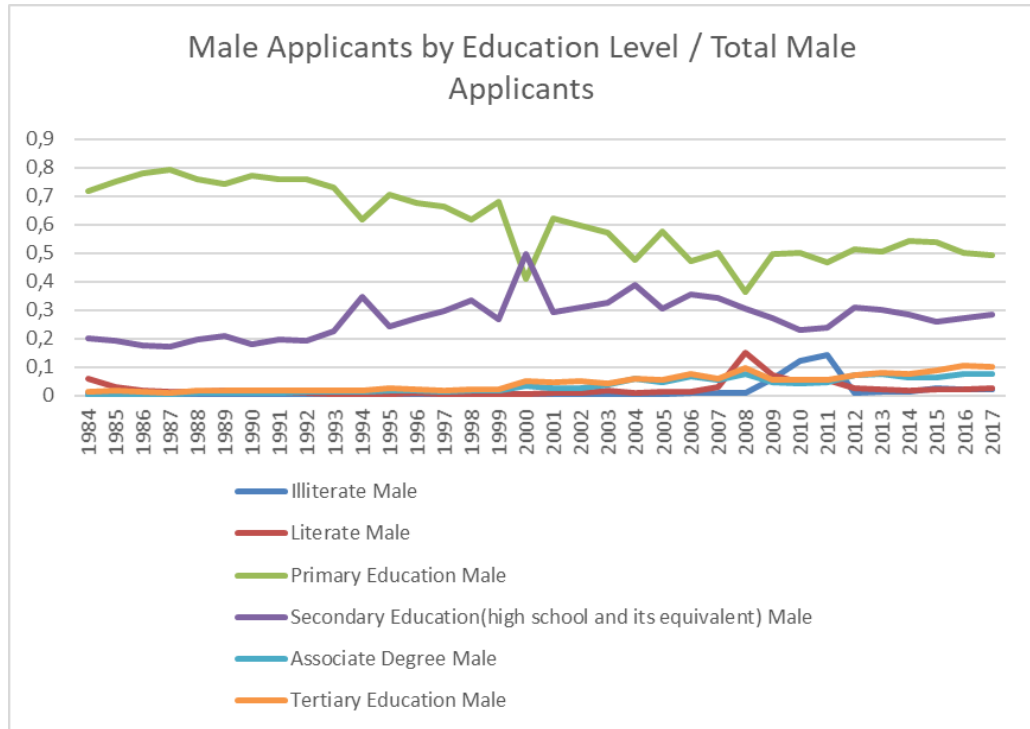


Figure 3: The Proportion of Men by Educational Group

Source: Turkish Employment Agency, **Annual Data**, <https://www.iskur.gov.tr/kurumsal-bilgi/istatistikler/>

For men, compared to the proportion of the female applicant's education level, it has similar trends with different quotients; proportionally, there are more men concentrated in primary education level and fewer men concentrated in tertiary education level.

4.3. The Appearance of Participation Gap in Turkish Employment Agency

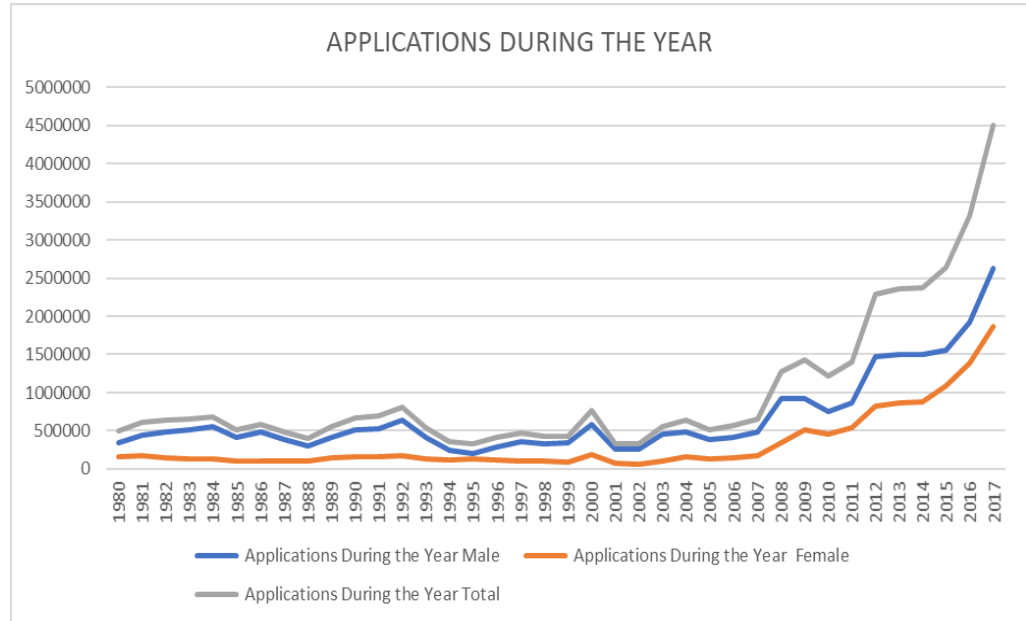


Figure 4: Applications Made to Turkish Employment Agency During the Year

Source: Turkish Employment Agency, **Annual Data**, <https://www.iskur.gov.tr/kurumsal-bilgi/istatistikler/>

Applications to İŞKUR can be made for many purposes; seeking a job, seeking a better job, seeking a job abroad, participating in workforce training programs and career counseling. From Figure 4, it can be seen that male participation has always been above female participation.

In 1999, Turkish Employment Office was implementing “Employment and Training Programme” in collaboration with World Bank (İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu, 2000). People participating in the program are received minimum wage by the Agency and women with children can leave their children to the kindergarten with the support of the agency. Besides, some training programs are with a job guarantee.

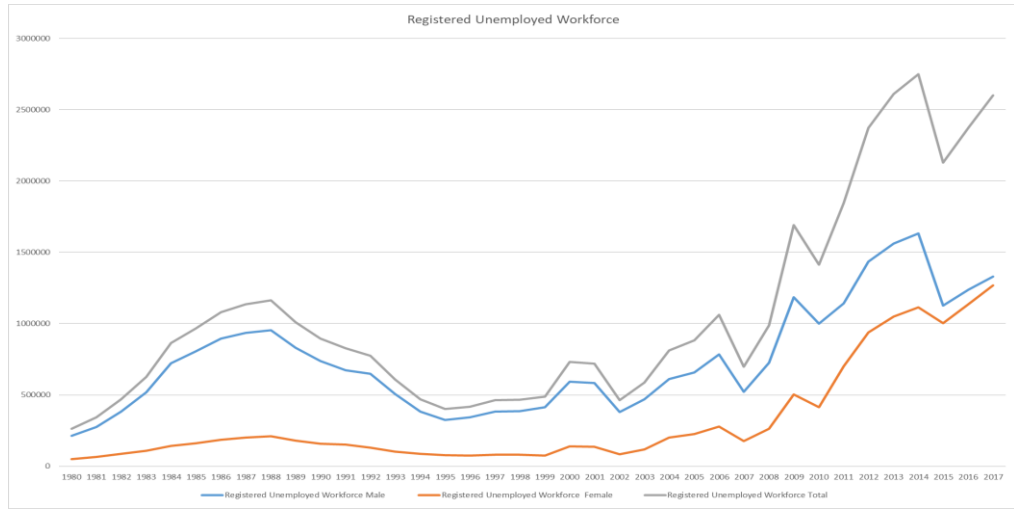


Figure 5: Registered Unemployed Labor Force in Turkish Employment Agency

Source: Turkish Employment Agency, **Annual Data**, <https://www.iskur.gov.tr/kurumsal-bilgi/istatistikler/>

As can be seen from Figure 5, there was a huge gap until the 2000s and it decreased after the 2000s. It can be due to women being concentrated in villages (Table 3) and more active in the agricultural sector where they mostly worked without being paid for their family. It is also a fact that the Turkish Employment Agency took attention from female unemployed with Employment and Training program which is implemented after 1999.

