



**MAKING ECONOMIES
WORK FOR WOMEN:
FEMALE LABOUR FORCE
PARTICIPATION IN TURKEY**



OXFAM

tepav

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1. INTRODUCTION

Presently, Female Labor Force Participation (hereafter cited as FLFP) in Turkey is exceptionally low by international standards and had been in long-term decline until recently. In 2012, the female participation rate at 29,5 % was the lowest in the OECD and second lowest amongst G20 economies; the employment rate stood at 26,3 %.¹ Time series evidence suggests that FLFP in Turkey has been following a U-shaped pattern reflecting the relationship between FLFP and the changing composition of the labor force away from agriculture towards nonagricultural activities (Uraz et al 2009, Dayioglu & Kırdar 2009, Erman 1998, SPO 2007, Taymaz 2009, World Bank 2009, 2004). The upward trend in FLFP since 2005 is driven by a growing number of women in salaried work that started to increase faster than the number of women working in agriculture. Between 2004 and 2012, many women moved out of agricultural and informal sector jobs to the formal economy although informality is still very high for women at 54% in 2012 (TurkStat Labor Force Statistics).

In spite of progress, rising FLFP has not necessarily promoted gender equality or empowerment for women. More women than men continue to be unemployed and the underemployment rate of women is approaching that of their male counterparts. Moreover, gender inequality in the labor market can be observed in the vertical and horizontal segregation by gender. The movement from agriculture to mainly services sector (which now dominates the female labor market) has not necessarily translated into better jobs, more productive employment or higher income for women. In spite of growing female employment in the services sector, males continue to be disproportionately represented in higher end positions while women work in low paying or in part-time jobs (Dayioglu & Kırdar 2009). The only occupational group where women are at an advantage with respect to wage levels compared to men is in managerial positions. Yet, very few women reach such positions and enjoy high wages. Even within major occupational groups there are significant wage gaps in spite of the fact that unequal pay is prohibited by both the Labor Law and the Constitution ('the equal pay for equal work' principle).

Moreover, gender inequality often intersects with other forms of socio-economic inequalities such as those of access to education, of class and physical locale (urban/rural, East –West). The level of education remains the main determinant of FLFP, of access to high end occupations and higher earnings (Uraz et al 2010, Dayioglu & Kırdar 2009, Baslevent & Onaran 2003). This research paper also shows that attainment of higher levels of education matter more for women's participation than for men; women with tertiary education degrees are more likely to reach high end occupations compared to women with high school degrees and earn almost twice the amount of female vocational high school graduates (Based on TurkStat Labor Force Statistics 2012). These figures are worrisome since only small portions of the female population reach higher education levels while most women (67.4 % of women) stop their education at the primary level (Ibid.). Moreover, access to education is low and inadequate especially for women coming from lower income groups and from developing regions and rural areas (ERG 2010, Duman 2008, Yukseker et al 2007, Smits et al 2006, Duygan & Guner 2005).

Furthermore, there are deep gaps in women's employment patterns between regions as well as between rural and urban areas. In Turkey, the regions in the Western part of the country are more industrialized and more developed than those in the East where agricultural employment is almost or more than double the national average and where FLFP rate compare to the national average for FLFP in a similar way (TurkStat Labor Force Statistics 2012).

Also looking at total national figures female employment in agricultural and in informal jobs is much higher compared to men. In 2012 more than half (54%) of worked informally without social benefits or job protection. The large proportions of unpaid work also make up for the extremely high informal employment rate of 97 % among women in agriculture (compared to 27% informality in non-agricultural jobs for women). Again education profile has a significant impact on whether employment is in formal or informal sectors (Ibid).

1. Labor force participation is the percentage of working-age persons (15 and above) in the economy who are either employed or unemployed and looking for a job. Employment rate represent persons in employment as a percentage of the population of working age (15- 64 years). The employment rate includes both formal and informal employment.

The government has taken various measures in the past decade to create employment opportunities in the formal sector and to remove gender related barriers to education and employment. Important policy items have been employment incentive (Insurance Premiums) schemes for women and investment incentive schemes in developing regions to tackle the problem of informality (The Turkish Ministry of Economy 2012). Revamping of the education system has also been central to the government's efforts (e.g. the introduction of the 1997 compulsory education law) and has resulted in expanding enrollment at all levels of education and of female students (Dincer et al 2013).

However, key areas including gender equal maternity (and paternity) leave and adequate child care that may help women reconcile work and family life and influence their attachment to the labor market have not been addressed sufficiently. Due to lack of recognition of the role for fathers in childcare (CECR 2011, Acer et al 2007) as well as inadequate provision of affordable childcare and elderly care facilities (UNICEF 2012) have left the domestic division of labor unchallenged and kept women at home and out of the labor market.

Moreover, in Turkey social rights are not based on citizenship but are limited to certain groups (civil servants, workers in the formal sector) or target people in need (defined as the poorest) (Bozcaga 2013). Thus, policies regulating benefits (chiefly the new Labor and Social Security laws) and equality considerations have been directed towards those who are employed in the formal sector, while women's work is primarily in the informal sector or in home-based activities and in unpaid agricultural work. In 2008 and 2011 important reform legislation was passed to extend social insurance coverage (Law No. 5754 and Law 6111, respectively). The 2008 law incorporated salaried domestic workers with steady jobs. The 2011 regulation covers occupations such as casual agricultural workers and home-based workers, thereby giving a large proportion of women access to key social rights and protection mechanisms. Yet, the new law provides social insurance to unpaid agricultural workers, unpaid family workers and home-based work on a voluntary basis, in effect excludes these groups from the compulsory system. Moreover, the new laws (Turkish Labor and Social Security laws) have a number of provisions that discourage participation making informal employment more attractive for employees and employers (Elveren 2013, Karadeniz 2012).

Finally, literature on worldwide trends relates the observed increases in FLFP to number of factors including a) the increase in women's years of schooling; b) the increase in women's earnings and the narrowing of the gender wage gap ; c) the decline in women's fertility rates; d) the decline in the marriage rate and the increase in the divorce rate; and e) "other" implicit but difficult to measure circumstances such as technological progress in household production, the decreased cost of childrearing and changes in social norms (Eckstein & Lifshitz 2009). Compared to international evidence on FLFP, Turkey has increased years of women's schooling substantially. Also fertility rates dropped marriage rates have gone down while divorce rates have gone up and so forth. One of the main obstacles to FLFP lie in the poor institutional capacity that would support women who are left with the task to care for children and the elderly. There are, however, socio-cultural barriers to women's participation in the labor market (i.e. domestic division of labor which places women as homemakers, particularly in urban areas) although this is also changing, as has been partly reflected in key legislative reforms of the past decade (Constitutional amendments, the new Civil Code etc.). These reinstated women's position in the family and in society on an equal footing with men, at least in the legal arena. Nevertheless there do remain key policy areas, which continue to uphold gender bias (particularly in the social security system), and poor implementation of gender equality laws and principles as well as continued gender bias in familial and social relations outside of the state's coverage.

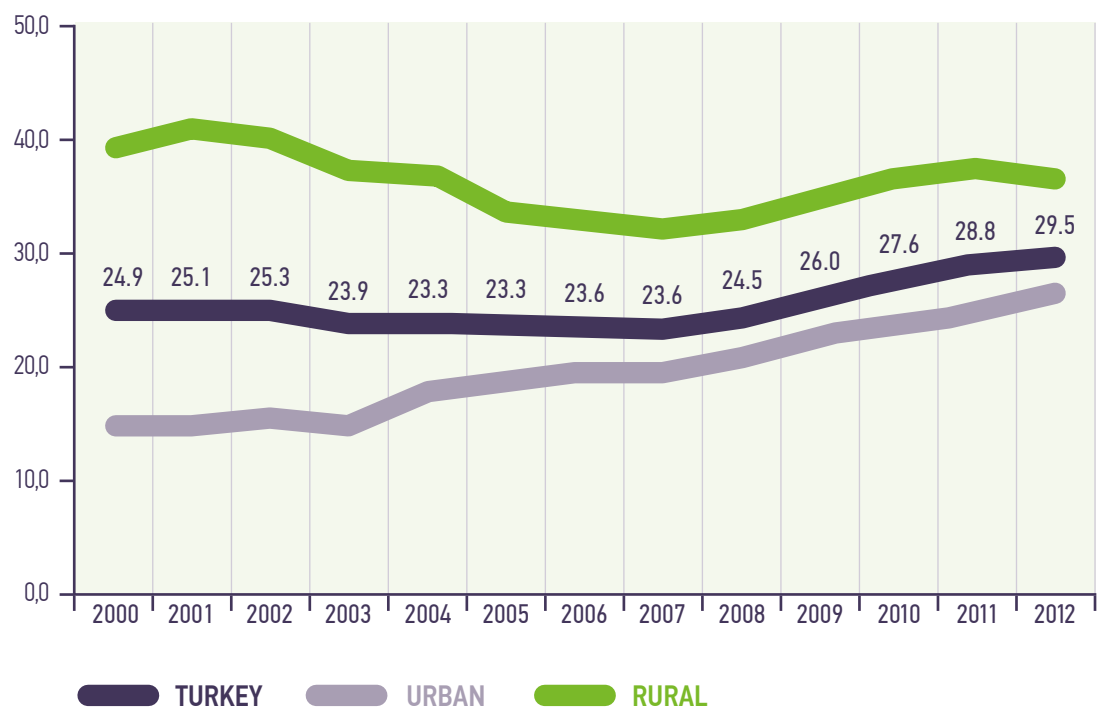
2- GENDER EMPLOYMENT TRENDS

A- OVERVIEW OF FEMALE LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION (FLFP) IN TURKEY

Time series evidence suggests that FLFP in Turkey has been following a U-shaped pattern that relates female labor force participation rates to the changing composition of the labor force away from agriculture towards nonagricultural activities (Uraz et al 2009, Dayioglu & Kirdar 2009, Erman 1998, SPO 2007, Taymaz 2009, World Bank 2009, 2004)². Following a period of sharp decline that lasted throughout the 1990s (hitting a low point in 2005), FLFP rates have started going up in recent years.

The share of women in salaried work has been rising continuously since the 1990s and since 2005 the number of women in salaried work started to increase faster than the number of women in agriculture while informal employment declined (notwithstanding some increases in informal and agricultural employment of women during the 2009 crisis). Furthermore, upwards trends in female participation on all education levels (See Section 5.b.iii Education Policy and Trends) and the strong positive effect the level of education has on labor participation (Table 9. Female Education Profile by Labour Force Participation) supports the thesis that female employment will continue to expand.³

FIGURE 1. Female Labor Force Participation rate, 2000-2012 (Turkey, Urban, Rural)



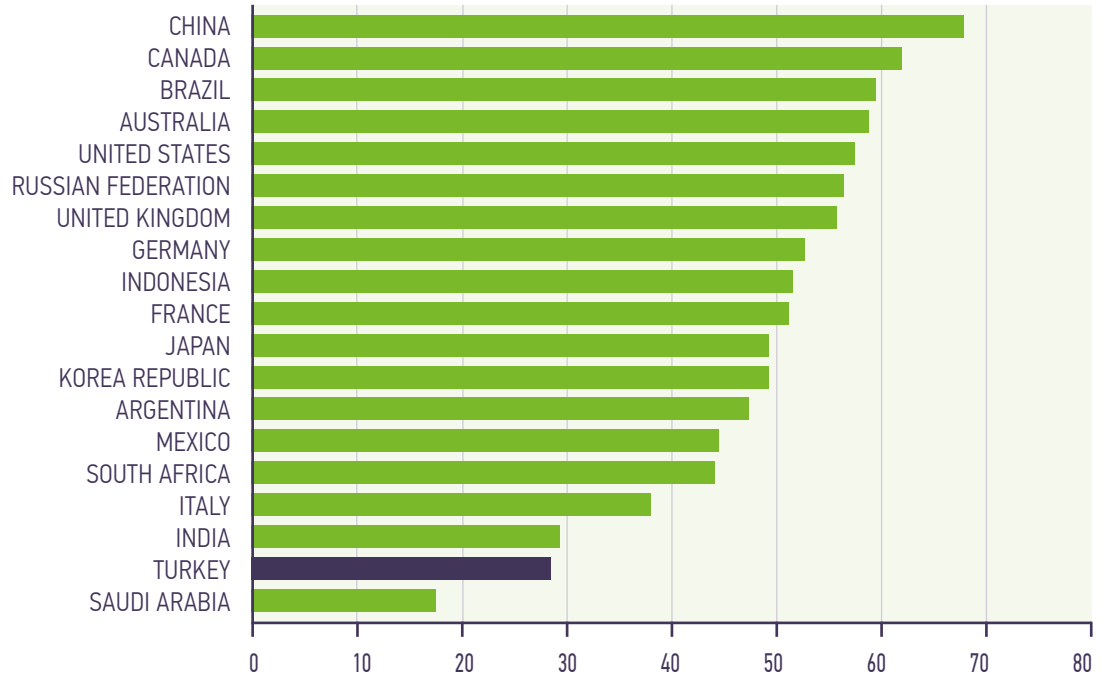
Source: TurkStat Labor Force Statistics

2. The U-shaped pattern generally relates the relationship of female labor force participation rates to the process of economic development see, for example, the work of Boserup (1970), Durand (1975), Kottis (1990), Schultz (1991) and Tam (2011). This study, however, relates FLFP simply to the changing composition of the labor force away from agriculture towards nonagricultural activities as economic growth and development dynamics in the Turkish context are too complex and insufficient to explain the changing patterns of FLFP.

