

**Segregation at Work, Segregation at Home:  
Turkish Women, Gendered Jobs and Prestige**



**Ash Ermiş**

**St Hugh's College  
University of Oxford**

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## **Abstract**

This study sets out to understand the position of Turkish women in gendered jobs and jobs with different levels of prestige from the 1980s to the 2000s, and to compare this position to that of women in similar countries where possible. Although Turkish women's enrolment rates in traditionally male subjects in higher education is above the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) average and despite the fact that they exceed their male counterparts in their graduation rates in most of the university subjects, this success is not reflected in the labour market. Turkish women are mostly trapped in female occupations with medium level of prestige and are particularly excluded from top-ranked jobs. This study argues that the vicious circle of society's expectations of women in the private sphere and the statistical discrimination based on the fulfilment of these expectations affect women's likelihood to be in these jobs negatively. While increasing educational level strongly improves women's position in male-dominated jobs (within 'professional, scientific and technical jobs' category in particular) and their prestige levels, evidence also shows that there is still a drastic lost potential in respect of highly qualified women's employment considering that still in 2010s, there is a remarkable proportion of highly educated women who are not in paid work. It is observed that in 2012, women expanded their attainment in relatively low-prestige jobs and increased their participation further in professional jobs in accordance with their rising higher educational attainment, yet still only 3% of working women are in managerial jobs (TurkStat, 2012). This implies that the prescribed gender roles that saddle women with the heavy burden in the private sphere, which also affect highly educated women's career trajectories, could even be more persisting than the influence of the traditional social structure on women's work that is expected to cause low qualified women to be represented at low rates in (less prestigious) jobs with non-traditional conditions.

Considering that women withdraw from the labour market mostly due to marriage, and the findings show that marriage and having children have a negative impact on women's careers at large, attention should be focused on the private sphere. Looking at Turkish households, it is found that the gender segregation at work is reflected in the private sphere: women undertake the demanding traditionally female housework and while there are more potential sources of support for childcare compared to household chores, women's employment status and level of income also do not make a substantial difference in terms of the former also the unbalanced domestic division of labour unlike it is for the latter. Results demonstrate that Turkish men do not have a particularly traditional gender ideology regarding women's paid work. However, their lack of involvement in female chores creates a barrier for women's careers in a semi-direct pattern. The findings refer to the need for a faster increase in Turkish women's higher educational attainment and a stronger external support system via social policies at work and at home. It is also important to reinforce a more egalitarian gender ideology regarding men's roles as spouses and fathers as well as to promote the importance of women's different roles in private and public spheres, not only as wives and mothers but also as individuals, citizens and employers/employees.

*Word Count: 97642*

# **1. Segregation at Work, Segregation at Home: Turkish Women, Gendered Jobs and Prestige**

## **1.1 An Introduction**

Gender inequality in the labour market has been frequently discussed in the sociological literature and it has been a major social policy concern in many countries in terms of the wider issue of gender equality. In order to empower women in the public sphere, reinforcing their participation in paid work is fundamental. However, in many contexts, social change regarding gender roles and family structures has been slower than the emergence and improvement of industrialisation. As a result, the rapidly evolving expectations of the market economy and labour market have clashed with those of the continuing traditional values regarding women's domestic roles. Eventually, as a result of the incompatibility of employers' and societies' expectations, women have been confronted by a crossroads, they had to choose between being career- or household-oriented due to the heavy responsibilities of either path, particularly in terms of competing in high-prestige occupations when they chose the former. Although Hakim's (2006) preference theory states otherwise, and indicates that there is an expansion in women's preferences in terms of changing and diversified lifestyle choices, deep-seated gender role allocation and the labour market structures have not yet caught up with these advances particularly in traditional cultures and heterogeneity of women's labour market behaviour remains limited to what the sociological context could offer them. To be able to discuss this social problem, this thesis aims to examine the lack of Turkish women's participation in male jobs overall and in prestige categories of these jobs to elaborate the difference between the concepts of work and career as well, by also making comparisons to other OECD countries where possible. Despite Turkish women's remarkable level of success in

traditionally male university subjects, they are exposed to segregation in male-dominated occupations and in top-prestige male jobs. The problem with women's work in terms of gendered jobs and prestigious jobs is that these are predominated by men. The main issue is not the distribution of female and male jobs in the labour market as women are concentrated in the most crowded middle-prestige section of the hierarchy ladder thus the number of female-dominated jobs can not be understated, and both in 1985 and 2000 there is a balance between the total of workers in female and male jobs (48.2% of the Turkish labour market consisted of workers in male jobs in 1985 which was 54.5% in 2000 (TurkStat, Census data, 1985 and 2000) as it should be considered that male workers have a considerably high attainment rate in female jobs and particularly top-prestige occupations that are mainly male-dominated have relatively limited number of jobs; also, before the second wave urbanisation (resulted by the intense internal migration) that started in 1980s, agricultural work was more expanded which accommodates a large number of jobs predominated by women, hence the decrease in the proportion of workers in female jobs). The major puzzle is that women and men are not equally represented in jobs with similar traits. By 2000, only 14.5% of employees (in working age of 15 to 64) in male jobs were women. Furthermore, 42% of employees in female jobs were men in 2000 (TurkStat, HLFS, 2000), which shows that men do not only prevail in male jobs but they also constitute a large part of jobs dominated by women, leaving limited room for them in the (male) middle-prestige level of the job market.