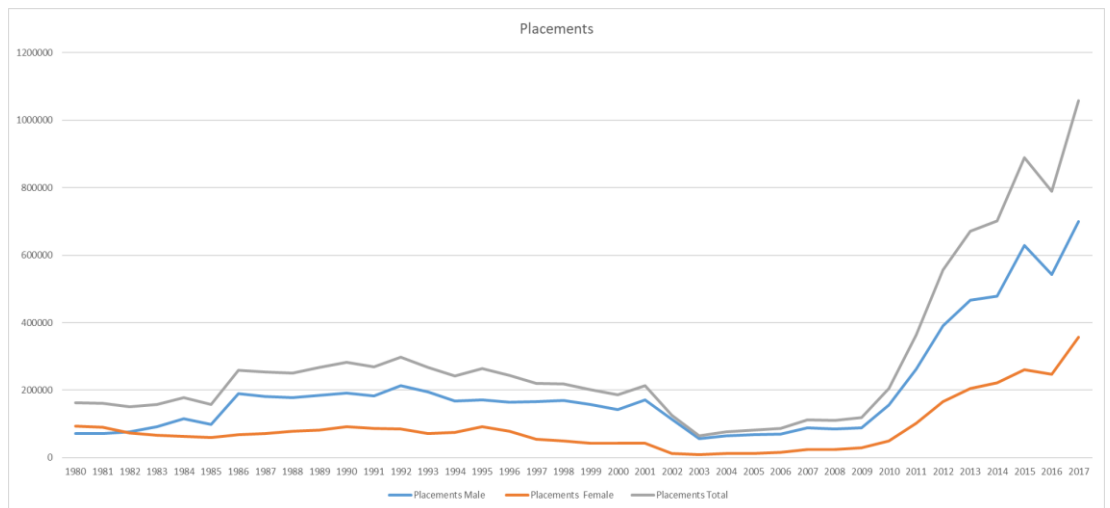


Figure 6: Total Placements Made by Turkish Employment Agency

Source: Turkish Employment Agency, **Annual Data**, <https://www.iskur.gov.tr/kurumsal-bilgi/istatistikler/>

Turkish Employment Agency gives incentives to employers to encourage them to employ people from a rather disadvantaged group like women, newly graduates, and disableds. It has an important effect on the placements and therefore the application of women.

4.4. Appearance of Feminization of Labor in Turkish Employment Agency

When there is a structural problem in society, it is normal for it to be reflected in the institutions the society has. According to İŞKUR data, women are more replaced in agricultural and private sectors rather than non-agricultural and public sectors which are more secured and predominantly replaced by men. It should also be kept in mind that female registered unemployed are less than that of men's but still when the proportion of women and men replaced in those sectors are analyzed, it still says the same thing.

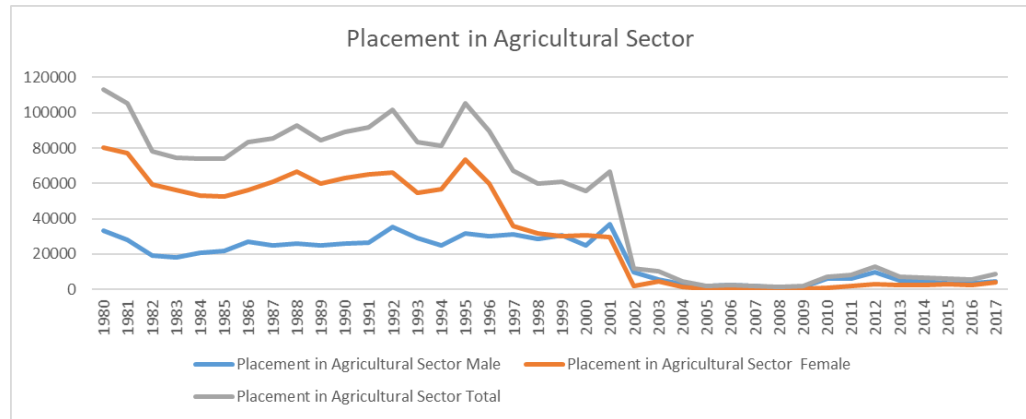


Figure 7: Placements in the Agricultural Sector

Source: Turkish Employment Agency, **Annual Data**, <https://www.iskur.gov.tr/kurumsal-bilgi/istatistikler/>

According to Figure 7, in the placements of the agricultural sector, women outnumbered men until 2000 and after 2000 it was vice versa even though women are more employed in the agricultural sector (Table 34) and after 2002 the placements made in agricultural sector remained very low due to the diminishing importance of the agricultural sector.

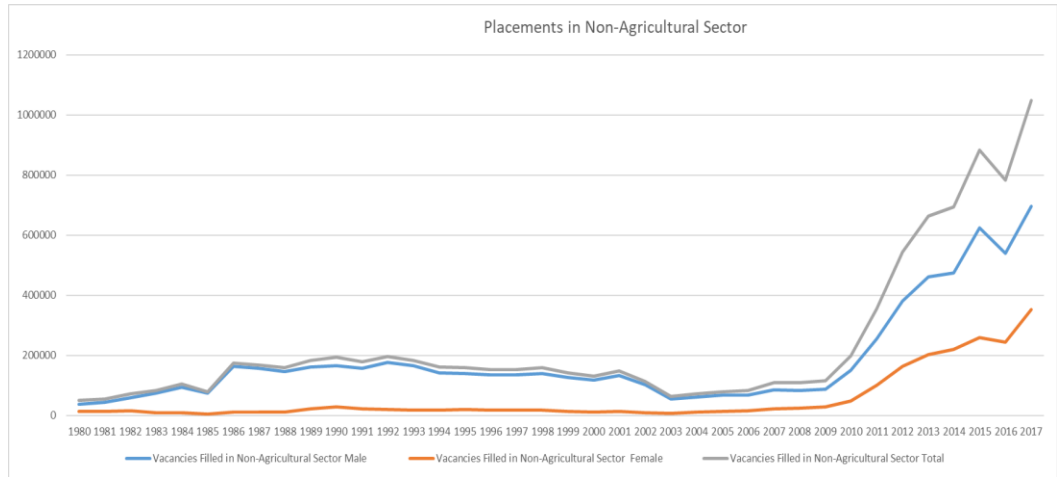


Figure 8: Placements in Non-Agricultural Sector

Source: Turkish Employment Agency, **Annual Data**, <https://www.iskur.gov.tr/kurumsal-bilgi/istatistikler/>

The trend of placements in the non-agricultural sector is similar to the one with the private sector. The increasing trend after 2008 can be explained by the employment program conducted by the Turkish Employment Agency in 2008.

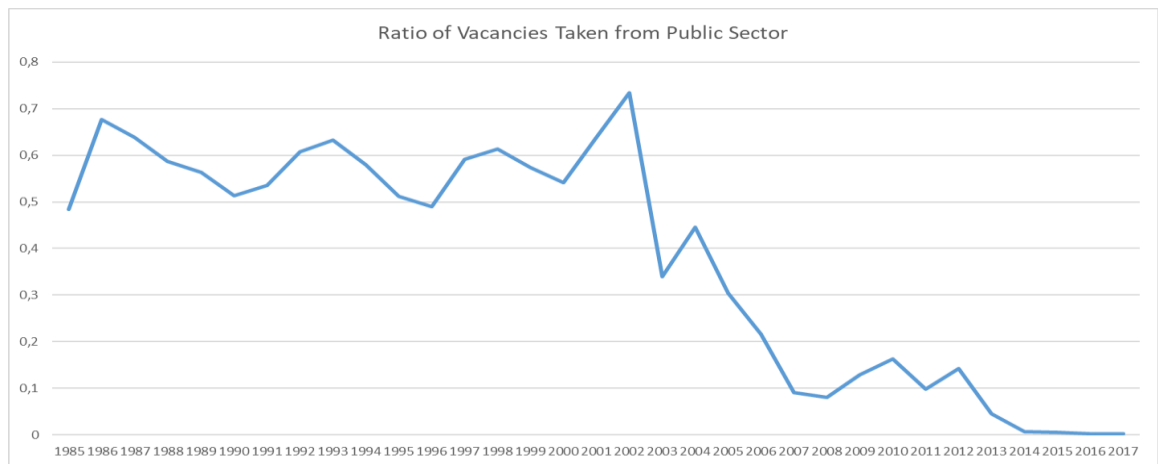


Figure 9: Ratio of Vacancies Taken from Public Sector

Source: Turkish Employment Agency, **Annual Data**, <https://www.iskur.gov.tr/kurumsal-bilgi/istatistikler/>

As can be seen from Figure 9, vacancies taken from the public sector decreased as the years went by. It can be due to the privatization of the public institutions and

transferring unqualified staff working in public institutions to the private subcontractors.