3. Over the past few decades, the FLFP dropped from 72 % in 1955 34,5 % in 1990 to 26,6 % in 2000. It dipped even lower in the aftermath of the 2001 Turkish economic crisis which led to the government cuts in agricultural subsidies, reaching 23.3% in 2004. Since 2005 it has been rising steadily reaching 29,5% in 2012.

4. The latest year for which comparative data is available is 2011.

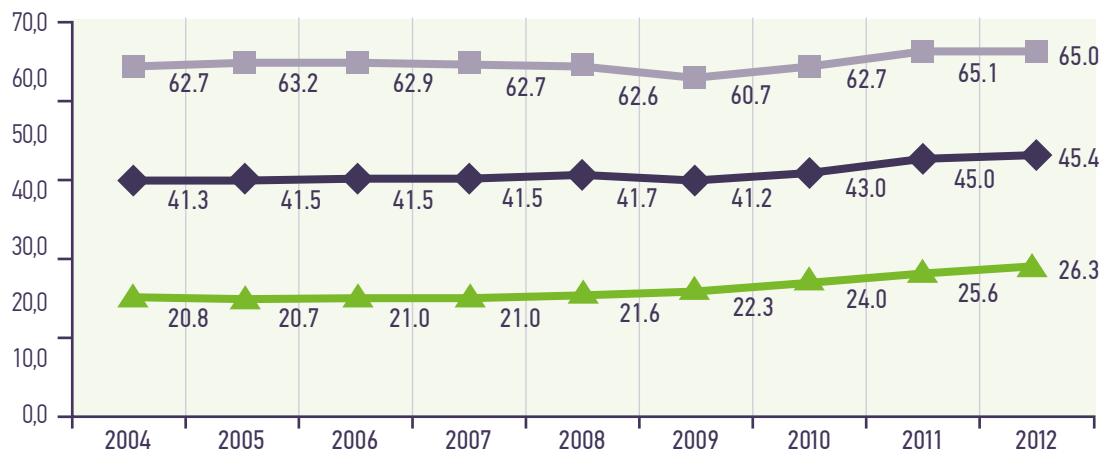
Notwithstanding, Turkey's labor force participation rates of women are markedly lower than those in developed nations, and even in some developing countries. In 2011, Turkey ranked lowest for FLFP amongst OECD countries and second lowest amongst G20 countries (after Saudi Arabia). Turkey shows a lower rate of FLFP when compared to countries with similar GDP per capita levels e.g. China, Argentina, Mexico, Brazil and South Africa⁴.

FIGURE 2. Female Labor Force Participation Rate in G20 Countries, annual 2011

Source: World Development Indicators (WDI)

B- EMPLOYMENT RATE

The increase in labor force participation rate for women since 2005 is also accompanied by improvements in the female employment rate. Moreover, in the aftermath of the 2008 crisis women's employment figures contributed more to employment recovery than those of male employment.

FIGURE 3. Employment rate by sex and by years (%)

Source: TurkStat Labor Force Statistics

◆ TOTAL ■ MALE ▲ FEMALE

C- EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND INFORMAL WORK

Employment status of women improved between 2004 and 2012 as women moved out of agricultural and informal sector jobs to the formal economy. The proportion of women once working as unpaid workers dropped 10% points between 2004 and 2012. Most of the shift from unpaid employment to regular or per diem work took place during the same period while there was no significant change in the proportion of women who were self-employed or who were job owners. This is largely due to the fact that women are more likely to face credit constraints than men and lack the start-up capital, skills and networks to run their own enterprise. Furthermore, informal credit provided by family and friends continue to make up a large proportion of credits, especially that are provided to poor households and SMEs. The provision of informal credit, which is dependent mostly on relationships and social networks often excludes women given the male dominated social structure and business networking system.

TABLE 1. Employment Status by Sex and by Selected Years (annual, 2004 and 2012) (%)

15+ age	2004			2012		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Regular/ per diem employee	58	45	54	67	54	63
Employer	7	1	5	7	1	5
Own account worker	28	10	23	22	11	19
Unpaid family worker	8	44	17	5	34	13
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: TurkStat Labor Force Statistics

Notwithstanding, few women have regular or per diem salary jobs or own their own business and many women continue to work in the informal sector as unpaid family workers compared to men. Large proportions of unpaid work also make up for the extremely high informal employment rate of 97 % among women in agriculture.

TABLE 2. Informal Employment Rate by sex and by selected years (annual, 2004 and 2012) (%)

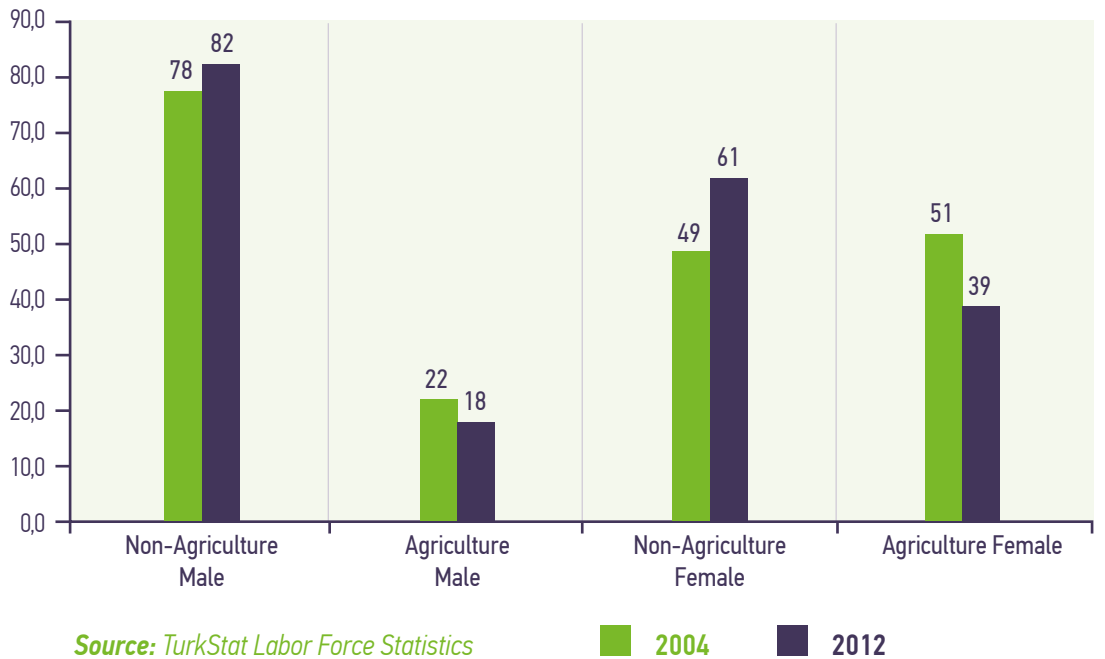
	2004			2012		
	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total
Total	67	44	50	54	33	39
Agriculture	99	83	90	97	73	84
Non-Agriculture	35	34	34	27	24	25

Source: TurkStat Labor Force Statistics

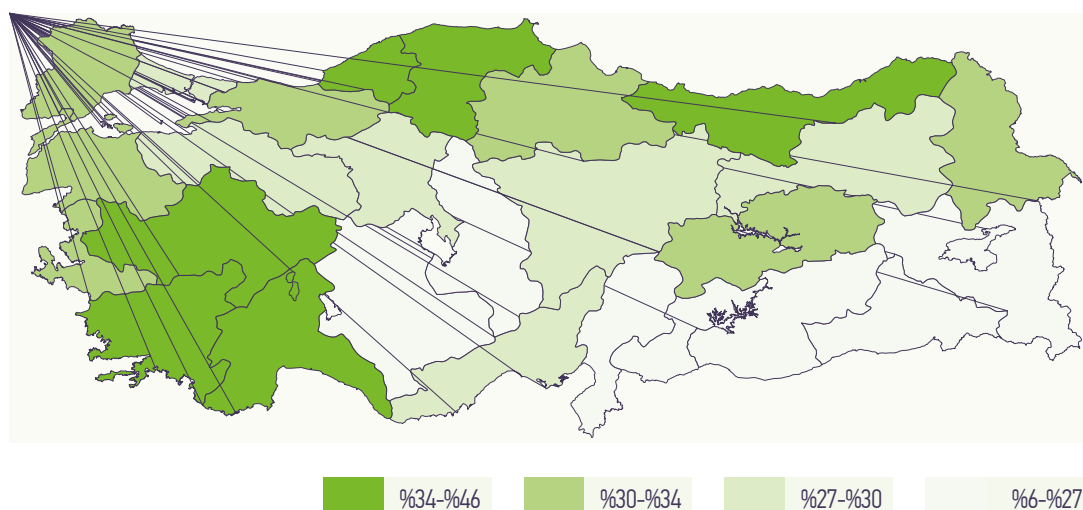
D- FEMALE EMPLOYMENT IN AGRICULTURE: REGIONAL ASSESSMENT (NUTS 2)

Agriculture is still one of the most important sectors of the labor force comprising 24.6% of total national employment. Agricultural employment is more prevalent amongst working women than men (39% and 18 %, respectively).

FIGURE 4. The distribution of employment by agriculture and non-agriculture by sex and by selected years (annual, 2004 and 2012) (%)

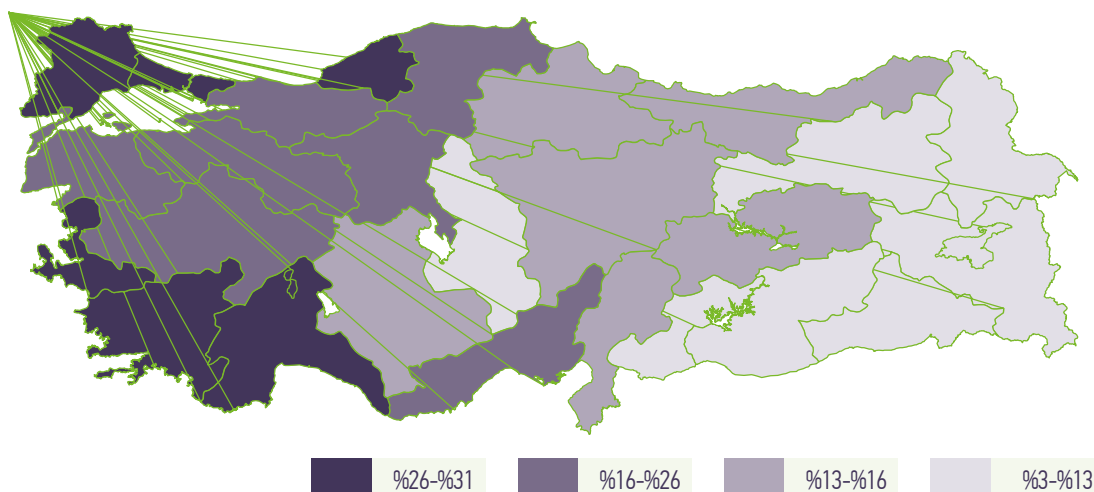


The relation between agricultural employment and FLFP can best be observed regionally. For instance, in regions where agricultural employment was almost or more than double the national average, FLFP rates compare to the national average for FLFP in a similar way. NUTS2 regions that have above average FLFP rates include the Eastern Black Sea, North Eastern and Central Eastern Anatolia as well as Western Black Sea and in the Aegean and Mediterranean. Conversely, in the Western province of Istanbul as well as in South Eastern Anatolia where industrial employment is above the national average the FLFP average is low.

FIGURE 5. Female Labor Force Participation by Regions (NUTS2), 2012

Source: TurkStat Labor Force Statistics and TEPAV calculations

Looking at FLFP in non-agricultural sector, however, presents an entirely different picture. The highest FLFP rates in non-agriculture can be found in the more industrial regions of Istanbul and the Aegean (particularly the Southern part) and is extremely low in the eastern parts of the country.

FIGURE 6. Non-Agriculture: Female Labour Force Participation by Regions (NUTS2), 2011

Source: TurkStat Labor Force Statistics and TEPAV calculations

Furthermore, the increase of non-agricultural FLFP of women from 49% to 61% between 2004 and 2012 (see Figure 4) is experienced across all NUTS-2 regions. Even though the eastern regions continue to have the lowest LFPF rates the highest percentage increase has also been in these regions (e.g. “Mardin, Batman, Şırnak, Siirt”, “Şanlıurfa, Diyarbakır”, “Van, Muş, Bitlis, Hakkari” groups). FLFP has been expanding at a fast rate in Central Anatolian regions (“Kayseri, Sivas, Yozgat” and “Konya, Karaman” groups) and there have been significant increases also in the vicinity of Istanbul (the “Kocaeli, Sakarya, Düzce, Bolu, Yalova” group) which already have a high FLFP score.