Women are considered key actors in sustainable development, and sustainable development is a part of securing and providing women's empowerment through protecting their rights (UN Women, 2014), including their financial rights. As an example,

the ICDP (International Conference on Population and Development) report (2015) states that if the employment rates of women were the same as men, there would be an increase in the GDP (gross domestic product) by 9% in the USA, 13% in Europe and 16% in Japan (ICDP, 2015). Furthermore, particularly highly educated women's withdrawal from the labour market when they have children is a significant issue for employers, and high turnover rates potentially damage businesses as it is costly to provide on-the-job training to new employees (Eurofound, 2008). While in some countries the primary concern is the lack of overall female labour market participation, some countries are far ahead on this issue and are in the process of improving their already successful family and work reconciliation policies. Within this spectrum, we could easily state that there is a drastic problem of female employment in Turkey, from various perspectives starting from the low rate of overall labour market participation (Turkish men constitute 65.6% of the total employment in 2000 (TurkStat, Turkish Census data, 2000)).

There are numerous theoretical approaches to women's work and gender segregation in the labour market, from classical theorists to contemporary scholars. The fact that women's roles in the private and public spheres have been a sociological puzzle since the era of the major social scientists shows that there are ongoing unresolved issues regarding prescribed gender roles that still need to be investigated further today. To refer to the arguments of classical theorists, Durkheim (1984) states that sexual division of labour constitutes and strengthens society while he also rejects feminism by labelling it as an unconscious movement (Lehmann, 1994). Marx is said to have ignored the reproductive work of women within the context of capitalism (Federici, 2009) while women's reproductive labour is actually recognised as productive in the Marxist sense by scholars (yet) in an

indirect and limited way since women do not have direct access to a wage so they have no bargaining power particularly given the social, cultural and patriarchal positions and relations (Escobar-Meléndez, 2013). Marx (1990) states that there would be no value to something when there is no utility in question, thus this again indirectly refers to the partial utility of reproductive work in terms of its expected market value (although it does not involve a self-realisation process). Indeed, for Marx self-realisation is the full and free actualisation of one's abilities (Elster, 1986, p. 43), and although this argument is not particular to women it contrasts with the alienation inherent in capitalism and regular work. I would argue that this perspective is relevant to the importance of careers in terms of prestige which Weber (1978, p. 110) argues to be one of the motivations to work under the conditions of market economy as in 'calling types of work' including intellectual, artistic, and highly technical jobs.

Regarding feminism, liberal feminists argue that women should be given equal opportunities to compete with men (i.e., free from their traditional roles). Post-structural feminism emphasises that gender needs to be understood through discourse and power relationships that are manifested through discourse-creating policies in the workplace (Ward and Wolf-Mendel, 2012, pp. 36-38) while radical feminists believe that women are systematically oppressed, dominated and exploited (Hartmann, 1996, p. 174). Hartmann (1976) argues that job segregation by sex is a capitalist mechanism that maintains male superiority and weakens women in the labour market; also domestic division of labour is exacerbated by the labour market and reflect the relationship between capitalism and patriarchy. Alcoff (1988) indicates that cultural feminism sees women's 'enemy' not exactly as social systems, economic structures, or beliefs but as masculinity and male

biology at times as well as the process in which women are defined by men. Alcoff (1988) adds that cultural feminism is criticised for lacking the criticism of the oppressive power mechanisms while it focuses on the importance of creating a “healthy environment” free from masculinist elements. This could be considered a utopian anticipation as the aim needs to be changing men into involved husbands and fathers rather than extreme precautions to exclude all the elements related to men and even men themselves at times. In other words, particularly regarding more fundamentalist feminist approaches, this study argues that the aim towards the solution needs to be leading men towards being more active in the household rather than referring them as the enemy.

Various theories focus on the individual choices people make. Human capital theory indicates that women do not invest in their human capital adequately as a result of their focus on domestic work (Becker, 1993) which contradicts with Turkish women’s increasing educational attainment and simultaneously decreasing labour market participation that occurred during the time frame this study focuses on (from 1980s until late 2000s<sup>1</sup>) as well as their decent share in traditionally male subjects in university and lack of attainment in corresponding areas of the job market. In this study, it is argued that women’s success in enrolling and completing traditionally male-dominated areas in higher education is not reflected in the labour market, thus it could be argued that there are more influential mechanisms that come into play after the educational processes. For human capital theorists (mainly Becker) and rational choice advocates, educational and

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<sup>1</sup> Female employment rates are 29.5%, 28.0%, 26.4% in 1988, 1998 and 2008 respectively (in Turkey, for women aged 15 and over), which is 68.0%, 67.1% and 60.0% for highly educated women in the same order (TurkStat website, Dynamic search for 1988, 1998, 2008).

occupational decision making processes are strongly connected and consequential.

However, while this study agrees on the consequential relation between these two contexts, analysing these processes separately are intentional (as will be explained further in the literature review section) as the inequalities occur via different mechanisms and levels in both.