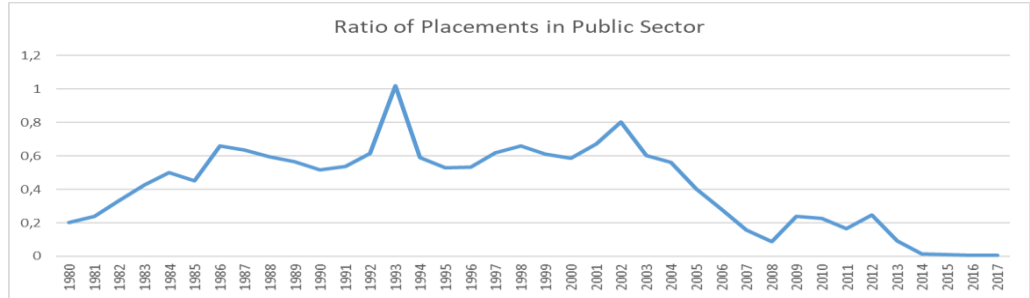


Figure 10: Ratio of Placements in Public Sector

Source: Turkish Employment Agency, **Annual Data**, <https://www.iskur.gov.tr/kurumsal-bilgi/istatistikler/>

Figure 10 represents the ratio of placements made in the public sector between 1980 and 2017. As vacancies taken from the public sector decreased after 2002, placements in the public sector decreased as expected.

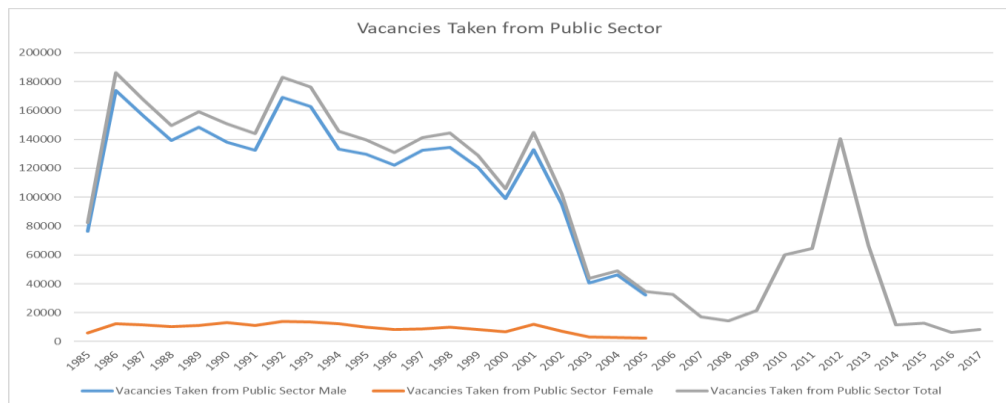


Figure 11: Vacancies Taken from Public Sector by Sex

Source: Turkish Employment Agency, **Annual Data**, <https://www.iskur.gov.tr/kurumsal-bilgi/istatistikler/>

Figure 11 represents the gender distribution of vacancies taken from the public sector. There is a huge gap between men and women which can be because of labor demand

coming from male-dominated fields as mentioned in Section 4. It can be because of low participation as well.

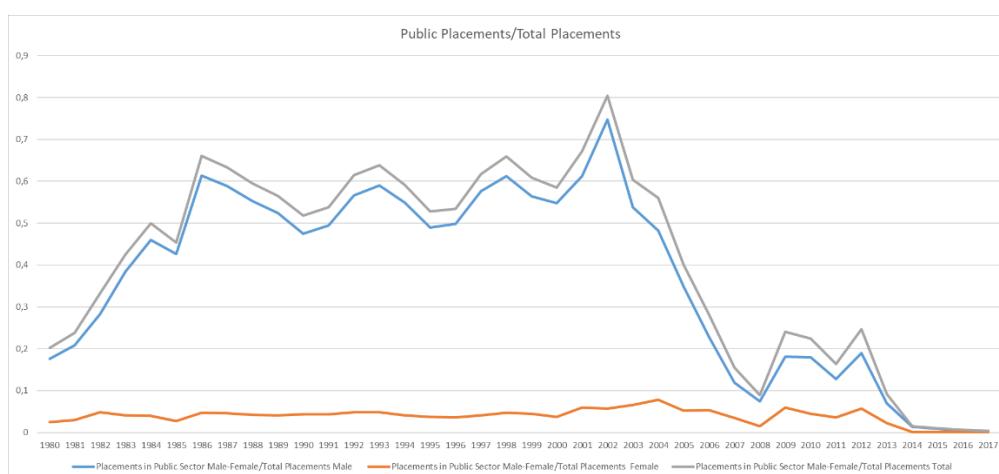


Figure 12: Placements in Public Sector/Total Placements

Source: Turkish Employment Agency, **Annual Data**, <https://www.iskur.gov.tr/kurumsal-bilgi/istatistikler/>

Figure 12 represents the ratio of placements in the public sector by sex over total placements. The reason female placement in the public sector being so low is due to the public sector's gender preferences declared to the Turkish Employment Agency. By interpreting this, the fact that the production sector is one of the sectors which demands the most employees from İŞKUR (See Section 4).

Table 34: Composition of Civil Servants by Sex

Prime Ministry, Ministries, Universities, Military Departments, Undersecretariats, Chairmanship, Directorate General, Supreme Boards, Government Business Enterprises, Public Capital Establishments	Total Employee	Rate of Employees %
Female	1.188.382	37,98
Male	1.940.922	62,02
Total	3.129.304	100

Source: State Personnel Administration, 2018, <http://www.dpb.gov.tr/tr-tr/istatistikler/kamu-personeli-istatistikleri>

As can be seen from Table 34, 62,02% of civil servants are male and 37,98% are female. The public institutions are led predominantly by men. Nevertheless, it is higher than the overall female employment rate.

Table 35: Gender Distribution of Public Employees According to the Type of Employment

	Female	Male	Female	Male
	Number		%	
Type of Employment				
Civil Servants	990.431	1.439.670	40,76	59,24
Judicature and Attorney Generalship	5.463	12.004	31,28	68,72
Academics	56.137	75.034	42,8	57,2
Contracted Personnel	83.833	129.392	39,32	60,68
Temporary Personnel(*)	3.527	16.311	17,78	82,22
Permanent Personnel	18.321	209.208	8,05	91,95
Permanent Personnel out of Coverage	804	2.460	24,63	75,37
Temporary Worker	3.076	21.406	12,56	87,44
Personnel Subjected to Special Provisions	26.790	35.437	43,05	56,95
	1.188.382	1.940.922	37,98	62,02

Note*: The temporary personnel will be transferred to 4 / B contracted personnel position as of April 2, 2018

Source: State Personnel Administration, 2018, <http://www.dpb.gov.tr/tr-tr/istatistikler/kamu-personeli-istatistikleri>

As can be seen from Table 35, in any type of employment, men outnumber women. Some types of employment require nation-wide exams and interviews and are not applied via the Turkish Employment Agency. Taking into consideration women's non-agricultural employment rate is 28,7% in 2018 (TurkStat, 2018), it can be deduced that women in public are doing better than the general situation, as expected, except for temporary and permanent personnel and temporary workers.