The significant improvement in non-agricultural FLFP, however, has not been met by the same dramatic rise in real earnings, which has even gone down in some Eastern and South Eastern Anatolian regions. Although there is no concrete study on regional dynamics, the fall in earnings amongst women in these regions may be partly due to the rise in FLFP exerting downward pressure on wages. However, it may also point to problems of access to opportunities including education given that wage levels in general show a high correlation with education levels.

TABLE 3. Developments in Female Labour Market by Regions (NUTS2) (Non-Agriculture)

Female Labour Market Developments by Regions (NUTS2) (Non-Agriculture)*	LFPR 2004	LFPR 2012	2004-2012 Change in Female Employment (%)	2004-2012 Change in Real Earnings (%)
İstanbul	19.1	28.0	83.1	38.8
Tekirdağ, Edirne, Kırklareli	20.4	28.3	96.7	23.5
Balıkesir, Çanakkale	12.1	17.6	75.3	38.9
İzmir	18.5	30.3	97.0	45.8
Aydın, Denizli, Muğla	20.4	25.8	59.9	36.5
Manisa, Afyon, Kütahya, Uşak	9.8	15.5	51.3	36.9
Bursa, Eskişehir, Bilecik	20.3	24.0	66.1	65.0
Kocaeli, Sakarya, Düzce, Bolu, Yalova	11.1	23.9	142.2	17.0
Ankara	18.7	25.7	87.2	35.8
Konya, Karaman	5.8	14.8	147.4	19.1
Antalya, Isparta, Burdur	17.6	26.2	60.5	32.0
Adana, Mersin	11.9	20.5	91.0	48.2
Hatay, Kahramanmaraş, Osmaniye	8.0	14.6	159.4	22.7
Kırıkkale, Aksaray, Niğde, Nevşehir, Kırşehir	6.1	13.1	170.9	21.7
Kayseri, Sivas, Yozgat	4.2	13.8	219.2	-0.2
Zonguldak, Karabük, Bartın	11.9	25.3	128.8	26.0
Kastamonu, Çankırı, Sinop	7.8	19.7	128.7	17.0
Samsun, Tokat, Çorum, Amasya	11.8	16.0	81.5	17.8
Trabzon, Ordu, Giresun, Rize, Artvin, Gümüşhane	16.4	15.3	23.8	5.2
Erzurum, Erzincan, Bayburt	8.0	11.7	64.1	12.6
Ağrı, Kars, Iğdır, Ardahan	3.9	10.4	135.0	33.2
Malatya, Elazığ, Bingöl, Tunceli	8.3	15.5	199.0	2.0
Van, Muş, Bitlis, Hakkari	2.2	6.4	185.0	-9.3
Gaziantep, Adıyaman, Kilis	5.6	10.1	110.4	-3.1
Şanlıurfa, Diyarbakır	1.9	2.8	268.8	9.9
Mardin, Batman, Şırnak, Siirt	2.1	6.1	290.8	40.0

*Unpaid family workers also excluded

Source: TurkStat Labor Force Statistics and TEPAV calculations

3- TO WHAT EXTENT HAS THE SHIFT AWAY FROM RURAL TO URBAN ECONOMY BENEFITTED WOMEN?

Worldwide changes in economic activity and labor demand have helped expand female labor force activities (Pissarides 2003). The switch from manufacturing and agriculture sectors to services sector along with the emergence of new production activities and different working conditions have opened up new possibilities for women (Thévenon 2013).

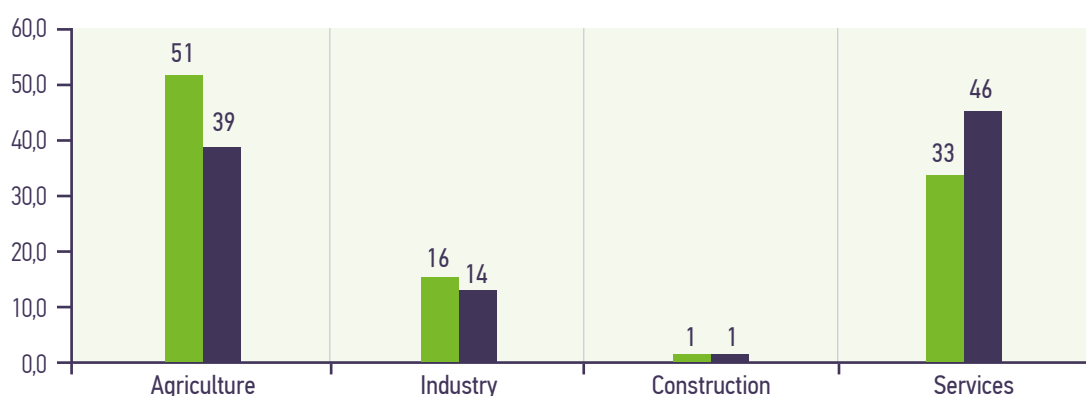
Similarly, in Turkey women employed in the services sector have doubled in the past decade. However, the movement from agriculture to mainly services sector in urban settings has not necessarily translated into better jobs, more productive employment and higher income for women. The rise in FLFP has led to only a modest decline in segregation with respect to occupational structure with more women continuing to be more concentrated in low –end occupations with lower pay, worse prospects for advancement and poorer working conditions. Moreover, more women than men continue to be unemployed and the underemployment rate of women is approaching that of their male counterparts.

A- SECTORS AND OCCUPATION WISE FEMALE EMPLOYMENT

Following global trends, the Turkish economy is now dominated by services sector jobs. Although male workers continue to dominate the services sector (making up 73 % in 2012) the number of women employed in the services sector doubled between 2004 and 2012 compared to a 21 % increase for men.

Using aggregate data from 2004 and 2012, Figure 7 shows the percentage share of different sectors in the female labor market, which in, 2012 was dominated by services. In absolute terms, female economic activity in all sectors - agriculture, industry, construction and services – increased by 307000, 247000, 31000 and 1.68 million jobs, respectively (Table 4).

FIGURE 7. Female Employment by sector (%)



Source: TurkStat Labor Force Statistics and TEPAV calculations

■ 2004

■ 2012

TABLE 4. Female Economic Activity, by sector and by selected years (Thousands of people, 15+ age)

Female	Agriculture	Industry	Construction	Services	Total
2004	2 565	784	26	1 672	5 047
2012	2 872	1 031	57	3 350	7 309

Source: TurkStat Labor Force Statistics

Looking at service sector jobs more closely, women have outpaced men in growth rates in all NACE 2 categories: The most dramatic growth in terms of number of jobs has been in wholesale and retail trade as well as in accommodation and food service activities (See Box 1: *The Case for Shopping Malls in Expanding Female Employment*). The highest growth rate in female employment, however, has been in administrative and support service activities. The number of positions held by women in public administration (generally deemed safe) grew by 71 % compared to 18 % for men.

TABLE 5. NACE 2 occupational categories by sex and by selected years

	FEMALE			MALE		
	2004	2012	%change	2004	2012	%change
Wholesale and retail trade	416	751	80%	2685	2 751	2%
Transportation and storage	47	65	38%	887	1 030	16%
Accommodation and food service activities	86	242	181%	726	965	33%
Information and communication	26	61	135%	119	176	48%
Financial and insurance activities	89	121	36%	155	143	-8%
Real Estate	5	33	560%	38	151	297%
Professionals	92	178	93%	219	329	50%
Administrative and support service activities	42	295	602%	153	629	311%
Public administration and defence	129	221	71%	1 051	1 237	18%
Education	303	592	95%	481	632	31%
Human health and social work activities	227	509	124%	222	299	35%
Arts, entertainment and recreation	13	25	92%	83	83	0%
Other social, community and personal service activities	197	257	30%	533	490	-8%
Total	1 672	3 350	100%	7 352	8 915	21%

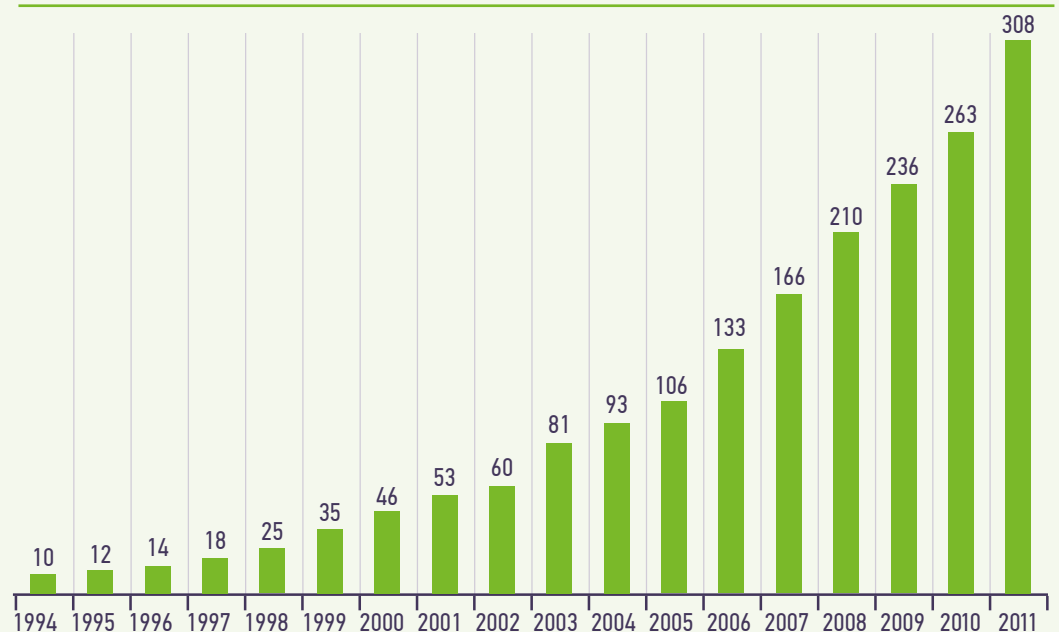
Source: TurkStat Labor Force Statistics and TEPAV calculations

BOX 1: The Case for Shopping Malls in Expanding Female Employment

The number of shopping malls has been growing rapidly in the past decade. With those currently under construction the number is expected to reach 403 by 2015 of which 144 and 258 will be located in Istanbul and Anatolia, respectively.

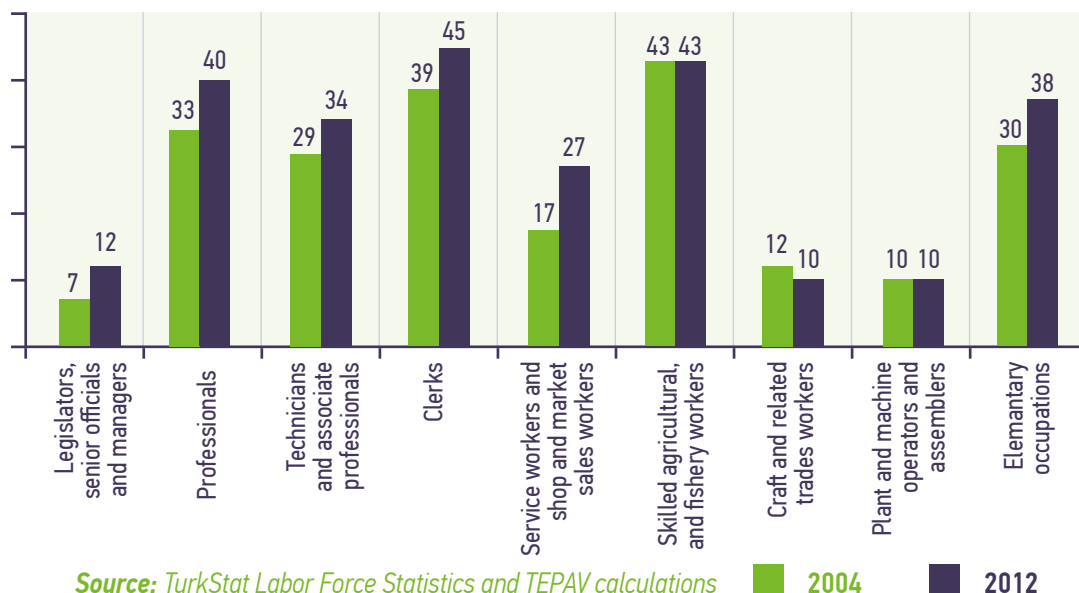
This trend coincides with the growing number of women working in occupations such as wholesale and food services (See Table 5 for number of jobs in Wholesale and retail trade and accommodation and food service activities). Client-interactive jobs in shopping malls (where clients are generally other women) do not only tap into women's habits of socializing but also offer what women see as secure environments where they would feel safe working in public. The working environment in a shopping mall is also more socially prestigious than let's say working as a domestic helper.