Hakim's (2006) preference theory proposes that women have more preferences regarding lifestyle and work choices in the 21<sup>st</sup> century in comparison to past with the expanding options in the labour market and technological advances to control their fertility. This study argues that particularly two of the preference theory's components that are claimed to have changed women's employment positively have not been influential in the Turkish context, namely the equal opportunities revolution and the expansion of white collar professions. The former is challenged by the unchanging unequal division of domestic labour and the latter is outpaced by the same family-related reasons considering that unless the share of duties are rearranged in the private sphere, the increase in the number of professional jobs would be less influential. Rational choice theory suggests that women's purpose is to maximise their interests by making their choices in accordance with those interests (Breen and Goldthorpe, 1997). Therefore, women are claimed to be shaping their preferences according to their future plans including educational and occupational choices. However, rational choices are particularly restricted on contexts where preferences for women are rigidly limited by social constraints. Thus, rational steps are usually taken by the employers in terms of choosing employees based on their expected dedication to the job also implementing statistical discrimination, leaving female workers out as a result of the anticipation that their work will be discontinuous due to family-related reasons. This

exclusion is strengthened by the lack of support for women's responsibilities as they are assigned with the responsibility of care, again on states' rational steps to reduce or even cut down on family expenditures. Particularly in the Turkish context, while women's exclusive right to receive severance pay when leaving their jobs within the first year of their marriage reinforces withdrawal after marriage, the combination of welfare regime regulations accounting women for care, conservative state discourse and traditional social structure result in a lack of childcare support. As a result, although they contribute to the vicious circle of women's exclusion from prestigious jobs, employers make the rational (that is for them) and thus safe choice to hire men as well as investing in male workers' on-the-job training. Thus, this study firstly argues that women face statistical discrimination in the work place as a result of the segregation they experience at home and in paid work which arises from socially-manipulated gender role templates that consider women only as wives and mothers. As a result, rational choices are only achieved by the employers and remain a luxury for female workers. This discrimination becomes even more intense in high-prestige occupations, as investing in training programmes is costly and employers expect that women will leave as a result of getting married and having children and thus they are less willing to employ female employees despite their qualifications.

Even though women could be making rational choices in the process of choosing their subject in university with the anticipation that it would lead them to highly prestigious and better paid jobs, social constraints as barriers stand in the way of realising these expectations. Thus, short-term aspirations of women outweigh long-term rational choices in an uncertain and unequal setting, also, this study argues that making plans for a life-long

process is relatively less sensible compared to shaping plans and changing steps according to the barriers and circumstances as they come along. In other words, as rational choice theorists claim that women (and men) plan their futures ahead by keeping in mind what they are going to give weight to (in theory), circumstances, expectations and plans change in practice with the need to rearrange plans even when they are rationally aimed in the first place as conditions are rarely ideal. In his revolving door hypothesis, Jacobs (1989) argues that fertility decisions are short-term and women do not necessarily make career choices that are remarkably forward-looking. As a result, according to Jacobs (1989), the relationship between women's subject choices (at university) and subsequent careers can be overstated and limited. As stated above, this research also reckons that in practice, it is not highly possible to make stable plans for future and know what one wants in life at an early stage such as in adolescence when people make subject choices. However, Jacobs (1989) also indicates that according to life-long social control hypothesis, women move in between jobs that are dominated by women and men with the changing circumstances (e.g. in terms of fertility) and changing aspirations. Goldin and Katz (2010) also argue that individuals make career choices in many points of their life cycle with imperfect knowledge on penalties and uncertainties regarding potential family responsibilities; career and family equilibrium being one of the motivations in occupational changes, the diminishing family-related penalties in various jobs have attracted women as employees. This study argues that although individual circumstances would allow women to shift to male-dominated prestigious jobs, social and economic conditions are not expected to let this happen considering the prescribed gender roles are too close knit to transform easily.

Although Turkey experienced a later industrialisation similar to some of the countries that share resembling gender relations including Japan, Korea and Mexico (Amsden, 1989), the traditionally determined (almost stable) gender roles continued to contradict the expectations of the labour market and jobs of all prestige levels (particularly high-prestige jobs) by not being able to catch up with this late transformation. Also, there is a considerable level of educational homogamy in Turkey, particularly among highly educated women (Ermiş, 2009), thus when husbands potentially have the economic means to look after the family, this makes it easier for women to withdraw from the labour market when the double burden is too heavy and as a result of this prescribed gender roles determining men as the breadwinner. On a similar note, it has also been shown that the recovering economic situation is related to women not participating in the labour force (Yıldırım and Doğrul, 2008). The rigid gender roles affecting women's work and the difficulty to balance the labour market and family life for women as regards their overall employment has been discussed to a great extent in the social policy agenda, in media and in the literature. However, there is one issue that has been largely neglected both in academia and in the realm of social policy: the right of Turkish women to compete with men at the same level of jobs, in terms of prestige, not only regarding vertical mobilisation but also the simultaneous horizontal segregation that exists and traps women mostly into middle-prestige jobs (See Table 15). In 2000, only 25.6% of the employees in the highest prestige male jobs were women (Turkish Census data, 2000). As Turkish women attend higher education at one of the lowest rates among other OECD countries in 2006 (14.4% for tertiary-type A programmes' graduation rates for women and 16.1% for men, OECD, 2008, p. 86), there is still an increase in their higher educational attainment throughout the years starting in 1980s and continuing in 2000s as observed in the Census (Turkish Statistical Institute, Census data, 2000) and OECD data (2008), and their share in some of

the traditionally male subjects at university-level is above many of their OECD counterparts (OECD, 2010, see Appendix 4.1). In addition, although the proportion of tertiary degrees awarded to Turkish women is among the lowest in OECD countries, it increases remarkably from 2000 to 2009 (OECD, 2012a). However, Turkish women have one of the lowest employment rates by university education (OECD, 2012c) and their employment rates largely decreased over time as an exception among OECD countries (OECD, 2011a), and as it will be seen throughout this study, they are also excluded from male-dominated work areas that they are successfully trained for. As the explanations regarding migration and educational homogamy refer to different aspects of non-employment of women, women's success in attaining traditionally male university subjects, and this sheer lack of the reflection of the educational success in the labour market, requires other explanations. As 54.7% of highly educated women (which is 53.1% for men) were in paid work in 2000, 60.8% of women who are highly educated (and in working age) were in high-prestige male jobs while they constituted 30.5% of these jobs. As for male jobs, 79.5% of highly educated women worked in male jobs and they account for 27.9% of these jobs in 2000. Also, even though women of working age constituted 30.6% of all highly educated individuals in 2000, only 9.0% of them were highly educated (which is 10.6% for men) (TurkStat, HLFS, 2000).