Table 36: Titles Concerning Academic Staff by Gender

	Female	Male	Total
	Number		
Titles			
Research Assistant	20.961	21.834	42.795
Assistant Professor	11.912	17.249	29.161
Associate Professor	4.666	7.863	12.529
Professor	6.343	13.670	20.013
Academic	6.369	9.650	16.019
Lecturer	4.071	2.876	6.947
Specialist	1.788	1.869	3.657
Education Planner	9	12	21
Translator	13	7	20
Assistant	5	4	9
Total	56.137	75.034	131.171

Source: State Personnel Administration, 2018, <http://www.dpb.gov.tr/tr-tr/istatistikler/kamu-personeli-istatistikleri>

As can be seen from Table 36, in the academy, women, and men start almost equally. But as the degree of titles increase, there are more than 50% fewer women in higher positions.

Table 37: Number and Proportion of the Rectors by Sex, 2016-2018

Year	Type of university	Number			Proportion (%)	
		Total	Male	Female	Male	Female
2016						
	Total	177	162	15	91,5	8,5
	State university	112	110	2	98,2	1,8
	Private university	65	52	13	80,0	20,0
2017						
	Total	180	164	16	91,1	8,9
	State university	112	109	3	97,3	2,7
	Private university	68	55	13	80,9	19,1
2018 ⁽¹⁾						
	Total	195	177	18	90,8	9,2
	State university	127	121	6	95,3	4,7
	Private university	68	56	12	82,4	17,6

(1) The rectors of 6 universities (2 states, 6 foundations) have not been appointed yet.

Source: TurkStat, **Higher Education Council**, 2016-2018, www.tuik.gov.tr

Table 37 presents the fact that male rectors are 10 times of female rectors; in public universities, it is up to 49 times of female rectors. Private universities seem rather more egalitarian concerning this case with male rectors being 4 times of female rectors.

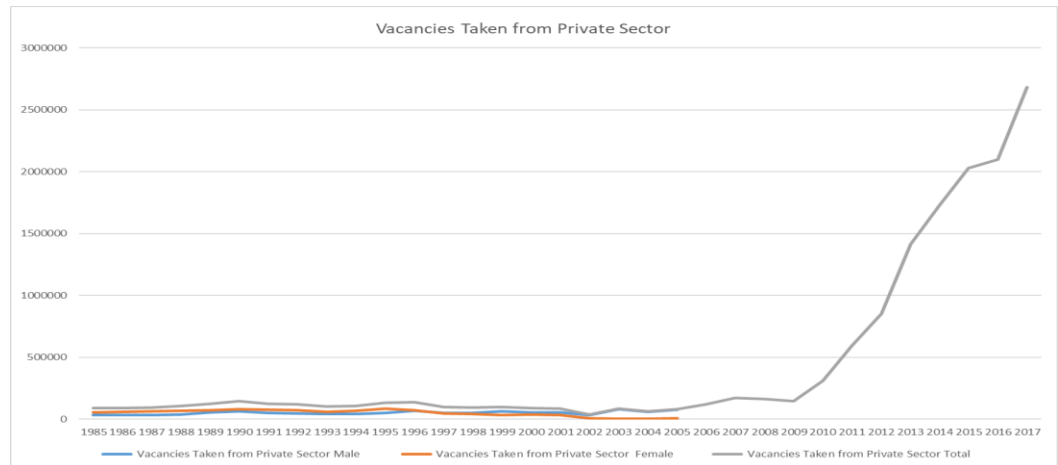


Figure 13: Vacancies Taken from Private Sector

Source: Turkish Employment Agency, **Annual Data**, <https://www.iskur.gov.tr/kurumsal-bilgi/istatistikler/>

According to Figure 13, the gender distribution of placements in the private sector was similar between women and men. After 2008, vacancies taken from the private sector followed an increasing trend as the proportion of the public sector decreased dramatically (see Figure 9). It can be due to the employment program the Turkish Employment Agency conducted in 2008.

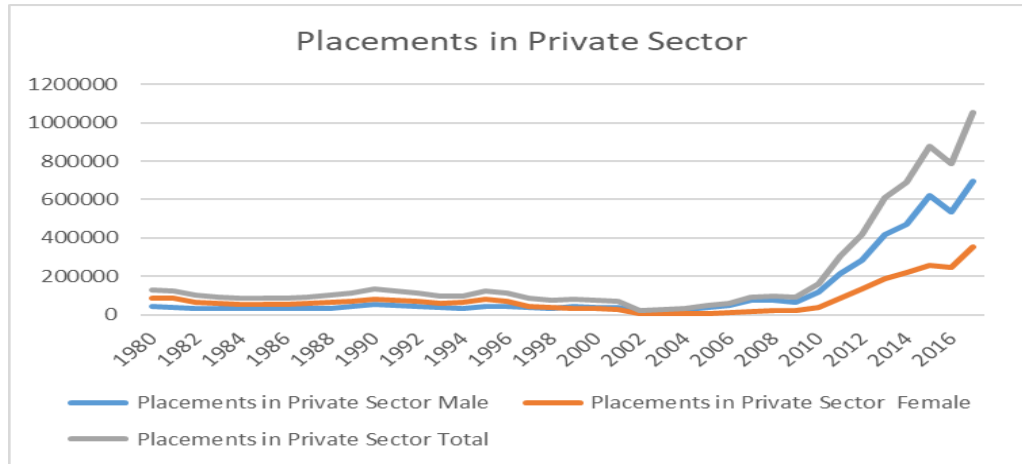


Figure 14: Placements in the Private Sector

Source: Turkish Employment Agency, **Annual Data**, <https://www.iskur.gov.tr/kurumsal-bilgi/istatistikler/>

It is already mentioned that after 2008, there was an increasing trend on the vacancies taken from the private sector while it is the opposite for the public sector and since before the majority of vacancies were taken from the public sector and men were predominantly being placed in the public sector and its importance has decreased, men started being replaced in the private sector more.

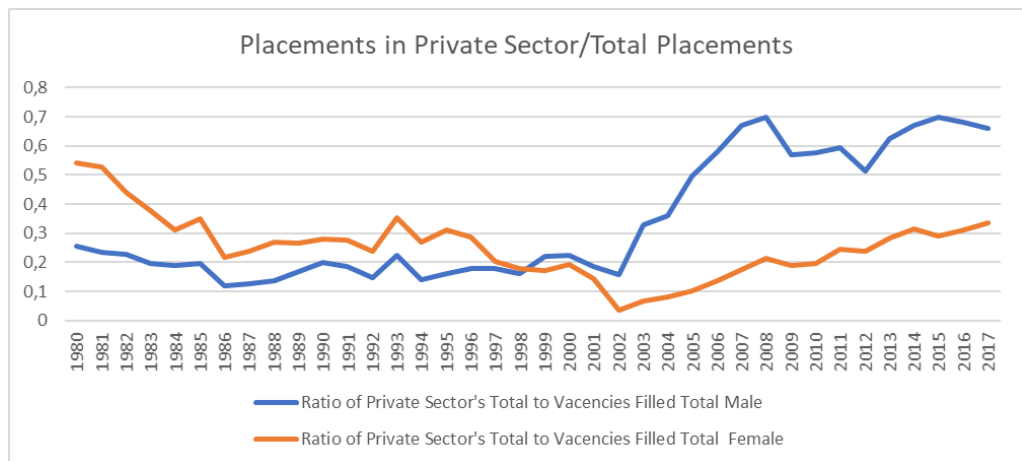


Figure 15: Placements in Private Sector/Total Placements

Source: Turkish Employment Agency, **Annual Data**, <https://www.iskur.gov.tr/kurumsal-bilgi/istatistikler/>

As can be seen from Figure 15, the proportion of women placed in the private sector was higher than that of men and the gap was lower until 1998 and kept decreasing until 2002. After 2002, it followed an increasing trend but men proportionally placed more in the private sector due to the decreasing vacancies from the public sector where predominantly men are placed.

5. ONGOING AND REALIZED PROJECTS

Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Services of Turkey is responsible for policymaking for the disadvantaged groups as disableds, women, and elderlies and seeks to create equality of opportunity as an outcome. Related to this study, the policies, precautions, action plans, etc. are investigated concerning women's working status.