Number of Shopping malls



Source : Jones Lang LaSalle

Notwithstanding, segregating the labor market into occupations based on judgments about the “suitability” of certain types of work for women (*vertical segregation*) may in fact reinforce gender stereotypes and leave women in occupations at the bottom of service sector. In this respect , in spite of growing female employment in the services sector, males continue to be disproportionately represented in higher end positions (i.e. as legislators, senior officials and managers, professionals etc) while women make up most of the lower paid jobs.

FIGURE 8. ISCO-88 Female Occupation Classification, by selected years

Similarly, a study done by KARGIDER (2012) points to the underrepresentation of women in decision making positions. The study emphasizes that women are even more under-represented in decision-making on the level of local politics, less so than they are in national politics. The following are some highlights of the study:

- Only 14,2 % of the national parliament are women
- There is only one female minister out of the total number of 26 ministers in the cabinet.
- Of the 6 political parties having seats in the Turkish Grand Assembly only 1 one of them have a female co-chair.
- The proportion of women on boards of the largest listed companies: 23 %.
- The proportion of women presidents of largest publicly quoted companies: 12 %.

Various types of quotas systems ensure participation of minority groups and women in the political area. These participatory schemes include statutory-legislative quotas, reserved seats and voluntary party quotas; quotas and reserved seats are mandatory by law while one or more political parties in a country voluntarily adopts gender quotas. Currently in Turkey, there are no reserved seats for women in the parliament, or national legislative quotas or laws requiring political parties to adopt quota. There are few political parties (CHP and BDP) that have adopted quotas voluntarily although the ruling party AKP since 2002 opposed quotas on grounds that their adoption would hinder selection based upon merit and equality (Mencutek 2013).

Looking at worldwide trends, many emerging markets and developing countries including China, Brazil, Mexico, South Korea and various African countries have adopted a legislative quota system while in most developed countries political party(-ies) voluntarily adopt gender quotas (e.g. Australia, Austria, Germany, Sweden, Netherlands, Norway, Canada and UK). France is one European country that has legislated candidate quotas for women (Quota Project Database).

B- GENDER DIFFERENCES IN EARNINGS

One of the most important consequences of gender discrimination in the Turkish labor market is wage differentials between men and women (Also see Cudeville & Gurbuzer 2007). Even within major occupational groups there are significant pay gaps (*hierarchical segregation*). The largest wage gaps are observed for “plant and machine operators, assemblers” and for “professionals”. The only occupational group where women were at an advantage with respect to wage levels compared to men was as managers, albeit the fact that very few women reach such managerial positions.

TABLE 6. Gender pay gap by major occupational group in 2010 (annual average gross wage, TL)

	Total	Male	Female	Gender pay gap
Managers	43 825	43 073	46 201	-7,3
Professionals	31 520	34 549	27 861	19,4
Technicians and associate professionals	22 082	22 536	20 865	7,4
Clerical support workers	18 875	19 383	18 203	6,1
Service and sales workers	12 922	13 167	12 188	7,4
Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers	14 091	(*)	(0)	(*)
Craft and related trades workers	15 278	15 586	13 004	16,6
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	13 336	13 851	10 518	24,1
Elementary occupations	12 075	12 449	10 713	13,9

Source: TurkStat Structure of Earnings Survey 2010

Furthermore, gender pay gap persists even taking education into account. In 2010, the gender wage gap was in favor of women as a whole (-1,1%)⁵ but in favor of males on all education levels. Wages increase with the level of education for both men and women but the return to education is higher for men than women. Hisarcıklılar & Ercan (2005) research suggests that the wage gap between men and women is not due to their respective human capital levels but because of their differential treatment. Cudeville & Gurbuzer’s (2007) study based on data of the 2003 Turkish Household Budget Survey attributes 60% of the observed average gender wage gap of about 25.2% in favor of men for the salaried population to discrimination.

⁵ This is due to the fact that the females who worked as wage earners have a higher education while most men who work as wage earners have primary education and below.

TABLE 7. Gender pay gap by education level in 2010 (annual average gross wage, TL)

	Total	Male	Female	Gender pay gap
Total	17 884	17 837	18 029	-1,1
Primary school and below	12 237	12 597	10 519	16,5
Primary education and secondary school	12 192	12 571	10 470	16,7
High school	15 117	15 531	13 969	10,1
Vocational high school	18 759	19 442	15 647	19,5
Higher education	31 486	33 574	28 184	16,1

Source: TurkStat Structure of Earnings Survey 2010

C- UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNDEREMPLOYMENT

Looking at data between 2004 and 2012 unemployment in both agriculture and non-agriculture sectors is higher for women than men. At the same time, underemployment levels for women are rising rapidly.

The unemployment rate for both men and women peaked in the aftermath of the 2008 crisis and while unemployment rate since fell below pre-crisis levels for men it fell less for women widening the gender gap (Figure 9). Non- agricultural unemployment in Turkey is higher than overall unemployment for both men and women (Figure 10). Persistence of female unemployment also reflects the increasing number of women seeking employment but who cannot find jobs in the labor market.

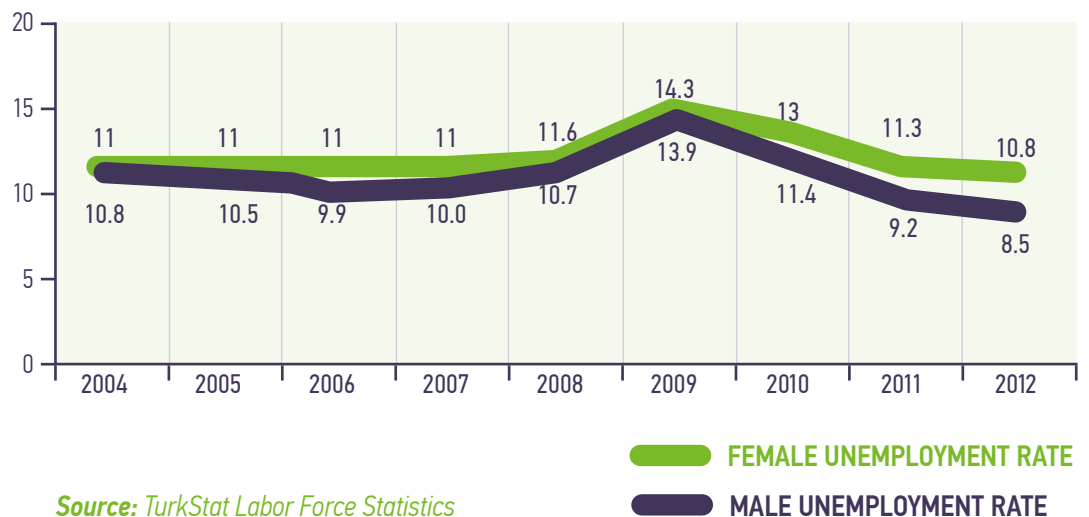
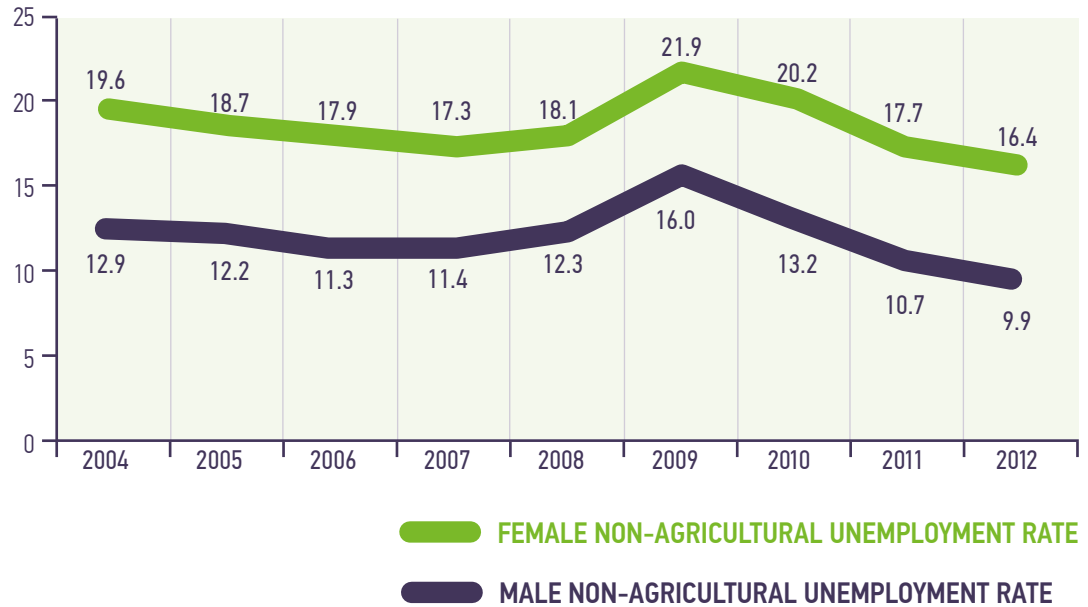
FIGURE 9. Unemployment by sex and by years (%)

FIGURE 10. Non-agricultural Unemployment by sex and by years (%)

Source: TurkStat Labor Force Statistics

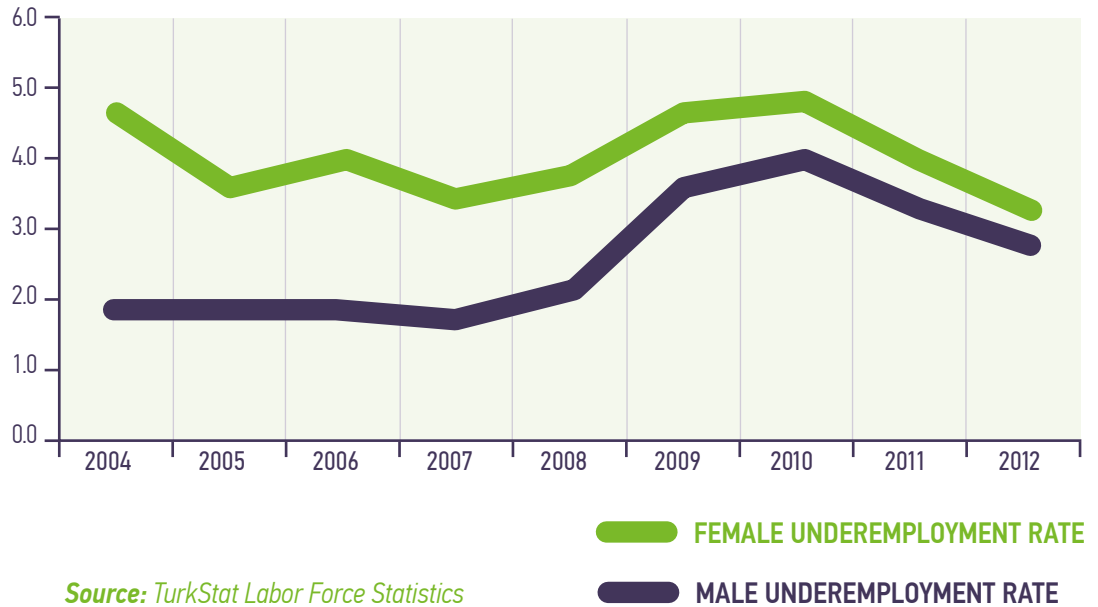
The literature suggests that women are more affected by unemployment than are men, causing women to withdraw from the labor market. Tansel (2002) argues that the effect of unemployment on FLFP depends on the relative strengths of the “discouraged-worker effect” and the “added-worker effect” (Tansel 2002). The latter implies that as unemployment increases and men lose their jobs, women will seek work in their place. On the other hand, the discouraged worker effect suggests that the higher the unemployment rate the less likely women will find jobs; this, in turn, discourages women from looking for a job and causes them to drop out of the labor force. The duration of unemployment is much higher for men (See Annex *Duration of Employment*), suggesting that men remain in the labor market for a longer period than women.

Using yearly cross-sectional data from Turkey for the 2000-2010 period Karaoglan & Okten (2012) suggest that married women whose husbands are unemployed or underemployed experience an ‘added worker effect’, thus, are more likely to participate in the labor force and work more hours. On the other hand, the worsening of overall unemployment conditions in a given region appears to have a discouraging effect on wives’ who tend to decrease their labor participation (*Ibid.*)

The rising share of female underemployment in total underemployment in recent years confirms that women are either pulling out of the labor market or settling down for partial work.

Tasci’s (2005) study⁶ on underemployment for men and women, and for urban and rural residents suggests that urban residents are more likely to be underemployed while higher levels of education decrease the probability of being underemployed for both male and female. Also regardless of being male or female residing in the most developed region of Marmara decreases the likelihood of being underemployed while living in the least developed region of East Anatolia increase the probability of being underemployed.