As mentioned above, this study argues that women are trapped in a vicious circle of society's expectations (tradition), statistical discrimination performed by employers, and a lack of external support as a combined result of welfare state regime accounting women with family care and overall political discourse on gender, particularly for the higher prestige occupations that require continuation and a higher degree of dedication.

Employers look for signals that are harbingers of potential dedication, acting as screening devices of statistical discrimination. Bonoli and Hinrichs (2010) point out that employers detect signals of motivation and social skills in low skill, less prestigious jobs (as in the sample of their study) as the need of the occupations in question. This study argues that for high-prestige jobs gender is a strong (and imperfect) signal in relation to the findings that being housewife is the most popular reason to leave the labour market (see Chapter 4), that marriage decreases the likelihood to be in high-prestige male jobs (see Chapter 5), men being supportive in theory but not practice that causes the double burden women carry (see Chapter 6) as well as the considerable difference of working hours (as an observable signal for employers) between women and men in managerial jobs.

The importance of examining women's careers is manifold. In order to carry out this examination it is first necessary to describe the concept of career, which is often misinterpreted as meaning to be vertically advantaged in the job market. The Oxford Sociology Dictionary (Scott and Marshall, 2007) describes a career as *“a patterned sequence of occupational roles through which individuals move over the course of a working life implying increased prestige and other rewards, although not excluding downward occupational and social mobility”*. According to the Oxford English Dictionary (Stevenson, 2010), a career refers to *“an occupation undertaken for a significant period of a person's life and with opportunities for progress”*. As seen from these definitions when the word “career” is used, there is an emphasis on continuation, progress and prestige. The concept of “career” differs from the overall notion of “work” as the latter has marginalising forms of employment inherent by nature while careers empower individuals and upheaval their position in the private, public and political spheres. Therefore, it is

important for more women to build this continuity and progress, not only for economic reasons such as higher wages and social security but also, as stated by Kardam and Toksöz (2013), because other forms of labour with low wages and no social security strengthen the belief that a woman's place is primarily her home and her position in the labour market outside the home is marginal and temporary. Thus, it is significant for women to hold prestigious jobs that are usually predominated by men, in order to equally compete with men in the labour market which in turn would reflect in women's status in society. Studying 'prestige' in the labour market is also significant in terms of its reference to promotion opportunities, increasing income, improved work- and family-related conditions, and the variety of jobs women attain. Being in prestigious jobs also eliminates women's secondary status in the labour market.

Regarding the secondary/added worker position of women, Başlevent and Onaran (2003) argue that added worker effect (women's entry to labour market when there is a financial need or risk) is stronger for urban women in Turkey than the discouraged worker effect (the negative impact of unemployment on willingness to find a job) and they add that this could be due to women's newly developed familiarity with the labour market in the times of crises. Yıldırım (2014) also finds an added worker effect for highly educated women in urban areas, whereas Tansel (2001) indicates that unemployment of women in urban areas is overlooked and discouraged worker effect is crucial to explain women's work patterns. Kuzgun and Sevim (2004) also point out that Turkish women's work is not considered equal to men's work and it is seen as an additional income for the household rather than a means for women's economic freedom. The problem that highly educated women are not able to obtain top-prestige jobs results in incomplete self-realisation, not being able to fully

realise their potential, and holding occupational statuses that does not correspond to their human capital. An increase in the number of women in prestigious jobs and having more women leaders would mean a larger number of female role models in society via a snowball effect, and would help women to be more involved in political processes and to break the vicious circle of the impact of tradition and statistical discrimination, that would ultimately be leading to an equal society.

As it is common in Turkey for women to leave the labour market when they have children, if they have not already withdrawn after getting married (they are encouraged to do so as a result of the legal right of being entitled to severance pay when they withdraw from work within the first year of marriage (The Official Gazette of the Republic of Turkey, 1971, no. 13943, also see Table 10 which shows that the primary reason women state for not looking for a job is being a housewife), this study sets out to investigate mainly the relationship between domestic roles of women (and therefore the lack of men's support in these responsibilities) and their position in different prestige levels of male jobs. Furthermore, in addition to the female-male segregation in the labour market, there is a strong segregation at home, with women undertaking time-consuming and regular household tasks while men engage in more practical and irregular chores. Thus, this research also evaluates how these responsibilities labelled as "traditionally female" that maintain segregation at home and cause women to be excluded from jobs that are dominated by men, are shared and how women's work is influenced by men's gender ideology from two different perspectives: their attitudes towards women's work, and how much they are involved in (particularly these traditionally female) activities in the home. Finally, applying the assumption that the burden placed on women is partly a reflection of the gender discourse inherent in state

ideology and social provisions, Northern European regimes (as developed systems regarding women's positions in the family and labour market) and Turkey (as a part of the Mediterranean welfare regime in which women are saddled with an extended carer role) are critically compared and discussed.