Women's Services followed by the Ministry of Family and Social Policies are as follows; *“Women's individual and social empowerment, higher quality education, and increasing their effectiveness in decision-making mechanisms, facilitating entry to the labor market, ensuring social security and increasing the number of women entrepreneurs, reviewing the legislation on women by taking the opinions of the relevant parties, to take necessary measures to ensure the continuation of girls' education, particularly in the development of early childhood education and to implement additional incentive mechanisms, ensuring continued employment incentives for women's employment, preparing and implementing the Women Entrepreneurship Program and facilitating women's employment, increasing awareness-raising programs aimed at strengthening the equality of opportunity between women and men for employees and employers, implementation of policies for reconciliation of work and family life for women.”* (Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı, 2016).

The Ministry of Family and Social Policies, concerning women's working status, is mainly focused on documenting the status quo in collaboration with the academicians and the NGOs to have a clear sight to detect the problem and make proper policies. Then, designs projects in cooperation with the third parties to solve the determined problems. Moreover, the Ministry of Family and Social Policies delegates attend the national and international seminars, panels, conferences as audience and participants to interact with the world and have a wider vision. Furthermore, the Ministry of Family and Social Policies organizes in-company training courses to raise awareness on

gender for the civil servants and also university students. In the topics where social services and employment intersects, İŞKUR and The Ministry of Family and Social Policies collaborates (with the third parties as well) as in "Filli Female Craftsmen Project" which aims to provide women with professional knowledge and skills in different sectors and to ensure their employment (Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı, 2016).

The Ministry of Family and Social Policies has National Action Plans aiming to *“provide equal opportunity in economic and social sphere and carries out the projects in the related fields, legislation arrangements, awareness-raising and mentality transformation, provision of preventive services and empowerment of the victims of violence, regulation and management of health services, inter-agency cooperation and policy development”*. Other precautions concerning the subject are as follows; *“children from families with economic deprivation to benefit from private kindergartens and daycare centers and private children's clubs, psychological support programs for children to be expanded, care services to be specialized and its number to be increased, opportunities for children of low-income families to benefit from nursery and daycare services will be improved, mechanisms will be developed to encourage children to benefit from institutional care services, standards for institutional care services in the field of social work to be developed and the quality of these services to be improved, legislative preparations to be completed to increase the efficiency of social transfers aimed at improving income distribution and reducing poverty, research studies to be carried out to remove obstacles to women's entrepreneurship and to improve women's roles in economic life.”* (Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı, 2016).

According to the Ministry of Family and Social Policies Annual Report (2015), *“In order to preserve the young and dynamic population structure and to prevent the rapid decline in fertility, work- and family life-oriented practices will be developed through reconciliation the practices for women, birth-based leave and rights will be developed, nurseries will be encouraged and flexible working opportunities will be provided.”* In a society where equal opportunities are not attained, it is important to have temporary solutions on the behalf of the disadvantageous group until the problem is disappeared and the equality has attained, in other words, positive discrimination. However, seeking out equal opportunities for women from the reproductionary perspective is

depreciative for women. On the first hand, women should not be seen as an essential tool for a steady population, since women are human above all. Of course, it is important to generate satisfying conditions on behalf of the citizens for them to have family and children, but the amelioration of the women's working conditions should not be because of that reason, rather than compensating their loss generated by the traditional gender roles.

The Ministry of Family and Social Policies has many projects aimed at obtaining gender equality in working life. In that scope, Project of Women's Access to Economic Opportunity Enhancement Turkey, consists of three components; "Strengthening Evidence-Based Policy Making", "Information Sharing, and Awareness Raising in order to increase women's access to the labor market" and "the Women's Promotion of Cooperatives" between 2012 and 2016, carried out in cooperation with the Swedish Ministry of International Development and Cooperation Agency (SIDA) and the Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Services and the World Bank. The project has supported seven research reports published on the web page (Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı, 2016).

"Young Ideas Powerful Women Project" cooperation protocol was signed by the Ministry of Family and Social Policies in collaboration with Intel Technology Services Limited Company and the Women Entrepreneurs Association of Turkey in 2012. To empower women in Turkey, raise awareness on gender equality and create equal opportunities for participation in regional economic development; innovative solutions and social entrepreneurship projects were developed through the use of technology to strengthen the social position of women and to prevent discrimination against women through young people aged 18-30 years. Idea camps were carried out with the participation of approximately 500 young people (Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı, 2016). It is consistent with Accenture (2017) Report's outcomes which suggests taking three steps to obtain gender equality in the market; digital fluency, the dissemination of career strategies that leads to digital and technological competence (see Section 2.3.3.).

"Turkey's Engineer Girls Project (2016-2020)" has been launched by the Ministry of Family and Social Services in cooperation with the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and Limak Holding. The project aims to contribute to inclusive and sustainable growth by supporting girls who want to become an engineer, in high school and university education, to make them become prominent examples of their

profession and to develop models for increasing female employment. Scholarships were given to 40 students studying in engineering faculties of universities (Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı, 2016). Even though the projects are serving quite well to reverse the gender stereotypes and gender division of labor, 40 students from all over Turkey from secondary and tertiary education combined wouldn't be able to have a great effect on the problem.

To increase the number of kindergartens in organized industrial zones, the cooperation protocol was signed between the Ministry of Family and Social Policies, the Ministry of Science, Industry and Trade and Borusan Holding to implement "My Mother's Work is My Future" project. Within the scope of the protocol, nurseries are planned to be held in organized industrial zones in 10 different provinces (Adıyaman, Afyonkarahisar, Malatya, Şanlıurfa, Ordu-Fatsa, Karaman, Balıkesir, Çorum, Mardin, Diyarbakır) between 2013-2019. For this purpose, within the framework of the project, kindergarten construction in Adıyaman Organized Industrial Zone was completed and officially opened. Nursery construction in Afyonkarahisar Organized Industrial Zone was completed and started to operate (Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı, 2014).

Within the scope of "My Mother's Work is My Future Project" the construction of kindergartens were completed in Balıkesir and Malatya Organized Industrial Zones completed in 2015 (Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı, 2015). It shows the importance the ministry gives to increase female employment in the manufacturing sector.

"Women, Disabled, Veteran and Martyrs' Relatives Entrepreneurship Activities for the Development of Women's Employment and Increasing Women's Employment Protocol" was signed between the Ministry of Family and Social Policies and the Ministry of Science, Industry, and Technology in 2012 (Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı, 2015). Within the scope of the protocol, the strategies have been set up to support women's entrepreneurship, and within the framework of measures aimed at reconciliation of work and family life, it is foreseen to encourage the opening of kindergartens where women working in organized industrial zones can leave their children. In 2014, nurseries were opened in Gaziantep and Osmaniye Organized Industrial Zones.

With the "Free Care Service", it is ensured that families with low-income level stay with their families and benefit from day nurseries without public protection of their

children in the scope of Social and Economical Support Services. 1831 children benefit in 2015.

In the 2015 Annual Report, The Ministry of Family and Social Policies stated that with the change it has made in its service provision in recent years, the ministry will give priority to family care-oriented services instead of institution oriented care services. The Ministry of Family and Social Services of Turkey stated in the Annual Reports (2015 and 2016) that they aim to create equal opportunities for women, raise awareness in this subject and popularize the care service given by the family(women) at the same time. This situation is contradictory since one of the reasons which cause unequal opportunities towards women is domestic care services as mentioned before.

The project on "Increasing the Employment of Disadvantaged Women" aims to increase the employability of disadvantaged women through vocational training, guidance, access to public services and rehabilitation support, and to ensure that these women are employed through compensating the employers' share in the scope of the project if they employ women in the target audience. The project is planned to organize vocational training, guidance, access to public services and rehabilitation courses to the target audience and to employ 5,000 disadvantaged women (Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı, 2015).

The cooperation protocol on “Supporting Teacher Training on Gender and Participation in Life and Employment” signed between the Ministry of Family and Social Policies, Directorate General on the Status of Women, the Ministry of National Education and Young Life Foundation. The project is aimed at the secondary education teachers, students and for the students' parents (Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı, 2015).