⁶ The study is based on Household Labor Force Surveys of 2000 and 2001.

FIGURE 11. Underemployment by sex and by years (%)

Lastly, in 2011 the kind of jobs that were available (*nature of the job*) was the primary factor in explaining low levels of full time employment for women. With respect to urban areas this may be largely due to lack of preparation on the part of rural migrants in terms of education levels and marketable skills prior to their arrival in cities or urban centers. Furthermore, moving away from rural areas where there was substantial family support to urban centers often as a nuclear family may have led to an increased burden of domestic work on women including child-care and the care of the elderly and the sick. Cultural gender norms against female participation in the labor market outside of the home, may have also been a factor militating against women's seeking full-time work.

TABLE 8. Reasons for Not Working Full-Time (female, 2012)

	Rural	Urban	Total
Child care	4.22%	9.50%	6.0%
Elderly care	0.60%	0.59%	0.6%
Child and elderly care	2.11%	2.37%	2.3%
In education	1.06%	5.04%	2.4%
Health problems or disability	3.17%	1.78%	2.7%
Other personal or family-related reasons	4.52%	8.01%	5.7%
Cannot find full-time job	1.66%	10.09%	4.4%
Nature of the job	82.50%	61.72%	75.5%
Other	0.30%	0.89%	0.5%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Note: The category for 'Child and elderly care' includes women who have both child and elderly care responsibilities.

Source: TurkStat Labor Force Statistics and TEPAV calculations

4- THE IMPACT OF EDUCATION ON FLFP

In recent years, service sector for university educated workers has been the engine of growth in employment for men and women alike. Job creation has most benefitted higher education graduates and having an education is an important prerequisite for finding a job with wages increasing with the level of education for both men and women. Future employment opportunities are expected to continue to arise in the service sector that requires post-secondary education (Ercan 2011). The weakest growth is expected to be in jobs that require low levels of education. In view of these projections, an effective education system and training emerges as the key in addressing low levels of unemployment (See Education Policy and Trends).

A- EDUCATION LEVELS FOR WOMEN AND ITS IMPACT ON FLFP

Looking at the education profile of women more closely shows a strong positive relation between higher levels of education and FLFP in 2012. The significant impact of education profiles on FLFP is indicated by highest level of FLFP for tertiary education graduates, then in descending order vocational/technical high school graduates, regular high school graduates, primary school graduates, and secondary and vocational secondary graduates⁷. Table 9 *Female Labour Force Participation by Education Profile* shows that the level of education remains the main determinant of FLFP, while only small portions of the female population reach higher education levels.⁸ Hence, though FLFP is highest among women with higher education degrees, less than one tenth of women acquire these degrees. On the other hand, most women in Turkey (67,4 % of women) stopped their education at the primary level and only about 58 % of these were active in the labor force.

TABLE 9 Female Labour Force Participation by Education Profile, 2012

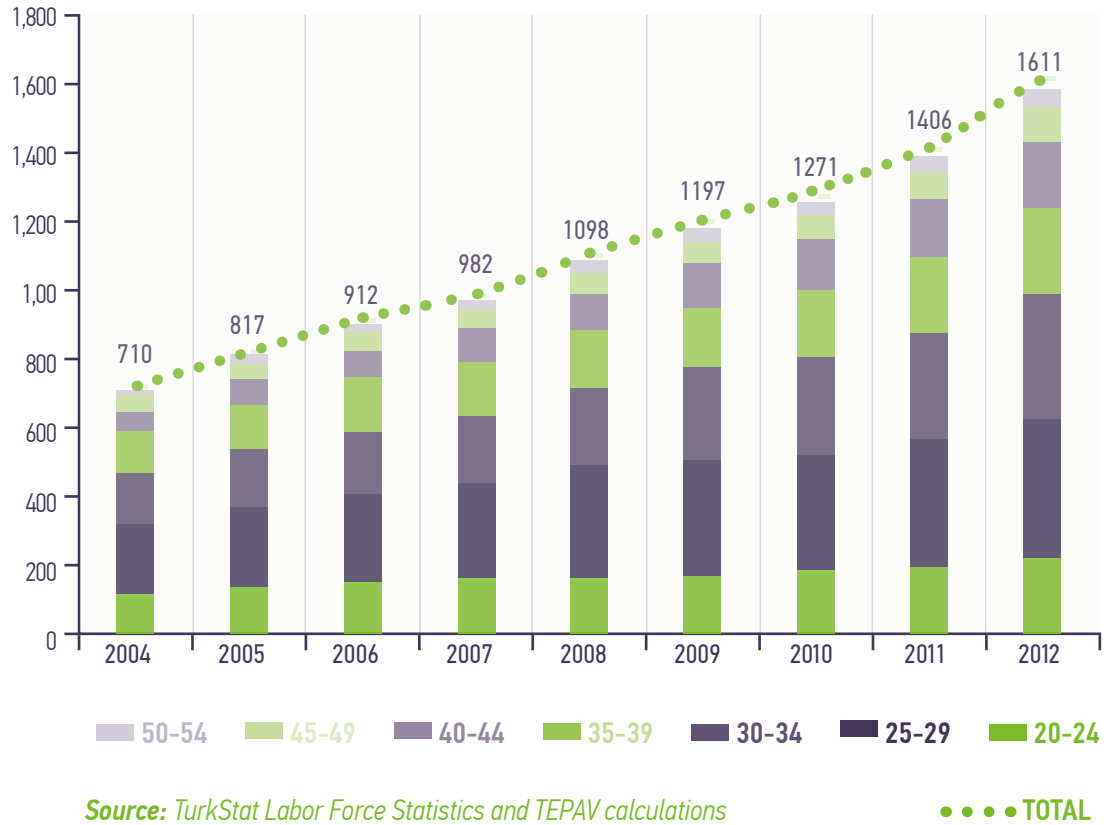
	Inactive	In Labour Force	Total	In Labour Force / Total (%)
Illiterate	9.2%	1.7%	10.9%	16%
No diploma	14.2%	3.1%	17.4%	18%
Primary (5 years)	29.8%	9.2%	39.1%	24%
Secondary and vocational secondary (8 years)	9.6%	2.5%	12.1%	21%
Regular high school	5.8%	2.5%	8.3%	30%
Vocational or technical high school	3.1%	1.9%	5.0%	38%
Tertiary, higher education or above	2.2%	5.1%	7.3%	69%

Source: TurkStat Labor Force Statistics and TEPAV calculations

Notwithstanding, the number of women in tertiary education that has been growing steadily since the 1990s has led to a growing number of women college graduates in the labor force over the past decade (Figure 12).

⁷ One explanation for women with a primary education having higher participation rates (although participation for women with a primary education dropped in 2001 after the collapse in jobs in agricultural) than women who are high school graduates may be due to the fact that the former's reservation wages (the lowest wage rate at which a worker would be willing to accept a job) are lower and there is a demand for them in the informal sector.

⁸ The impact of tertiary education on employment is far more pronounced than it is in many of the OECD countries. Employment rate among 25-64 year-olds with a tertiary qualification is 14 percentage points more than for those with an upper secondary education; the average difference in employment between the two levels of education is 8% points for OECD countries as a whole (Ibid.).

FIGURE 12. College Graduate Female Employment by Age (thousand ppl)

B- EDUCATION PROFILE AND ITS IMPACT ON EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND TYPE OF OCCUPATIONS

Education profile has a significant impact on employment type (Table 10), on whether employment is in formal or informal sectors (Table 11) as well as on type of occupation (Table 12). Higher levels of education matter more for women than for men; 22 % of women with a college education are employed compared to 16,5 % of men. A larger share of women with a tertiary education has a paid job (20,7%) compared to men (14,1%). Among men those with a primary education make up the highest percentage of wage earners (19,5 %). A high proportion of women without a diploma have a job due to unpaid work in the agricultural sector. Similarly, primary school graduates- both men and women- take the lions share mostly due to unpaid work in agriculture.

TABLE 10. Female Labour Force Participation by Education Profile, 2012

Males	No degree	Primary School	Secondary School	High School	Vocational	College and Post Graduate	Total
Paid Employee	2.8%	19.5%	13.7%	7.9%	8.6%	14.1%	66.5%
Employer	0.1%	2.5%	1.0%	0.9%	0.7%	1.3%	6.5%
Self-Employed	2.4%	13.5%	2.8%	1.5%	1.3%	0.8%	22.3%
Unpaid Family Worker	0.4%	1.0%	2.0%	0.5%	0.5%	0.3%	4.6%
Total	5.6%	36.5%	19.5%	10.9%	11.1%	16.5%	100%
Females							
Paid Employee	3.5%	11.1%	6.9%	6.7%	5.5%	20.7%	54.3%
Employer	0.1%	0.3%	0.1%	0.2%	0.1%	0.6%	1.3%
Self-Employed	3.3%	5.4%	0.8%	0.5%	0.4%	0.4%	10.8%
Unpaid Family Worker	11.0%	16.6%	4.2%	1.0%	0.6%	0.4%	33.7%
Total	17.8%	33.3%	12.0%	8.3%	6.6%	22.0%	100.0%

Source: TEPAV estimations using Turkish Statistical Institute, Household Labor Survey, 2012

Furthermore, female tertiary education graduates are more likely to participate in the formal sector than those who have lower levels of education. Also women with a primary education are more likely to be in the formal sector than other levels (other than tertiary graduates). However, a larger percentage of regular high school and vocational or technical high school graduates are in the formal sector compared to the informal sector while a larger proportion of women with secondary education and below participate in the informal sector.

TABLE 11 Education Profile by formal and informal employment (female, 2012)

Education Profile	Formal	Informal	Total
Illiterate	0.08%	3.55%	3.62%
No diploma	0.93%	14.39%	15.32%
Primary (5 years)	6.89%	27.38%	34.27%
Secondary and vocational secondary (8 years)	3.73%	7.02%	10.75%
Regular high school	6.31%	2.61%	8.91%
Vocational or technical high school	5.25%	1.73%	6.97%
Tertiary, higher education or above	19.01%	1.15%	20.16%
Total	42.20%	57.83%	100.00%

Source: TurkStat Labor Force Statistics and TEPAV calculations

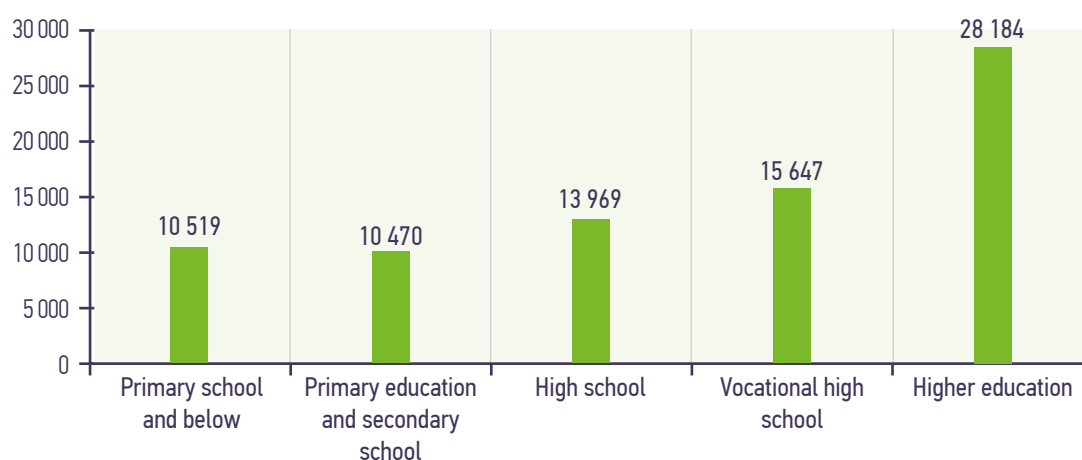
Furthermore, higher percentages of female tertiary education graduates have high end occupations as legislators, senior officials and managers or professionals compared to high or technical school graduates (Table 12). Moreover, tertiary education graduates earn almost twice the amount of vocational high school graduates (Figure 13).