As stated above, this study examines Turkish women's status in male and prestigious male jobs, particularly in terms of the lack of career-building on the part of highly educated women from the 1980s to the 2000s. Apart from issues of data availability, studying this era is useful for many different reasons. The relative increase in women's attainment in higher education commenced in the 1980s as a remarkable rise in feminist movement in Turkey also began in the same era (Moralioğlu, 2012). From the 1980s on, Turkish women's overall employment rates have decreased until late 2000s despite their simultaneously (albeit slow) increasing higher educational attainment. In 1980, 3.5% of women were highly educated which increased to 9.1% in 2000 while 45.8% of women were in paid work in 1980 which dropped to 39.6% in 2000; men's employment has also decreased in two decades from 79.8% to 70.6% and apparently one of the reasons for this is unemployment rates for both women and men (which has risen from 1.7% to 7.2% for women and from 4.7% to 9.9% for men) (TurkStat, Census: Dynamic search, 1980 and 2000). This overall decrease in employment rates has also been explained by reference to increasing internal migration and migrant women's lack of necessary human capital for non-agricultural paid work (The World Bank, 2009), as well as the fact that the traditional family structure is a barrier for their work in the low-prestige service sector, trapping them into informal (mostly domestic) employment. While Turkish women are concentrated in the middle-prestige female jobs which will be demonstrated further in the thesis, both

women in low-prestige jobs and high-prestige jobs encounter problems in the labour market, the latter being the primary concern of this study.

Increasing attention has been given to gender inequalities since the late 1970s and early 1980s by academics and feminists, there has also been a rising awareness for women's issues among state authorities although it has not been sufficient (Acar et al., 2007).

However, despite this (yet slight) attention, Turkish industry has not been successful in creating new employment opportunities from the 1980s on, which has also caused low-qualified women (who are in the labour market) to be trapped in the informal economy (mostly in traditionally female and domestic areas), with no social security (Kardam and Toksöz, 2013). Also, from the 1970s on, due to the circumstances created by the lifestyle in urban areas, the demands of women in these regions have risen, however, in the 1980s the manufacturing industry (Kocacık and Gökkaya, 2005) as well as the overall labour market failed to provide employment similar to many other industrial areas of work, while, as Ecevit (2011) indicates, among the reasons of women being a part of the informal economy was the fact that the existing positions were taken by men. Furthermore, the 1980s was the period when (second period) urbanisation increased as a result of the rapid internal migration (government's agricultural policies being one of the primary reasons) (Biçerli and Gündoğan, 2009) which happened parallel to the changing economic structures and influenced the patterns of female employment as well as the unpaid family worker population in agricultural job categories. Although these macro level economic factors have influenced Turkish women's work over the years, Özer and Biçerli (2003-2004) emphasise that women are more directly affected by micro-economic means as their employment is attached to men's work rather than to the labour market in an indirect way,

underlining their secondary position in the labour market. As seen many social changes including ones that influenced women's status in the society and educational sphere in particular has occurred in the 1980's, thus this era is chosen as the starting point of the analysis which extends to 2000s. The main analysis is conducted with the data of 1985 and 2000 (TurkStat, HLFS, 1985 and 2000) due to data availability, however to interpret recent and future context, descriptive findings upto the present day will also be discussed.

In the Turkish literature, the concepts of “female job” and “male job” are often studied conceptually (via traditional masculine and feminine associations) and women's positions in prestigious jobs are mostly measured indirectly, by attributing prestige to managerial positions. Many studies of Turkish women are also predominantly focused on individual jobs or sectors, largely within certain geographical areas (İlkkaracan, 2013; Eraydın and Erendil, 1999; Çelikten, 2004; Öricü et al., 2007; Toksoy and Alkan, 2010; Yetim, 2002; Karacan, 2012) and using mostly data of one particular year rather than comparing two or more points of time. Also in the Turkish and international literature regarding Turkish women's careers, the term ‘career’ is mostly attributed to managerial work (Akpınar-Sposito, 2013; Aycan, 2004; Kabasakal, 1998; Özbilgin and Woodward, 2004; Zeytinoğlu et al., 2001) or particular occupations, such as academic careers (Özbilgin and Healy, 2004; Sağlamer, 2009). As much as it is significant to see snapshots of Turkish women's employment patterns, in terms of job category or in different cities, this thesis provides an expanded perspective in regards to different aspects, in order to elaborate the bigger picture and present the state of women overall with the aim to fill a gap in the literature regarding Turkish women's work in prestigious male-dominated jobs.

As mentioned above, there are two aspects to the concept of a 'female job', which are strongly related to each other. The first aspect is the qualitative description that some occupations are seen as a continuation of women's domestic roles such as nursing and teaching that refer to women's caring traits. In other words, some occupations are more identified with women's work (Williams, 1992) which makes them 'female jobs'. This is closely related to the quantitative description of a female job that a certain percentage of women are included in a job/occupational category that makes it a female job. Although women are clustered into traditionally female jobs (referring to the former aspect) and thus these two descriptions are highly nested, the concept of femininity as well as the gender composition of occupations could change over time, also, these two definitions could contradict at times. This research uses the terms female and male jobs according to the concentration of women and men in individual jobs by also taking the historical and sociological background of occupational groups into consideration. As the common approach is to address jobs with 70% and over female population as female jobs (Jacobs, 1989; Chan, 1999), jobs with 50.01% and over female employees are labelled as female in the Turkish context due to the low attainment of women in jobs with 70% and over male population (considering that their probability to be in prestigious male jobs will be analysed) as well as it was not possible to create integrated/mixed gender jobs due to the same reason which will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

There are many different approaches to the issue of gender inequality in the labour market. The glass-ceiling approach explains why women cannot move upwards in the labour market (Smith et al., 2012). This is one of the most commonly discussed problems women encounter in terms of vertical mobility at work place, preventing women from promotion

opportunities which tends to be a result of various parameters including the expectation that women's work will be discontinuous, prejudices regarding women's human capital reserve and occupational cultures dominated by men that do not let women in. The glass ceiling argument is strongly related to the issue of gender wage gap which is another substantial topic in the Sociology of Gender and Work. This is not only a significant problem because women and men in the same positions are paid differently at times that is associated with traditional gender inequality but also by excluding women from high-prestige and highly paid jobs despite their qualifications is another way to deny them better financial provisions at work.