The Ministry of Family and Social Policies carries out training and seminars to improve institutional capacity in collaboration with relevant institutions and organizations, to raise awareness in the fight against violence. In this context, police officers, health officials, religious officials, public officials, the Ministry of National Education, the Ministry of Agriculture, court clerks and editorial managers, communication faculty students, local media employees, family court judges and prosecutors, property inspectors, district governor candidates, provincial directorates social workers and national defense ministry personnel are attended to the training and

seminars(Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı, 2015). There are courses on gender equality and women's human rights in universities that are sensitive to the subject, practices differ depending on the universities (Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı, 2015).

Between the Ministry of Family and Social Policies and the Ministry of Labor and Social Security; “The Cooperation Protocol on Employment, Child Labor and Social Assistance” was signed in February 2012. The protocol consists of reconciliation of work and family life and expanding childcare services in this context. The protocol aims to study the topics of İŞKUR’s training modules on gender equality, human rights of women, the rights in working life, prevention of violence against women, family education. The Protocol also aims to facilitate access to İŞKUR of the women who are victims of violence, women who have less than a year for evacuation, widow, women abandoned by their husbands, women whose husbands are in prison and divorced women (Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı, 2014).

The ILO Office in Turkey in collaboration with İŞKUR developed "Women to Get More and Better Jobs: Empowerment of Women for Decent Job in Turkey" project aims to prepare the gender equality training material (Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı, 2014).

"Convenient Promoting Environment for Gender Equality in Turkey" report in the scope of the United Nations Joint Program consists of a recommendation report for the development of gender mechanisms in Turkey, reports containing their current situation analysis and recommendations on the different problem areas are prepared. The project was completed with the closing meeting held on June 2014 (Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı, 2014).

To reduce the gender equality gap in the scope of economic participation and opportunities, "The Equality at Work Declaration" was signed by the member companies of the Equality at Work Platform. Within the member companies of the platform; increasing the number of female senior executives and employees after joining the Equality at Work Platform, efforts to reconcile work-family life such as nursery facilities and breastfeeding room, practices towards equal pay for equal work, and awareness-raising in the context of equality between women and men progress. 'Equality at Work Platform' Women's Situation Questionnaire was analyzed and the "Survey Analysis Report" was prepared. The report aims to advise companies on

improvements in areas where gender equality is lacking (Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı, 2014).

Increasing and strengthening the socio-economic position of women in Turkey to participate in the economic life "Profile of Female Labor and Statistics A Review of Gender Equality Perspective Project" in Turkey' was carried out. The project provides a detailed identification of the socio-cultural and economic barriers to women's access to the labor market, and provides evidence and conclusions that will pave the way for remedial and developing policies and practices for women currently in the labor market; to produce documents containing detailed information and results on issues such as maintenance responsibilities. Also, *"by interpreting women's data of earnings structures and time usage from a gender perspective, it is expected to contribute to the development of policies and strategies for improving women's status and making women active in all areas of social life"* (Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı, 2014).

In line with the views of the social partners regarding "the Regulation on Heavy and Dangerous Jobs", the jobs in the sectors where the number of female employees is high, such as textiles, food, and ceramics are excluded from the scope of heavy and dangerous jobs. The update in the regulation would lead up higher employability for women in those sectors (Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, 2010).

With the amendment made in the first paragraph of Article 74 of the Labor Law No. 4857; In general, women who can use a total of 16 weeks of parental leave for 8 weeks before and after birth are allowed to use the periods of parental leave which they didn't use before birth in case of early birth (Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, 2011).

According to the Regulation about the Conditions of Employment of Pregnant or Breastfeeding Women and Breastfeeding Rooms and Child Care Dormitories (2013), *pregnant workers shall be given paid leave for their periodical controls during their pregnancy and breastfeeding of their nursing employees, regardless of their age and marital status in the workplaces with 100-150 female employees, employer shall establish a breastfeeding room, breastfeeding room shall be separated from the workplace and at a distance of maximum 250 meters away from the workplace with the specified conditions, leaving 0-6-year-old children in workplaces with more than 150 female employees. It is compulsory that the employer establish a dormitory that is separate from the workplace and close to the workplace and meets the specified conditions for nursing and nursing employees to breastfeed their children for the*

workplaces where there are more than 150 female employees regardless of age and marital status. If the dormitory is more than 250 meters away from the workplace, the employer is obliged to provide vehicles. The number of female employees required for the establishment of a breastfeeding room and/or dormitory shall include the number of male employees whose children's mother has died or whose children's custody has been given to the father (Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, 2011).

In an update to Article 101 of the Civil Servants Act (1965) in 2013, *"Female civil servants cannot be assigned night shifts before the twenty-fourth week, from the twenty-fourth week of pregnancy and for two years after the birth if indicated in the medical report."* (Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı [4212-2 Civil Servants Law article 101], 2013).

The Convention on Equality of Wages between Male and Female Workers for Equal Value Work No. 100 and the Convention on Non-Employment of Women in Underground Works at all Sorts of Mine were signed (Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, 2014).

To increase the registered employment of unregistered childcare providers by reducing the cost of hiring childcare providers, and to facilitate the participation or return of women through home-based childcare services to women who have had the risk of being excluded from the labor market or staying away for a certain period. To ensure that mothers who have children aged between 0-24 months and who are currently working as insured workers (in the status of workers in the private sector) and who will be employed for the first time, or who will start to employ the uninsured childcare providers as insured, can be employed for up to 24 months with the financial support of 300 €. Supporting Registered Women's Employment through Home Child Care Services (NANNY) direct grant contract was signed to provide promotion on Women's Employment (Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, 2015). While the project budget was 39,626,600 Euros in 2015, it was increased to 49,626,600 Euros with the major amendment signed on 21.10.2016. With the amendment, the number of pilot provinces and the amount of financial support was increased. 45,774 payments were made within the scope of financial support. With a total of 2,839 home visits since September 2015, the project was completed on November 5, 2017, with an average of 5,204 mothers receiving direct support and 5,204 babysitters indirectly each month, while a total of

11,327 mothers, 11,327 children, and 15,232 babysitters benefited from the project for at least for one month (Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, 2016).

With the arrangements made with the Law No. 6663, as mentioned in the Ministry of Family and Social Policies' Annual Report (2016), the female workers, in the case of multiple births thirty days from the end of maternity leave added to the period of maternity leave and if the newborn child is disabled this period should be applied as a period of 360 days. The right to part-time work has been introduced. In the first birth, it is provided for 60 days, 120 days for the second birth and 180 days in the next births. With the arrangements, male workers who adopt children under the age of three may also benefit from this right. In the event of the mother's death at birth or after birth, the unbenefited leave shall be made available to the father. One of the adoptive spouses or adoptive parents who adopted a child under the age of three will be granted 8 weeks of maternity or paternity leave from the date the child is delivered to the family. Parents were allowed to work part-time until the beginning of the month following the start of the compulsory primary school age. This shall not be deemed as a valid reason for the termination of the employment contract. The worker who starts working part-time will be able to return to full-time work with the condition of not benefiting from this right for the same child again. If the worker who starts working part-time starts to work full-time, the contract of employment of the replaced worker will automatically terminate. However, to benefit from this right, the other parent must also work.