TABLE 12. ISCO-88 Occupation Classification by education profile, by sex (2012)

	Distribution of College And Advanced Degrees Across Occupations		Distribution of High or Technical School Graduates Across Occupations		Required ISCO-88 skill level
	Females	Males	Females	Males	
1. Legislators, senior officials and managers	6.8%	14.5%	1.5%	7.8%	--
2. Professionals	36.9%	22.9%	0.2%	0.4%	4
3. Technicians and associate professionals	19.5%	13.8%	2.5%	3.0%	3
4. Clerks	22.1%	10.5%	6.0%	3.6%	2
5. Service workers and shop and market sales workers	8.2%	13.4%	13.3%	13.2%	2
6. Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	1.4%	3.3%	39.7%	20.6%	2
7. Craft and related trade workers	1.3%	9.0%	5.6%	19.3%	2
8. Plant and machine operators and assemblers	1.2%	7.8%	4.4%	15.1%	2
9. Elementary occupations	2.8%	4.8%	26.9%	17.2%	1

Source: TurkStat Labor Force Statistics and TEPAV calculations

FIGURE 13. Female earnings by educational profile (TL , 2010)



Source: TurkStat Structure of Earnings Survey 2010

5- GOVERNMENT POLICY AFFECTING GENDER EQUALITY IN WORK LIFE

5- GOVERNMENT POLICY AFFECTING GENDER EQUALITY IN WORK LIFE

A- OVERVIEW OF KEY POLICY MEASURES AND LEGISLATION REGARDING GENDER EQUALITY IN WORK LIFE

In the past few decades, gender inequality has drawn a great deal of attention. International policy platforms have raised awareness on this issue and have given impetus to government policy and legislative reforms. The ratification of international conventions such as the Convention for the Elimination of All forms of Violence Against Women (CEDAW) in 1986, some articles of the European Social Charter in 1989⁹, the Beijing Declaration of the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995, the Additional Protocol to CEDAW in 2000 as well as numerous ILO Conventions¹⁰ by the Turkish state made Turkish legislation more responsive to international trends on women's as well as labor rights issues. Finally, the adoption of the EU acquis and norms since 1999 (the year Turkey was accepted as an official candidate for EU membership) has further intensified gender related reforms (UNFPA 2007, Ertürk 2006).

The major shift in relation to gender equality policies in Turkey are reflected in four legal reforms: the Constitutional amendments since 2001, particularly the 2004 amendment; the new Civil Code (2001); the new Labor Law (2003); and the new Penal Code (2005) (Acar et al 2013).

Constitutional changes in the past ten years have played an important role in promoting the gender equality agenda and setting a precedence for other legislative reform. In 2001, the Turkish Grand National Assembly amended Articles 41 and 66 of the Constitution for gender equality within the family. Additions to the Constitution in 2004 had the State assume responsibility for ensuring against sex-based discriminatory practices and taking the necessary measures for equality. Another amendment in 2004 gave supremacy to international conventions concerning basic rights and freedoms (i.e. CEDAW) over national legislation.

The New Civil Code that entered into force in 2002 was an important step in eliminating the superiority of men in the family. Among other things, the Civil Code increased the legal marriage age to 18 for both sexes (which was previously 17 for men and 15 for women), abolished the concept of the husband as 'the head of the family' and incorporated spouses as equal partners ascribing equal rights to them over the family abode, over property acquired during marriage as well as equal representative powers. The Code for the first time recognized women's unpaid labor in the family as having an economic value and brought into force a new matrimonial property regime whereby property acquired during marriage is equally divided between spouses upon divorce.

In 2003, the new Labor Law (No.4857) came into force against all manner of discrimination concerning human rights, including gender, between employer and employees. The law came about in the context of the Turkish National Programme on the Adoption of the EU Acquis that urged Turkey to formulate policies regarding gender equality in the labor market as well as to harmonize and align these policies with the Acquis Communautaire. The new Labor Law reinforced existing provisions including prohibiting of gender discrimination and introduced new prohibitions of discriminatory practices owing to marital status or family responsibilities including the prohibition of dismissal on grounds of pregnancy. It also brought provisions prohibiting sexual harassment in the workplace¹¹. The same year the Family Court Law (No. 4787) was also adopted establishing specialized courts in districts with a population higher than 100.000 to enforce the Civil Code and ensure gender equality (Turkish Ministry for Family and Social Policy 2012).

⁹ Turkey adopted Article 4/3 of the Charter that regulates "equal pay for equal work done by male and female workers", Article 8 that regulates "protection of employees during maternity", and Article 16 that regulates "protection of the family socially, legally, and economically" and has incorporated these Articles to its Constitution (Article 50) and the 2003 Labour Law (Article 5 and 74).

¹⁰ Convention No. 45 concerning the Employment of Women on Underground Work in Mines of all Kinds; Convention No. 95 concerning the Protection of Wages; Convention No. 100 concerning Equal Remuneration for Men and Women Workers for Work of Equal Value; Convention No. 101 concerning Holidays with Pay in Agriculture; Convention No. 102 concerning Minimum Standards of Social Security; Convention No. 111 concerning Discrimination in Respect of Employment and Occupation; Convention No. 115 concerning the Protection of Workers against Ionizing Radiations; Convention No. 122 concerning Employment Policy; Convention No. 127 concerning the Maximum Permissible Weight to Be Carried by One Worker; Convention No. 158 concerning Termination of Employment at the Initiative of the Employer.

¹¹ In cases of sexual harassment the Act gives the employee (or the employer) the right to break an employment contract before its expiry or without having to observe the specified notice periods.

In 2005, the new Penal Code (No. 5237) came into force giving priority to the protection of individuals' rights and freedoms. With the law, offensive acts towards women are exposed and classified as an "offense against an individual" rather than a public offense. New significant changes were also introduced to the definition of sexual violence¹² and of sexual harassment in the workplace and punishments for these offences were reinforced.¹³ Furthermore, Articles 5 and 122 of the Penal Code state "no discrimination shall be made between persons with respect of sex."

In 2008 and 2011, important reforms were made in terms of the extension of social insurance coverage (Law No. 5754 and Law No. 6111, respectively). The first reform incorporated salaried domestic workers with steady jobs. The 2011 reform extended coverage to occupations such as casual agricultural workers and home-based workers, thereby giving a large proportion of women access to key social rights and protection mechanisms.

Furthermore, the 2011 law extended maternity leave to twelve months for civil servants and six months for others on an unpaid basis. It also granted a 10-day paternity leave to civil servants whose wives have given birth. However, paternity leave is voluntary and not foreseen for workers or employees in the law). The same year the Prime Ministry Circular No. 27879 on 'Prevention of Psychological Harassment' was passed to deal with group harassments in the workplace.

In addition to these major legislations, in 2009 the Law (No. 5840) for the Equal Opportunities Commission for Women and Men was passed and the Parliamentary Committee on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men was established. Composed of parliamentarians from different political parties the Committee analyses legislation prepared by the government and/or parliamentary commissions from a gender equality perspective and ensures that Turkish legislation is compatible with Turkey's international commitments such as CEDAW (Müftüler-Bac 2012).

Most recently, the Turkish government lifted the ban on women wearing the Islamic headscarf in public institutions as part of a package of reforms to improve democracy. The ban, which dates back to the early days of the Turkish Republic, has kept many women from joining the public work force.

12 Other laws and measures taken against violence against women include the Prime Ministry Circular (2006) on 'Measures to be Taken to Prevent Honor and Custom-Motivated Murders and Acts of violence against Children and Women'; the signing of the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence treaty in 2011 and the revised domestic violence law called "Law for the Protection of the Family and Prevention of Violence against Women" in 2012 (previously the law was called 'The Law for Protection of the Family'(1998)). In 2005, the Law of Municipalities (no. 5393) was enacted which required municipalities of a certain size to develop protective and preventive services for women who are subjected to violence.

13 The Penal Code (Article 105) punishes sexual harassment with 3 months to 2 years of imprisonment or a fine. If the act is committed in a relationship of hierarchy, service or in the workplace, the prescribed punishment is upped by half; if the act causes the victim of harassment to leave her/his work the minimum sentence is 1 year of imprisonment.

B- AN OVERVIEW OF FISCAL POLICIES RELATING TO FEMALE EMPLOYMENT AND THEIR EFFICACY IN ENHANCING INCOME

i. Tax Income

From family to individual taxation. An amendment to the law on Income Tax in 1998 annulled issuing of tax declarations by men as the head of family. This allowed for married women to submit income tax declaration forms separately.

Tax exemptions. The Income Tax Law was amended in 2007 to grant tax exemption to income generated through the sale of products produced by women domestically "in bazaars, festivals, fairs, or other areas designated on a temporary basis by a public agency or public institution." (Government of Turkey 2012; p.79) Other than this there are no general tax benefits for low-wage earners, and childcare payments are not tax deductible either.

ii. Reconciliation of family and work life

Women's employment is also tied to conditions of social security. In Turkey, family benefits such as maternity leave, affordable childcare (and elderly) facilities and child support such as regular cash transfers are key policy items to encourage Turkish women to work outside of the home - especially in urban areas where women are generally confined to the domestic sphere.

The main legal document that deals with maternity benefits and child care is the 2003 Labor Law and 2008 and 2011 amendments (Law No. 5754 and Law 6111, respectively). Previously, the legislation's coverage was limited to either insured (women employed in the formal sector) or spouse of an insured man (in the case of maternity benefits and childcare facilities) or to civil servants and those in need (in the case of regular cash transfers); hence, the large informal sector and some forms of work and establishments were excluded from the coverage of the Labor Law. This was highly problematic given that 39 % of the Turkish labor force is informal and 54 % of the female force is informal, and many women were left out of the legal scope of benefits, such as maternity benefits. The recent incorporation of domestic help workers, casual agricultural workers and home-based workers into the social security system has been an important development albeit participation being voluntary (See Social Security below).

MATERNITY LEAVE

Maternity leave benefits are only available for employees working under a service contract in the public or private sectors and their dependent family members, including self-employed persons. A woman (or her insured spouse) must have contributed at least 90 days and 120 days to the social security system, respectively, in the year before childbirth to qualify for *Incapacity for work benefit* and for *the nursing benefit*. Thus, stringent qualification criteria make access to these benefits difficult even for insured persons.

Duration of Maternity leave. The Labor Law (2003) extended paid maternity leave from 12 to 16 weeks; eight weeks before and eight weeks after birth (Article 74). In cases of multiple pregnancy (twins or more), the maternity leave is extended to a total of 18 weeks. If the pregnant woman prefers to work longer into her pregnancy she must submit a medical certificate stating that there are no medical contraindications to work, in which case she will be allowed to work until three weeks prior to the expected date of delivery. The time spent working prior to delivery will then be added to the period of maternity leave granted after birth.

Articles of the Labor Law were revised in 2011 to extend maternity leave to twelve months for *civil servants* and six months for others on an unpaid basis. The revision also granted 10 days of paternal leave for spouse of civil servants.

Duties of the employer. Women employers can use paid leave for breast feeding, and employers cannot terminate their job contracts on grounds of pregnancy as required by the EU Acquis. Once the maternity leave period has ended the employee has the right to return to the same job she had before maternity leave under the same working conditions.

State contributions. Under the maternity benefit scheme women receive an *Incapacity for work compensation* amounting to two-thirds (2/3) of their full salary from the Social Security Institution. Women also receive a lump sum *pregnancy benefit* (subject to the certification of pregnancy before the date of birth), *childbirth benefit* and *nursing grant*¹⁴.

REGULAR CASH TRANSFERS

The only regular family allowances in Turkey are those provided to civil servants. Otherwise there are Conditional Cash Transfers (CCTs). There are two types of CCTs: Conditional Education Transfers (CETs) and Conditional Health Transfers (CHTs). These are given to the poorest of the poor (defined as the bottom 6 percent of the population in the income distribution) who cannot afford to send their children to school or cannot pay for regular check ups for their children and pregnant women who cannot go to regular health check ups or cannot afford to give birth at hospitals. Families without any social insurance

¹⁴ The minimum and maximum daily covered earnings used to calculate maternity benefits are adjusted according to changes in the minimum wage. The Ministry of Labor and Social Security may make ad hoc adjustments to the pregnancy benefit, childbirth benefit, and nursing grant.

that are expecting babies, with children at age 0-6 and/or school-age children (6-17 years) are eligible to apply to the program (Bozcağa 2013).

There is also the “Return to the Family” Project that target children who are separated from their families due to economic deprivation and who reside in public dormitories and kindergartens. The Project aims to bring children back home by providing cash transfers to the family (*Ibid.*)

Furthermore, cash benefits are provided for the home care of the elderly and disabled. In order to be eligible for this transfer, the average monthly family income per person has to be below 2/3rds of the minimum wage ¹⁵.

The policy orientation (as observed in all the above cash transfer benefit schemes) involves a shift in priority away from public institutional care towards an increase in home care provision (Bozcağa 2013, Yazıcı 2012, Karadeniz 2012).

CHILDCARE FACILITIES

The public provision of daily childcare in Turkey is very low with only a very small percentage of children aged 0-3 in formal day-care or crèche facilities and only half of all children aged 4-5 taking part in preschool education (about 90% of these are receiving education in state schools, and four out of five of these children are in nursery classes that are attached to primary schools) (UNICEF 2012).

Formal kindergartens or crèches and pre-school nursery classes are operated by the Ministry for the Family and Social Services Directorate General for Child Services as well as by the private sector. In addition, public institutions and private companies provide crèche and preschool facilities for the children of their employees. It has been noted that such services in the public service has dwindled substantially (*Ibid.*) and is worrisome, as public sector practices set the tone of policy and for the private sector.