Vertical and horizontal segregation are also widely discussed concepts in the literature of gender and work in relation to segregation and inequality. Browne (2006) highlights the conceptual problems regarding these two terms by emphasising that it is important to remember that segregation is not the synonym of inequality, and adds that while horizontal occupational sex segregation refers to difference, vertical occupational sex segregation represents inequality, most visibly in the form of pay gap. For the concept of "concentration" in relation to segregation, Browne (2006) indicates that the concentration of women and men in certain occupations does not reflect the hierarchical relation between the two but rather how the concentration in individual jobs contributes to the overall segregation in the vertical and horizontal patterns, in other words, that unequal outcomes are not always associated with prejudice or injustice. Blackburn and Jarman (2005) also argue that vertical segregation represents inequality and horizontal segregation is difference without inequality, and they add that concentration is representation of one sex within occupations, as segregation addresses separation of sexes across occupations.

Blackburn and Jarman (2005) further indicate that there is an inverse relation between horizontal (and overall segregation at times) and vertical segregation, where they increase or decrease in opposite directions, higher horizontal segregation increasing the tendency for women and men to have distinct but equal career prospects.

These arguments are mostly valid for contexts where a decent level of overall and occupational gender equality exists. As an example, in Browne's (2006) research, 49% of the workers are female in that particular context and 31% of the jobs are female-dominated, 36% are mixed and 33% are male-dominated jobs. Whereas, in the labour markets such as in Turkey, women concentrate in jobs which are paid relatively less or women are paid less than men in the same positions, making it difficult to distangle these two concepts. As an example, two of the jobs that are predominated by women both in 1985 and 2000 namely stenographers and typists, and computing machine operators (which are units within the sub-major of office clerks) are both paid at a medium level overall, and women are paid less than men in this job category. Data shows that in 2006, men as office clerks are paid (average montly gross wage, regardless of private or public sector) 1153 YTL (TL was named YTL also New Turkish Lira at the time) and women in this job category are paid 1022 YTL (Turkish Statistical Institute, Income Statistics: Dynamic Search, 2006). Interestingly, only in two occupations (among the selected ones provided by the Turkish Statistical Institute that include all of the major groups and many of the sub-major categories) women are paid more than men of which the first one is legislators, senior officials and managers (women are paid 2790 YTL on average and men are paid 2723 YTL), and precision, handicraft, printing and related trades workers (women are paid 828 YTL and men are paid 799 YTL on average). Women are paid less as

corporate managers although the gap is not considerably high as the average wage for women is 2812 YTL and 2877 YTL for men. As seen, women who reach to the top of the “hierarchy elevator” are paid similarly (or even more in one of the jobs in the high-prestige category) than their male counterparts, however, the issue is that women are represented inadequately in these jobs. In 2000, only 13.7% of legislators and senior officials, and 7.8% of entrepreneurs and managers (except in trade) were women, making it unlikely for them to be paid more overall in the labour market.

As will be seen further in this study, two prestigious jobs as life scientists and medical jobs became female-dominated in 2000. Being prestigious jobs, both are paid highly overall, however, women are paid 1835 YTL and men are paid 2644 YTL in 2006 in the major job group of life science and health professionals. Furthermore, professional jobs are critical for women to participate in relatively high-prestige occupations in relation to the slowly yet steady increase in higher educational attainment which mostly lead to medium to high-prestige jobs. In the major group of “professional occupations”, there is a considerable wage gap between women and men; women are paid an average monthly gross wage of 1685 YTL and men are paid 1982 YTL. We could see that women are concentrated in jobs that are paid relatively lower (mostly in the medium layer of the hierarchy ladder) which refers to horizontal segregation mixed with vertical segregation, as well as they are paid less than men in the same occupations that creates a vertical segregation trend. Thus, wage rates show that vertical and horizontal segregation cannot be considered disparate and are interrelated in this particular context, thus part of the analysis will combine women’s position in male jobs (which represents horizontal segregation) and high-prestige jobs

(which refers mostly to vertical segregation, which is discussed on both the vertical and horizontal axes).

The hierarchy elevator to be presented in the following chapters also clearly represents this relationship between horizontal and vertical segregation: while one could move to a higher prestige job, every level that the elevator moves has different modules that are separately gendered to different extents. On a related note, building a career does not always refer to being a chief executive officer (CEO) or in a similar position, the problems in working towards a career occur as a result of the combination of vertical and horizontal segregation. As mentioned, there are layers in the form of a building with an inbuilt elevator where people move upwards to different floors with different flats, yet the upper levels of this elevator are obviously more open to careers. To define “prestige”, Treiman scale (1977) is used when categorising female and male jobs into different prestige groups. Although Treiman’s scale is in 1970’s, it fits the Turkish context for different reasons that will be explained further in the data and methods sections as the prestige in its sociological terms still count and wage rates are compatible with the prestige groups.