According to KEİG Platform (2016), working part-time after having a child would solve neither the problem of work-family reconciliation nor the problem of low female participation in the labor force. The platform declares that such policies have no meaning other than the effort to desecuritization the labor market over the burden of care placed on women. KEİG Platform (2016) also indicates that, while the arrangement could be deemed as advantageous for women earning minimum income, it would cause a decrease in wages for those whose net earnings are above 1647 tl. For instance, a woman earning 4000 tl, they would have half of their wage, 2000 tl plus 823 tl from İŞKUR, 2823 tl in total. Moreover, the amount of time the women worked part-time will be deduced from their breastfeeding leave. Additionally, the employer will pay an insurance premium of 13 days instead of 15 days for a woman working 22.5 hours a week due to the application of the number of days reported to the insurance. Since this period is taken into consideration in the state contribution, the

amount paid by the state will be calculated over 13 days. Therefore, in addition to the decrease in income, the female employee will have to complete the missing days by paying premiums to benefit health services since their insurance premium would have had 4 days missing in their insurance premium for each month. Part-time work and full salary apply only to civil servant women. With the additional article added to the Civil Servants Law, two cases are defined as part-time work permit and part-time work right. Part-time work permits give civil servant women the opportunity to work part-time and receive full salary for two months in the first child, four months in the second child and six months in the third child, and the right to part-time work for both parents, It is used as 2 months in the first child, 4 months in the second child and 6 months in the third child and 6 months in the others until the child reaches primary school age. *"That is, there is no part-time work until the child starts primary school as suggested."* (KEİG Platform, 2016). The Regulation on Part-Time Work also regulates the right to work part-time only for employees under the Labor Law. In other words, workers will work part-time if they wish, but their wages and social security rights will be reduced by half. Therefore, discrimination is made between women and civil servants on part-time work leave as well as on breastfeeding and unpaid leave. While civil servants can use breastfeeding break for 3 hours in the first 6 months and 1.5 hours for milk in the second 6 months, it is 1,5 hours for workers. While unpaid leave can be used by both male and female officers for a period of 24 months, it is only granted to female workers for 6 months. At this point, the fact that men earn more than women shouldn't be ignored. It would also lead women to work part-time and their male partners working full time (KEİG Platform, 2017). At this point, the problem seems to be more structural.

According to the General Directorate of Labor of the Ministry of Labor and Social Security; The Grandmother Project for Supporting Women's Employment, which was prepared in order to support women's employment and cultural transfer by providing children with the opportunity to grow together with their grandmothers, envisages making payments of 425 tl per month for 12 months to the grandmothers who are taking care of the children who have not reached the age of three. Under the project, 425 TL is paid to 6,500 grandmothers for 12 months month (Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, 2017).

According to KEİG Platform (2017), *“the project is aimed at decreasing the costs generated by care services social transfers and presents women's labor as something infinite, ready to use at any time and to be substituted by public service. This approach prevents the possibility of a more independent life possibility for women after a certain age where their burden is lighter in that period, as well as the perception of early childhood education and care as a public service in terms of social development of children. This proposal also excludes the problem of childcare for unmarried women and women who don't have a mother.”*.

Under the headline of "Increasing the Employment of Groups Requiring Special Policies", care services and the provision of flexible working forms in the legislation will be supported in order to increase women's participation in the labor force and to strengthen the infrastructure and facilitate the employment of groups requiring special policies, especially women, is envisaged (Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, 2018).

The National Monitoring and Coordination Committee for Women's Employment will be established in accordance with the Circular of 25 May 2010 on “Increasing Female Employment and Equal Opportunity”. This board will primarily monitor the equality of opportunity for women's employment in the public sector and the implementation of the laws, regulations and other regulations enacted in this regard. In all audits conducted for both public and private sector workplaces, whether the provisions on gender equality are complied with, shall be included in the audit report. Public institutions and organizations and local administrations will include the gender equality approach in their strategic plans, performance programs, and annual reports, in which statistical data and scientific researches and appropriations will be used in these texts. While drafting legislation by public institutions, equality of opportunity impact assessment will be made and annexed to them. There shall be no gender-based discrimination in terms of participation in public employment exams and in-service training programs, promotion in office and promotion, promotion in senior management levels, and the principle of equal opportunity between men and women (Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, 2018).

According to KEİG Platform (2017), the Circular on Increasing Women's Employment and Ensuring Equal Opportunity was revised in 2017 by the Plan Budget Commission and the text was updated. With the update of the Circular on Increasing Women's

Employment 'equal pay for equal work' provision was issued. *“The first thing that draws attention to the draft proposal is that the word equality is completely excluded from the text.”*. Thus, the article concerning the monitoring of gender equality provision in the workplace inspection reports stipulating that gender equality provision in Labor Law Article 5, which envisages monitoring of gender equality at ministerial level in ministries, is removed from the text. Also, the statistical data collection on home-based working women was excluded from the text.

For the children whose mother and father work, to go to kindergarten the Ministry of Family and Social Services gives financial aid. To benefit from the help provided by the Ministry of Family and Social Policies, it is for the parents whose children are aged between 0 and 5 years and who are not able to afford childcare services even though they are working. The parent who pays rent and don't have a house as a registered property, the fathers whose children's mother died or who divorced from his wife and have the custody of the children along with parents who have to work and live alone can benefit from financial aid. Priority is given to salary amounts in the examinations conducted for the mother or father to receive nursery benefits (Sosyal Yardım Platformu, 2019).

According to KEİG Platform (2019), this practice can lead to employing women with young children being more costly than employing men since responsibility for the care costs of the young children of paid employees is to be left to the employer. *“Therefore, this change will not have the effect of reducing discrimination against women in recruitment.”*.

In 2018, 841,736 people were provided with job search skills training by İŞKUR to facilitate the entry of disadvantaged groups into the labor market (İŞKUR, 2018).

Within the scope of the on-the-job training programs which acquire people to practice an occupation, the duration of the program in the manufacturing and IT sector was increased from 3 months to 6 months. In addition, monthly childcare support of 400 tl was provided to women who have participated in courses and programs in the manufacturing sector and who have children aged 2-5 years. For the employment of women in qualified jobs, İŞKUR implemented the Mother-at-Work Project within the scope of the Presidency 1.100-Day Execution Program (İŞKUR, 2018).

More and Better Jobs for Women: Women's Empowerment Project in Turkey for Decent Work project conducted in collaboration with ILO and İŞKUR. Active labor market programs are used as a tool and the provision of decent work opportunities is to support gender equality and labor standards in the area of raising awareness and strengthening female employment in Turkey. The target group of the project is unemployed women registered to İŞKUR. The project budget is financed by the Swedish International Cooperation Development Agency (SIDA). The project started in March 2013 and ended in the first quarter of 2018. The project was implemented in Ankara, Konya, Bursa, and Istanbul pilot provinces, but it was aimed to achieve national results to increase female employment.

Part-time work allowance for the reconciliation of work and family life, after the end of the maternity leave, the female worker who gives birth and the male or female workers adopting children who are less than three years old would be able to work part-time from 60 to 360 days according to the number of births and the disability of the child. With the employment contract, the part-time working practice can be performed for every worker who works or is not covered by the Labor Law. The daily allowance of part-time work is the gross amount of the minimum wage and the upper limit of allowance in 2018 is TL 1.007.05.

'Specialized Vocational Training Centers Skill'10 Project In 2010 is signed in collaboration with the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, İŞKUR, Turkish Union of Chambers and Exchange Commodities (TOBB), TOBB Economy and Technology University and Ministry of National Education General Directorate of Vocational and Technical Education, in order to increase the industrial and vocational and technical education, and was revised in 2014. It is ensured that the trainees receiving vocational training in the project schools receive their practical training in the workplace demanding labor. On the other hand, the technical infrastructure of the schools within the Project was improved, machinery and equipment were renewed and trainers' training was provided. Within the scope of the project, a total of 24.120 people participated in 1,354 courses/programs in 2014, including 11,998 male and 12,122 females (İŞKUR, 2014).

In the scope of Supporting Women's Employment Operation, which is implemented in 43 provinces with the aim of increasing women's employability, facilitating their

access to more and better jobs and reducing the barriers preventing women's participation in the labor force, and supporting İŞKUR to provide more effective public employment services at local level, total Grant Projects and Institutional Capacity Development were supported. The target groups of the project are women who have been unemployed for a long time due to their elderly and childcare responsibilities, who have not been included in the labor force, women who have been unemployed in urban areas, including women and women who have previously worked in the agricultural sector. As a result of the Grant Component completed in 2011, 9,856 women attended vocational courses, 9,557 women received certificates as a result of grant projects, 914 women were employed, 780 women participated in entrepreneurship courses and 113 women were entrepreneurs. 1,940 women have received child, patient, elderly and disability care training, 118 women have benefited from career counseling and guidance services, and a total of 140 women received childcare services during 12 projects. In 24 projects, a total of 2,424 women received social empowerment training, 21 women participated in the production as a member of the cooperative, and 631 women started to work on a home-based basis (İŞKUR, 2012).