To encourage childcare facilities at workplaces the Work Conditions of Pregnant or Nursing Women and Nursery Rooms and Child Care Centers Regulation No. 25522 was passed in 2004. The regulation obliged employers employing between 100-150 female workers to provide a nursery in the workplace and a childcare centre when the number of female workers exceeds 150. However, most of the workplaces are small and medium sized in Turkey and few employers employ 150 or more women. In 2008, the regulation was relaxed and employers were allowed to reach agreements with private nurseries instead of establishing their own centers (*Ibid.*).

The law has also come under criticism for breaking incentives amongst employers for hiring women (Acer et al 2007). Moreover, female activists and women trade unions have accused the regulation of gender bias for portraying childcare as solely women’s responsibility. These have argued that businesses should open nursery rooms and pre-schools not only for women but also for men who have children (*Ibid.*).

iii. Education Policy and Trends

In the past decade Turkey has made significant progress in tackling illiteracy and providing access to education. The government has been actively supporting literacy in the past few years. For instance, “As Daughters and Mothers, We are at School Together!” campaign had 2,5 million people participate in literacy courses between 8 September 2008 and 1 August 2012 and 1,8 million women in total obtained certificates of literacy. The project aims to make 3 million women literate.

¹⁵ The General Directorate of the Care for the Elderly and the Disabled, the Ministry of Family and Social Policies.

In 2009, the literacy rate amongst young females (% of females aged 15 -24) reached 97% compared to 85 % for adult females (% of female aged 15 and above). The same figures were 99% and 96 %, respectively, for young male adults and adult males. The percentage of adult females who are literate also showed a 5 % points improvement since 2004.-

TABLE 13 Literacy rates by sex and by age groups (%)

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2009
Literacy rate, youth female (% of females ages 15-24)	93%	94%	94%	94%	97%
Literacy rate, adult female (% of females ages 15 and above)	80%	81%	80%	81%	85%
Literacy rate, adult male (% of males ages 15 and above)	95%	96%	96%	96%	96%
Literacy rate, youth male (% of males ages 15-24)	98%	98%	98%	99%	99%

Source: World Bank Database

Furthermore, net enrollment rates increased for all levels of education and for female students. The 1997 Compulsory Education Law that increased mandatory formal schooling from five to eight years contributed significantly to overall as well as to women's enrollment¹⁶. The country achieved an almost universal primary school enrollment with a 98.67% net enrollment rate as of 2011/12 and secondary and tertiary education enrollment reaching 67.37% and 35.51%, respectively (TurkStat 2013). The gender gap is narrowing in recent years and women have surpassed men in countrywide net enrollments for primary education. Female to male ratios for enrolment in primary, secondary and tertiary education are 100.41%, 93.29% and 87.38%, respectively (TurkStat 2012). The net enrolment rate in secondary education is expected to increase with the recent transition to the 12-year compulsory education system with the *Law No. 6287 Amending the Law on Primary Education and Training Law and Along with Some Other Laws*.

Notwithstanding, poor income groups do not have access to quality education in Turkey and losses in potential human development due to inequality are the largest for educational inequality with significant income differentials among persons with different levels of education. Gender disparity in educational levels is also recorded. Gender Inequality Index (GII), which reflects gender-based inequalities in education, show only 26.7% of adult women reaching secondary or higher level education compared to 42.4% of their male counterparts (UNDP 2013). Enrollment continues to vary significantly across regions, although education gap between the eastern and western parts of the country has improved with respect to access to primary and secondary education.

Furthermore, women in rural areas are at a greater disadvantage when compared to their urban counterparts. For instance, urban and rural primary enrollments for women stood at 94% and 90.6%, respectively, in 2010. The difference was even starker for secondary education with 41.1% and 64.7% enrolled from rural and urban areas, respectively. There is also an urban – rural divide for males in secondary enrollments (53.6% in rural and 67.5% in urban) albeit lower than for females (ERG 2010).

iv. Social security reform:

The Turkish social security system has undergone major reforms in the past few years. The new law on Social Security and General Health Insurance, Law 5510, merged the different security systems into one structure. It also brought new regulations to working

¹⁶ In the past decade the country almost achieved universal primary school enrollment with a 98.67% net enrollment rate as of 2011/12 and secondary and tertiary education enrollment reaching 67.37% and 35.51%, respectively (TurkStat 2013)

conditions for women by harmonizing legislation for maternity and breastfeeding leaves and pension plans (Müftüler-Bac 2012). The social security system in Turkey addresses three main professional groups: employees, self-employed persons and civil servants, for which insurance is compulsory. Since benefits within the social security system requires participation in registered employment, coverage for women has been limited with only 24% of females insured compared to 76% of males (Elveren 2013).

Some important steps were taken in order to overcome the problem of limited coverage of the pension system including the incorporation of domestic help workers, casual agricultural workers and home-based workers into the social security system. However, there are various critiques of the new system. Elveren (2013) suggests that the new social security regulations may in fact fail “to address those who are not fully covered by the social security system” including housewives (covered as dependents on their husbands or fathers) as well as working women such as those “temporarily employed in agriculture, those who earn less than minimum wage, and unpaid family workers and informal workers” (Elveren 2012; p. 5)¹⁷ While the new 2008 Law has made insurance compulsory for occupation groups such as small farmers, these (as well as temporary and migrant agricultural workers, small urban shopkeepers/artisans) have the option to exit from the insurance system when their earnings fall below the minimum wage.

Moreover, the heavy insurance contribution obligations of the social security system (33.5–39% of gross minimum wage) are likely to discourage participation in the formal labor market and make informal employment a more attractive alternative for both employees and the employer (Elveren 2013, Şahin 2012).

Similarly, Karadeniz (2012) argues that the new law (Law No. 6111) that provides social insurance to unpaid agricultural workers, unpaid family workers and home-based work for family members on voluntary basis in effect excludes these groups from the compulsory system. On a positive note, the new law has taken into account the relatively low income levels in the agriculture sector by stipulating that casual agricultural employees as well as home-based workers can voluntarily pay lower contributions compared to workers from other sectors; however, their contributions will gradually be increased each year (*Ibid*).

The new legislation has also been criticized for not addressing social security rights for home injuries for women working in the house and on grounds that the conditions for accessing health insurance and retirement eligibility have been made more stringent vis-a-vis the increase of required days of premium payment. Also according to the new law divorced women are no longer entitled to their husband’s social security benefits (CESCR 2011).

Lastly, one of the key features of the new pension system that will affect women has been the delaying of retirement to a later age through a transition system. The retirement age of men and women (currently 60 and 58, respectively) will rise gradually to 65 (men and women) by 2046 for men and by 2048 for women¹⁸.

Unemployment law

The unemployment insurance scheme in Turkey¹⁹ has a low coverage rate due to extremely stringent eligibility requirements (Ercan, 2011) that limit unemployment insurance to formal sector employees. The scheme does not cover the self-employed, civil servants and informal sector workers. Moreover, only employees that have a minimum employment record of 600 days in the past three years before job loss (of which a minimum of 120 days are accumulated in the past year) are qualified for unemployment benefits. The duration of benefits range between 6 to 10 months depending on the length of employment (or

¹⁷ Also see KEIG 2008, Şahin 2012.

¹⁸ <http://www.ssa.gov/policy/docs/progdesc/ssptw/2012-2013/europe/turkey.pdf>

¹⁹ The Unemployment Insurance Law (Law No. 4447) came into force in 2000. The Turkish Employment Agency (ISKUR) provides unemployment benefits and Universal Health Insurance premium payments (as required by Law No. 5510). The agency is also responsible for providing services in finding employment, for occupational and vocational training for unemployed insured persons (OECD 2011). Unemployment Insurance scheme is compulsory.

depending on employee's contributions to the unemployment insurance scheme).²⁰ Hence, it is not surprising that the number of beneficiaries of the scheme is considerably lower compared to the overall unemployment rate. For instance, when the unemployment rate hit 14% of the labor force during the economic crisis in 2009, less than half a million people were entitled to unemployment insurance benefits (Coucheir & Hauben, 2011).

Notwithstanding, although the Turkish unemployment benefit system may not have substantial coverage, there are transfer programmes whereby municipalities in certain cities provide benefits in kind and cash (i.e. they administer programs which distribute aid packages of coal and food) for citizens in need.

v. Employment Incentive (Insurance Premiums) Schemes

Since 2008, the Turkish government has been undertaking premium incentive initiatives to increase formal employment and reduce informal work amongst women. Reduction of social security premiums for women employees has been an effective policy in supporting female employment.

In 2008, the government amended the Labor Law²¹ to promote women's employment under an "Employment Package". The law stipulated that the employer's share of social security contributions would be paid by the Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF) for hiring women and youth who were registered as unemployed for at least 6 months and hired between May 2008 and May 2010. The payment was made for a period of five years contributing 100% the first year and gradually decreasing to 20% by the fifth. In 2009 and 2010, 61,615 and 63,230 jobs were created, respectively (more than half were for women). Also, for hiring all persons who were unemployed for three months, social security contributions were covered by the UIF for a period of six months (OECD – ILO 2011).

In 2010, the Prime Minister Circular 2010/14 on *Increasing Women's employment and achieving equality of opportunity* was adopted specifying the measures to be taken to increase women's employment. In February 2011, the government passed Law No. 6111 that would discriminate positively for women over the age of 18 by granting the employers who hire female workers exemptions for social security payments. TEPAV Bulletin notes that premium incentive programmes have significantly contributed to the expansion of non –agricultural employment among women, which increased by 44% from 3.4 million in June 2009 (one year after the first programme was introduced) to 4,872,000 in June 2013²².

The government has also created investment incentives to underdeveloped regions; most significantly, the Regional Investment Incentives Scheme, which is specifically directed towards regional development. Other schemes that provide benefits to companies investing in underdeveloped regions include the General Investment Incentives Scheme, Large-Scale Investment Incentives Scheme and Strategic Investment Incentives Scheme (Ministry of Economy 2012).

These are important from a gender perspective primarily because women constitute the bulk of (informal) employment in underdeveloped agricultural regions. For instance, the Regional Investment Incentives Scheme, aimed to eliminate inter-regional imbalances, was first introduced in 2004 to employers in textile, clothing and leather industries that generally would employ women. Under the scheme the employers' social security contributions were reduced in exchange for moving their business from developed to less developed regions. In 2007 reductions were extended to all sectors. The requirement to transfer operations from developed regions was also eliminated (OECD – ILO, 2011).

²⁰ The benefit is only 40% of the average of income in the last 4 months of employment but cannot exceed 80% of the official minimum wage for employees over 16 years old (YTL 665.18 or USD 352 USD per month) and cannot fall below YTL 332.59 per month (USD 189)1920 (OECD 2011).

²¹ The Amendment of the Labour Act and Other Acts, No. 5763 enacted on 15 May 2008 ruled that : "... Above 8 years of age and below 29 years, and all women above 29 years of age without any other age requirement, with a condition of being uninsured on their premium and service papers within the six month period before the enactment of this legislation, in addition to the declared premium numbers in workplace premium and service documents within a one year period before the enactment date of this legislation, employees who are recruited within one year after enactment of this legislation and actually working; insurance premium employer shares calculated by premium based lowest income limit according to item 78 of law No. 506 and listed in items 72 and 73.

²² <http://www.tepav.org.tr/en/haberler/s/3567>

B- POLICIES AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

i. Principles of Equal treatment and Equal Pay

The major legislative changes (i.e. in the Constitution, Civil code, Labor law and Penal Code) that have established women's right in the past ten years were discussed earlier (See above for, *Overview of Key Policy and Legal Development of Gender Equality in Work life*)

There are no major legal constraints that limit women's participation except for Article 72 of the Labor Law, which prohibits night work and work during some specific periods for women (including pregnancy and breastfeeding). There are also some regulations regarding dangerous work and some other protective provisions aiming at preventing women workers from being forced to carry out tasks, which are overwhelming in terms of their physical capacities (i.e. jobs in coal mines, activities in underground or underwater such as cabling, canalisation or tunnel construction). Critiques have argued that continued restriction of women's access to certain jobs both negatively affects the gender composition of non-employment and reinforces a "gendered labour market" by pushing women to do certain types of jobs(Acer et al 2007).

Notwithstanding, the new Labour Act enacted in 2003 was an important step towards establishing the principle of anti-discrimination in employment and securing more equal rights between women and men. Article 5, *the principle of equal treatment*, clearly states that "No discrimination based on language, race, sex, political opinion, philosophical belief, religion and sex or similar reasons is permissible in the employment relationship." It also prohibits discriminatory practices owing to marital status or family responsibilities, including the prohibition of dismissal on grounds of pregnancy ruling that "(e)xcept for biological reasons or reasons related to the nature of the job, the employer must not make any discrimination, either directly or indirectly, against an employee in the conclusion, conditions, execution and termination of his (her) employment contract due to the employee's sex or maternity."

The same Article (5) in the Law also set the legal basis for equal pay for equal work (Turkey had adopted the ILO convention on equal pay back in 1966) ruling that "Differential remuneration for similar jobs or for work of equal value is not permissible. Application of special protective provisions due to the employee's sex shall not justify paying him (her) a lower wage."