This study covers Turkey as an entity since the double burden and exclusion from male jobs of any kind, and the exclusion from prestigious jobs, is experienced by women from all areas of the country. Regional differences will still be measured via independent variables in the relevant analyses. This study argues that women are affected by their individual circumstances, as Orçan (2008) indicates that women in the rural areas also started to give up on the traditional gender ideology: the main determinant of women’s relationships with tradition as well as their roles in the private and public spheres is their

educational level rather than their region (pp. 239-240). As it is expected that domestic responsibilities have a major negative impact on women's work, it could even be stated that women in urban areas have weaker connections and ties that enable them to cope with the double burden caused by housework and childcare. Furthermore, as the concern of this study is gendered jobs and their prestige groups rather than overall employment, it is taken into consideration that female and male forms of employment and jobs of different prestige levels exist in all regions and sectors. One of the most important reasons I do not separate between female employment in urban and rural regions is that in the latter a majority of the job opportunities are in the agricultural sector and agricultural jobs are in different prestige levels with different gender compositions, far from being homogeneous as an entity. To elaborate, while agriculture and animal husbandry workers are the fifth less prestigious jobs according to Treiman scale (1977) with a prestige score of 22, farmers are in the medium level prestige category with a prestige score of 40, and farm managers and supervisors are at the top of the middle-prestige layer, only six jobs behind of being in the high-prestige occupational category with a prestige score of 48 (prestige levels are categorised into three layers of low-, medium- and high-prestige jobs in this study as will be shown in Chapter 3). Also, in 2006 unskilled agricultural workers are paid 744 YTL and skilled agricultural workers' average monthly gross wage is 840 YTL which is 1783 YTL for "small enterprise owners and managers" category that include farm managers and supervisors in ISCO 88 classification of ILO. In terms of gender composition, women's share in the category of agricultural and related workers is 34.8% which is 56.9% for farmers while women constitute only 6.7% of farm managers and supervisors.

In this study, the lack of an extended longitudinal study in the Turkish context from 1980s to 2000s is somewhat compensated for by using age cohorts, while using two points in time provides a basis for comparison. Moreover, by looking at the whole process of micro, meso and macro explanations of women's work, prestige and family in the form of a vicious circle, this research goes beyond a snapshot study. Also, gender ideology is often attached to one's attitudes towards women's paid work. However, this study considers the direct (arguing against women's paid work) and somewhat indirect (contributing to household chores) expressions of gender ideology of men separately as well as in relation to each other in order to measure Turkish men's gender ideology. Last but not least, to overcome the biases that arise from using 'housework' as an entity, domestic responsibilities are addressed as the routine and regular female housework and irregular and less time consuming male housework.

The obvious problem that low-qualified working women are marginalised in informal (but female) work is a prominent issue in Turkey. Even though there have been efforts to provide social security regardless of the irregularity of women's employment (e.g. in daily cleaning jobs), there are still many problems concerning the general informal economy, both in terms of job security and social security. However, another, perhaps less obvious and more ignored, problem is that there is a significant lost potential in relation to highly-qualified women in high-prestige jobs. In the Turkish context, the term 'disadvantaged' tends to be associated with having less in terms of human capital, economic capital and so on. Although it could be suggested that the overall lack of women's attainment in the labour market and the fact that low-qualified women are either in informal sector or in a very limited range of low-prestige jobs are significant sociological problems, it is far from

an elitist matter to suggest that an important problem is also to be found in the reality that women who invest in their education and aspire to compete with men on an equal basis have difficulties in the labour market. When the importance of political issues (usually in terms of voting behaviour) are discussed, the concept 'issue salience' describes the most important problem (Wlezien, 2005), yet the importance of issues may change depending on individual's approach. This argument could be attributed to women's problems in the labour market that the barriers low and high educated women encounter in the job market are complimentary rather than contradictory and even distinctive. All women should have equal entitlement with men to achieve esteem by acquiring success, gaining confidence and obtaining respect from others, and an equal right to be able to reach self-realisation as indicated in Maslow's pyramid of needs which presents the theory of human motivation to satisfy one's needs step by step and upwards starting from basic physiological needs and continuing with safety, belonging (and love), esteem and self-actualisation (Maslow, 1943).

This research emphasises that the 'sacredness' attached to women's dedication to their husbands/children/family members needs to be challenged. Also, the possibility that women can have multiple roles, in both private and public spheres, should be reinforced including having careers as by itself, being economically active does not guarantee high social status within the family (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1986). Osipow (1975) states that there are three main issues involved in women's career-building processes: self-expectations regarding educational, occupational and household-related matters in reference to their husbands' attitudes towards female employment, problems in terms of social expectations and institutional opportunities making working women's lives easier that exist alongside

with institutional barriers that make women's lives harder, and the general lack of interest in studying women's careers (pp. 7-8). The third of these problems is addressed in this study, the aim of which is to contribute to the literature on women's careers in the Turkish context as well as in countries that are similar to Turkey.

Among the similar countries to Turkey in terms of women's status at home and at work, one of the most obvious resemblance could be seen with countries implementing Southern European welfare regulations. There is an expected level of unity between the countries that belong to the same welfare regime type, yet the individual countries have their differences. There is an agreement on that the Southern European welfare regimes are characterised by their safety net being the family, and therefore the lack of external support and low rates of childcare benefits. Turkey differs from the rest of the countries that are associated with this welfare regime in two basic traits at first consideration: the fact that Turkey is not a European Union member and that the mainstream religion is Islam. Regarding the former, as Iguarán (2011) indicates that these countries benefited from the expenditure levels of being EU members, it could be said that the impact of the pending membership is to be seen for Turkey. Despite these differences, as Grütjen (2008) emphasises, Turkey fulfils the key criteria of being a part of the Southern European regimes in that family is the main institution of welfare with a high level of familialism despite the fact that Turkey differs in terms of the lack of the emphasis on civil society in particular.