It is clear that both the Ministry of Family and Social Policies, the Ministry of Labor and Social Security and İŞKUR recognizes the problematic of care services given by women as a burden and an obstacle for them to participate in the labor force and the problematic of the gender division of labor. The Projects concerning female labor are overall focused on the empowerment of women in the working life, researching the status quo concerning the subject, incentives on care services and encourage women to work in the production sector. But as can be seen, many of the projects are not nation-wide and serving for temporary amelioration and has many conditions to participate. Another prominent observation on the projects is the fact that they are not aimed at solving structural problems which would be possible with transforming traditionally assigned gender roles. The extension of parental leaves is for women except for the adoption case and the law of civil servants which gives the right for working part-time for both parents. In those cases, the male civil servants and the fathers who adopted children benefiting parental part-time right should be studied to assess the effectiveness of those rights without transforming traditionally assigned gender roles. Gender equality brings many advantages with itself; the reduction in

poverty, a happier society, wellbeing, economic advancement, etc. To reach its potential, Turkey should have should undergo the policies which would change the unequal gender structure.

6. POLICY SUGGESTIONS

The Turkish labor market has gender discriminative patterns. Female labor force participation is very low when compared to the OECD countries and it has a cost on the economy and wellbeing of the society (see Section 2). Gender division of labor is a result of cultural gender patterns and evolves in many shapes until reaching the case of equality. The main reason for Turkish women to withdraw from the labor force is marriage and having children of which leads to unpaid reproduction and care services. This situation is seen especially among primary and high school graduates. It is possible that working women with a university degree can overcome this problem by employing a careworker to the house, but women who are primary and high school graduates who have relatively lower wages in an environment without public childcare services are forced to leave the labor force. Turkey has the longest working hours among the OECD countries. Even if the child goes home, carrying the responsibility of a small child at home makes it impossible to be in the labor force. Women who have the opportunity to work and pick up the child from school are either working part-time or work shorter hours. Therefore, this situation directs women and men to choose different professions or women's nonparticipation in the labor force. Women prefer to work in jobs that will allow more comfortable childcare.

The gap created by the commodification of public care services is filled by women mostly without any compensation or financial assistance from the government which is not aimed at to solve the structural problem women face. At this point, the concept of unrequited labor appears. The majority of women are more responsible in giving care services to the children, elderly, disabled and ill in the frame of their household which happens to be labor-intensive and time-consuming jobs. The state should provide quality, corporate services. Attainment to pre-school education in Turkey is much lower than the OECD average; it is 35% for the 0-2 age group in the OECD (KEİG Platform,2018) whereas it is under 1% in Turkey (See Table 20). Many children in Turkey, before the age of kindergarten or primary school, are not going to

kindergarten. The difference might be caused by the different policies the governments prioritize. The government should provide free, eligible and dependable childcare services to its citizens. Maternity and paternity permit leaves be equally distributed for both duration and part-time work allowance. Flexible working for mothers without marginalizing them from the labor market like floating working hours, working from home should be considered.

İŞKUR has many projects aimed at solving the problem of childcare services, but the projects should be for everyone without regarding their gender or financial status. While doing so, its main motivation must be obtaining gender equality rather than reversing the decreasing fertility rates.

The gender equality would be attained if and only if the maternity leave would be transformed into the parental leave where both parents are eager to take the leave equally. To have that state of equality, one country needs to prioritize the dedicated solutions to efface the structural problems leading to perform traditionally assigned gender roles and therefore, gender division of labor, the wage gap, and the glass ceiling. The state of equality would have many perks such as poverty reduction, higher education level in the society, wellbeing, economic gains such as a more effective retirement system, inclusive development, higher economic growth, less social transfers paid, more money circulating in the economy, therefore, higher GDP. The most effective solution to create employment for women and taking into consideration that the Turkish population is getting older and older as many other countries, the investment made in the care services sector rather than construction and physical infrastructure would be more advantageous (İlkkaracan, 2017).

There are no effective policies regarding labor economics and gender; existing policies and laws are not applied effectively. Then the problem appears to be auditing rather than the lack of appropriate laws. This problem should be solved by auditing public and private institutions.

Paying wages to housewives is a practice that empowers women temporarily but it regenerates inequality. Looking at the social structure, it becomes an environment where the public space is guided by men.

Another problem is that girls tend to choose social sciences for studying and boys tend to choose natural sciences which happens to pay more. Those decisions about choosing

a field for studying happens intuitively. From the beginning of their lives, girls and boys perform the roles that are attained to them via their biological sexes. Parents and the prejudices parents carry with them are also effective in the fields children study. In Turkey, parents want their daughters to work in female-dominated fields, incorporate companies with shorter working hours taking into consideration that their daughters will marry one day and have children. In order to preclude the gender division of labor STEM-oriented training should be followed from the level of kindergarten as educational policy. There must be legislations as temporary solutions until the problem is no longer there affecting people.

7. CONCLUSION

There are many disadvantages of the gender pay gap aside from seeking equality; it is against solidarity, decreases productivity, causes a potential loss in GDP and it is an obstacle to achieving inclusive growth and a sustainable social system especially for an aging population. The equalitarian case has a poverty-reducing effect and a higher socioeconomic level. Caused by gender norms, women tend to invest in their children's' education, nutrition, etc. which can result in higher levels of school enrolment for girls. At the same time, it can help to reduce public transfers and welfare state benefits received by non-working women.

The most important issue that determines the participation of women in the labor force and thus their withdrawal from the workforce is maintenance services. 40% of women are married and leave their jobs after having children (see Section 2.3.1.). This is not the case for men. This is exactly the result of gender roles.

For this goal, as the main tool, in 2000 with the partnership of the World Bank, İŞKUR implemented vocational courses with job guarantee all across Turkey aiming to increase female labor force participation and employment. İŞKUR is a public institution linked to the Family, Work and Social Security Ministry, thus its policies are shaped through public policies. If the government wants to increase female employment and social welfare, it should concentrate on solving structural dynamics of the discriminatory labor market rather than seeking quantitative increase, with gender mainstreaming policies that aim to represent women in the working life equally rather than giving incentives to help women stay home; if so, it wouldn't prevent gender gap and it would reproduce the traditional gender roles along with gender division labor. In order to solve this problem, the insurance premium discounts given to the employers as incentives can be made longer. İŞKUR recognizes and attaches importance to the problems women face in the labor market as low participation in the labor force, gender-division of labor, double work, glass ceiling. However, the policies

İŞKUR makes according to those problems, but the projects are aimed at solving the structural problems appeal to a small group of people which wouldn't be adequate for solving the problems and the projects İŞKUR has which have a wider target group are from the projects serving for temporary solutions and restricting women's freedom such as NANNY project implying grandmothers taking care of their children with financial assistance coming from İŞKUR, as incentive given to the women working home and as part-time work allowance after the birth (see Section 5).

In the study İŞKUR's Annual Data from 1980 to 2017 are analyzed and it is found that, until 2002, vacancies taken from the public sector were higher than that of the private sector. Placements made to the public sector were predominantly men. As vacancies are taken from the private sector increased, placements became to be more equal genderwise until 2011. Agricultural placements were also too high until 2002 and predominantly women were placed in those agricultural positions.

Female applicants and private sector female placements have so far increased over the years; according to İŞKUR's Annual Data, the number of female applicants increased by 10,9 times while the increase for male applicants is 6,5 times and 7,9 times for total placements increased 8,9 times for men and 2,8 times for women. Female registered unemployed increased 20 times for women and 7,3 times for men.

Besides İŞKUR, it can be acknowledged that from public staff, only 37,98% are women. In academics, as women and men start equally, in the end, as the level of positions increases, women are more than 50% more behind than men.

The unequal representation in İŞKUR can not be explained İŞKUR's discriminatory behavior but can be explained with the gender division of labor. According to the Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Services' Labor Market Surveys, it is found that the increasing importance of manufacturing and IT sectors lead employers and public institutions to tend to employ male employees. In order to solve this problem, free, eligible and dependable childcare should be provided to both men and women, STEM education from kindergarten to tertiary education should be applied along with the awareness campaigns on the gender roles and how it affects the societies.

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