If the employer terminates the employment relationship in violation of Article 5 of the Act , the employee is entitled to demand a compensation of his (her) four months' wages as well as other claims of which he (she) has been deprived. However, the burden of proof rests on the employee unless "the employee shows a strong likelihood of such a violation, the burden of proof that the alleged violation has not materialised shall rest on the employer."

Other key policy and legal documents that uphold gender equality in work life include (See Acer et al 2007):-

- The 2004 Prime Minister Circular with an aim to protect the gender equality principle in the hiring civil officials at public institutions which were ordered to keep hiring practices in line with the Constitution and the international agreements that the Turkish government is party to.
- Regulation on Minimum Wage (No. 25540), stating that prohibits discrimination based on sex in the determination of the minimum wage. The Regulation also published in 2004 aimed to regulate the Minimum Wage Fixing Board.

- In 2006 the General Directorate of the Turkish Employment Agency (İŞKUR) issued a communiqué prohibiting discrimination on grounds of gender in employment relationships in the public sector.
- The Trade Unions and Collective Bargaining Law uphold that institutions (unions and confederations) must treat members equally and take gender equality into account in their dealings.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

INEQUALITY AND VULNERABILITIES

Gender inequality often intersects with other forms of socio-economic inequalities such as those of access to education, of class and physical locale (urban/rural, East –West).

Access to and Equity in Education. The level of education remains the main determinant of FLFP, of access to high-end occupations and higher earnings (TurkStat Labor Force Statistics 2012, Uraz et al 2010, Dayioglu & Kirdar 2009, Baslevant & Onaran 2003)²³. However, only small portions of the female population reach higher education levels and most women (67.4 % of women in 2012) stop their education at the primary level. Moreover, access to education is low and inadequate especially for women coming from lower income groups and from developing regions and rural areas (ERG 2010, Duman 2008, Yukseker et al 2007, Smits et al 2006, Duygan & Guner 2005).

Deep gaps in women's employment patterns between regions as well as between rural and urban areas. In Turkey the regions in the Western part of the country are more industrialized and more developed than those in the East where agricultural employment is almost or more than double the national average and where FLFP rate compare to the national average for FLFP in a similar way.

High female employment in agricultural and in informal jobs. Female employment in agricultural and in informal jobs is much higher compared to men. In 2012 more than half (54%) of women worked informally without social benefits or job protection. Unpaid work forms a large percentage of the extremely high informal employment rate of 97 % among women in agriculture (compared to 27% informality in non-agricultural jobs for women). Again education profile has a significant impact on whether employment is in the formal or informal sectors. Informal workers are vulnerable to various forms of exploitation by employers. For instance, they are not able to claim a minimum wage or worker benefits such as unemployment insurance and have little access to mortgage loans to help finance their education or open their own businesses. They are also deprived of key benefits including maternity leave.

Urban work – making inequality better or worse? The movement from agriculture to mainly services sector (which now dominates the female labor market) has not necessarily translated into better jobs, more productive employment or higher income for women. Gender inequality in the non-agricultural labor market can be observed in the vertical and horizontal segregation by gender. In spite of growing female employment in the services sector, males continue to be disproportionately represented in higher end positions while women work in low paying or in part-time jobs (Dayioglu & Kirdar 2009). Even within major occupational groups there are significant wage gaps in spite of the fact that unequal pay is prohibited by both the Labor Law and the Constitution ('the equal pay for equal work' principle). The only occupational group where women are at an advantage with respect to wage levels compared to men is in managerial positions. Yet, very few women reach such positions and enjoy high wages. Furthermore, more women than men continue to be unemployed and the underemployment rate of women is approaching that of their male counterparts, especially in urban areas.

NOTABLE SUCCESS OF GOVERNMENT POLICY

The equality principle enters Turkish legislation. The major legislative changes (i.e. in the Constitution, Civil code, Labor law and Penal Code) have sought to establish women's right in the past few decades. Equal treatment and equal pay (for equal work) principles for women and men are secured in both the Constitution and the new Labor Law. This is the

²³ Higher percentages of female tertiary education graduates have high end occupations as legislators, senior officials and managers or professionals compared to high school graduates. Tertiary education graduates earn almost twice the amount of vocational high school graduates.

most progressive change brought in by the new legislative reforms and may have positive impact on women's activities in the labor market in the future.

Literacy has improved. In the past decade Turkey has made significant progress in tackling illiteracy. The literacy rate amongst young females (% of females aged 15 -24) reached 97% compared to 85 % for adult females (% of female aged 15 and above). The government has also been actively supporting literacy amongst adults in the past few years (i.e. "As Daughters and Mothers, We are at School Together!" campaign).

Access to education has improved and the gender gap is narrowing. Partly thanks to the 1997 Compulsory Education Law that increased mandatory formal schooling from five to eight years, net enrollment rates increased for all levels of education and for female students. Moreover, the 2006 amendment to the Income Tax law granted tax benefits to private foundations in the education sector, which resulted in a significant expansion of the schooling system²⁴. The net enrolment rate in secondary education is expected to increase with the recent transition to 12-year compulsory education. The gender gap is narrowing in recent years and women have surpassed men in countrywide net enrollments for primary education. Female to male ratios for enrolment in primary, secondary and tertiary education are 100.41%, 93.29% and 87.38%, respectively (TurkStat 2012). This is also reflected in the growing number of women college graduates in the labor force since the 1990s.

Creating 'formal labor' opportunities for women. The government has taken various measures in the past decade to create employment opportunities in the formal sector and to remove gender related barriers to education and employment. An important policy item has been employment incentive (Insurance Premiums) schemes for women and investment incentive schemes in developing regions to tackle the problem of informality.

An attempt to expand the social security coverage. In 2008 and 2011 important reform legislation was passed to extend social insurance coverage (Law No. 5754 and Law 6111, respectively). The 2008 law incorporated salaried domestic workers with steady jobs. The 2011 regulation covers occupations such as casual agricultural workers and home-based workers, thereby giving a large proportion of women access to key social rights and protection mechanisms.

LIMITS OF GOVERNMENT POLICY ADDRESSING THE EQUALITY DEFICIT

The 'exist' option and other exclusionary provisions. The reformed Labor and Social Security laws that provide social insurance to unpaid agricultural workers, unpaid family workers and home-based work for family members on voluntary basis in effect excludes these groups from the compulsory system and leaves the door for remnants of informality to continue their existence. Moreover, the new laws have a number of provisions that discourage participation making informal employment more desirable. For instance, while the law stipulates that casual agricultural employees and home-based workers can voluntarily pay lower contributions, such contributions are subject to yearly increases, therefore discouraging the participation of these groups (which have lower income levels compared with workers in other sectors). Moreover, the heavy insurance contribution obligations of the social security system (33.5–39% of gross minimum wage) are likely to discourage participation in the formal labor market and make informal employment a more attractive alternative for both employees and the employer (Elveren 2013, Şahin 2012).

Gender bias in the law. Restricting women's access to labor market under certain conditions such as pregnancy, night work and migrants' work with an aim to protect

24 As of 2011/12 the country achieved an almost universal primary school enrollment with a 98.67% net enrollment rate; secondary and tertiary education enrollment reached 67.37% and 35.51%, respectively. (TurkStat 2013).

women from 'dangerous' working conditions can end up being discriminatory towards women.

Pushing women back into the domestic sphere. The social-political vision underlying policies such as "Return to the Family" Project that aims to bring back home children who were separated from their families due to economic deprivation by providing cash transfers to the family as well as cash benefits provided for the home care of the elderly and disabled, suggest a shift in priority away from public institutional care towards an increase in home care provision. Such policy measures serve to reinforce the notion of placing the women in the home.

Lack of institutional capacity for childcare. Formal kindergartens or crèches and pre-school nursery classes are operated by the Ministry for the Family and Social Services Directorate General for Child Services as well as by private sector. In addition, public institutions and private companies provide crèche and preschool facilities for the children of their employees. It has been noted that such services in the public service has dwindled substantially. The Work Conditions of Pregnant or Nursing Women and Nursery Rooms and Child Care Centers Regulation No. 25522 that was passed in 2004 which obliged employers employing between 100-150 female workers to provide a nursery in the workplace and a childcare center when the number of female workers exceeds 150 has been largely redundant as few workplaces employ so many employees. Furthermore, in 2008 the regulation was relaxed and employers were allowed to reach agreements with private nurseries instead of establishing their own centers.

WHAT THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE TAKING INTO CONSIDERATION?

THE LAW

Paternity leave and child care . In order to assist in balancing working life and family life, parental leave, which is currently only given to spouses of civil servants on a voluntary basis should find a wider legal base (e.g. compulsory paid leave) so that both parents can equally partake in child-care responsibilities. Similarly, the 2004 Law (No. 25522) that obliged private sector employers to set up nurseries and provide childcare services in the workplace should be reinstated and revised to include the provision of child care services for male employees with children. These measures will also help tackle the problem of disincentives to hire women. For instance, the recent discussions about the duration of maternity leave being extended has spurred a debate amongst private sector employers who claim such measures would discourage employers from hiring women. Laws that grant long term maternity leave or rulings that oblige businesses to provide childcare services only for female employees, may hinder demand for female employment. Yet, if father's share an equal responsibility for the care of the newly born, parental leave will not be an occasion to discriminating against women but will apply to all employees- men and women.

Gender bias in the law must be eliminated. Restriction on women's access to labor market under certain conditions such as pregnancy, night work and migrants' work with an aim to protect women from 'dangerous' working conditions must be eliminated.

FISCAL POLICY

Expanding childcare, elderly care facilities. The government must actively take necessary measures to establish, operate, and allocate funds for childcare and elderly facilities. This is becoming all the more pressing because of urban migration patterns and changes to nuclear family types, as well as a fast growth of ageing population. The policy

measures that move away from public institutional care towards an increase in home care provision must be revised to reduce the dependency on women's unpaid labor within the household for care-giving. On the other hand, the government can facilitate investments in child and elderly care centers and expand the provision of such services by providing incentives (i.e. tax benefits) to private sector.

Education system. Enrollment and quality continues to vary significantly across regions and between rural/urban areas. Therefore the provision of educational facilities in all parts of the country is a key area of concern. In Turkey poor people, especially in rural areas and in the East, lack access to quality education in Turkey.

Sectoral priorities but not at the expense of vertical segregation. In spite of growing female employment in the services sector, males continue to be disproportionately represented in higher end positions while women are employed in lower paid jobs. While it is important to target certain sectors and occupations that are female friendly (i.e. client-interactive jobs in shopping malls that offer what women see as secure environments where they would feel safe, working in public) segregating the labor market into occupations based on judgments about the "suitability" of certain types of work for women (*vertical segregation*) may in fact reinforce gender stereotypes and leave women in occupations at the bottom of service sector.

Better inclusion into the social security system in the short -medium run. Efforts to formalize employment by enhancing education are good long term policies for labor market inclusion of women. However, the vastness of the informal economy and the strong rural/urban labor market divide makes it very difficult to formalize women's paid and unpaid work immediately. For the short medium run, the government should consider a better and more inclusive benefit system for unpaid home-based and informal workers until the informal/unregistered economy problem is substantially tackled in order to eliminate existing imbalances. Moreover, insurance should be made compulsory for all citizens and contributions should not be taken from the very poor.

IMPLEMENTATION OF GENDER LAWS AND POLICIES

Better implementation of equal right laws, especially the equal pay principle. Even within major occupational groups there are significant wage gaps between men and women in spite of the fact that unequal pay is prohibited by both the Labor Law and the Constitution ("the equal pay for equal work" principle). The better implementation of these laws is crucial.

More and better inclusion of women in the labor market. As mentioned above, employment incentive (Insurance Premiums) schemes for women and investment incentive schemes in developing regions to tackle the problem of informality have been successful in enhancing employment and should continue. The broader challenge, however, remains to achieve women's representation in jobs that require a higher skill premium, and yield higher wages and expand future opportunities by providing women with access to quality education, giving them the opportunities to balance working and family life and ensuring they do not face discrimination in the workforce (i.e. sexual harassment, unequal pay).

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ANNEX

Duration of unemployment

in thousands	1-2		3-5		6-8		9-11		More than 1 year and less than 2 years		2 years and more, and less than 3 years		3 years and more	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
2004	105	385	123	392	76	236	28	78	136	320	84	172	57	149
2005	119	415	121	409	78	216	25	65	141	294	86	177	72	170
2006	132	457	141	404	72	206	23	60	147	273	83	135	60	134
2007	145	538	147	445	81	200	31	69	149	258	64	109	42	97
2008	186	614	180	517	90	224	27	72	151	262	61	107	39	80
2009	234	739	242	696	138	368	51	126	194	348	73	127	48	87
2010	234	688	209	523	116	262	46	97	223	313	86	124	44	81
2011	237	641	196	419	108	210	39	70	195	236	71	98	37	55
2012	239	605	216	437	110	184	38	62	189	217	62	86	28	44