The impact of religion could be considered as one of the elements that is highly explanatory of women's employment. However, both data and literature show that

particularly regarding labour market preferences religion is not a primary determinant in women’s public sphere existence. The research conducted by Kuzgun and Sevim (2004) also demonstrates that in terms of the relationship between religiousness and men’s attitudes towards women’s work, men are supportive of women’s employment as long as they fulfil the domestic responsibilities which could be interpreted as the importance of tradition rather than purely religious beliefs. Moreover, comparisons that will be presented in different sections of this study demonstrate common patterns of women’s family and work lives in culturally different contexts in which the mainstream religion is also not the same, implying that religion does not primarily determine women’s work trajectories. The below table presents whether religion is a determinant in individuals’ lives in Turkey (Family Value Survey, 2006). To understand the overall level of prioritisation of religion in daily life, the descriptive findings are presented regardless of gender. The table shows that religion tends to be a determinant in the private sphere regarding individuals’ personal lives mainly for spouse choice which is followed by food and drink choices, clothing, and friendship preferences. Regarding social life also public sphere elements such as voting, relations with neighbours and occupational choices, individuals argue that religion is not a determinant in their preferences which is the strongest for occupational choices (as the focus of this study), 52.7% of respondents arguing that religion does not determine their occupational choices.

**Table 1: Religion as a determinant of different parameters in individuals’ lives (%)**

	Not determining	Determining	Highly determining	Total
Spouse choice	15.4	41.3	43.3	100.00
Friend choices	37.0	40.3	22.6	100.00
Clothing choices	35.4	42.2	22.4	100.00
Voting behaviour	52.0	32.3	15.7	100.00
Relations with neighbours	47.1	36.5	16.4	100.00
Food and drink choices	24.3	43.9	31.8	100.00
Occupational choices	52.7	31.7	15.5	100.00

*Data Source: Family Value Survey, 2006 (Turkish Statistical Institute). Author’s tabulation.*

To discuss how influential religion is on women's and men's life style choices, 49.3% of women and 57% of men (49.1% of married women and 55.8% of married men) claim that religion is not a determinant in their occupational choices. As it could be seen from Table 1, the more personal choices get, the more determining religion becomes. As the concern of this study is occupational trajectories of women, this finding supports that religion and traditional social structure are highly interchained in Turkey also when the the secularism principle is considered, despite the conservative political atmosphere that has been prevalent since more than a decade. As will be discussed in Chapter 6, the attitudes of both women and men regarding the appropriateness of women's work is highly positive with a traditional behaviour pattern of men in terms of their support at home as another signal that the impact of traditions outweighs the influence of religion in Turkey when it comes to lifestyle choices associated with the public sphere.

## **1.2 The content of the thesis**

After this first introductory chapter of the thesis, the second chapter will provide an extended review of the literature on women's position in different segments of higher education and labour market. The first section of the following chapter will present the brief historical background regarding Turkish women's position in the society and the labour market in the pre-Republican and early Republican era. This will be followed by a review of the literature regarding educational inequalities and women's transition from the higher educational sphere to the labour market. The related studies conducted on horizontal segregation in the labour market will then be discussed at the micro (individual) and macro (societal) levels. After the major hypotheses regarding women's positions in different job categories are explored in the context of previous studies, the literature

regarding welfare regimes will be presented. The aim of the following chapter is therefore to demonstrate the background information related to the field to which this research aims to contribute.

The third chapter will present the data and methods used in this study, and thus the data sets and methodology used in the individual chapters will be presented in detail.

Furthermore, the key variables and the reasons for using these components will be discussed. Also, the literature on the main methodologies will be provided where necessary, and I will focus on Treiman's prestige scale (1977) in particular which is used to determine the three prestige groups in the Turkish context (for the hierarchy elevator).

The purpose of this chapter is to clearly present the content of the large data sets used for the analysis, and the methods and variables worked on, before the methodological chapters show how and why they will be used.

The fourth chapter will firstly present Turkish women's attainment in higher educational subjects and will investigate the enrolment and graduation rates of women and men, as compared to other OECD countries. The next step will be to present women's share of, and participation rates in, the major job groups, to explore which occupational groups women are most represented in. Furthermore, jobs with the highest and lowest rate of female employees will be identified and this will be followed by a discussion focusing on other OECD countries' female occupational concentration, to evaluate in which countries the genderedness of the labour market is visible. As this research expects increasing educational level and marital status to have a contradictory impact on women's work, the share of women in the major job categories will be presented according to these two

components. As mentioned, the main concern of this research is to examine women's status in careers, and domestic responsibilities as barriers to their work life considering that particularly the top-prestige occupations do not gel with these responsibilities. Thus, part-time work opportunities in major job categories will be presented to identify whether there are flexible opportunities in higher prestige jobs in the Turkish context. Considering that marriage is expected to have a negative impact on women's career trajectories, the question of why women leave the labour market will also be investigated. The next section will discuss the relationship between women's work and family and thus demonstrate the descriptive results regarding women's share of domestic responsibilities and maternal employment across OECD countries. Finally, comparisons to other OECD countries that have similar female employment patterns to Turkey will be elaborated.

After Chapter 4 presents the preliminary results regarding Turkish women's position in the higher educational and occupational spheres, Chapter 5 will firstly elaborate the percentage and proportion of Turkish women in male jobs. Secondly, for the first main analysis, women's status in male-dominated jobs, regardless of prestige, will be identified, to investigate what components influence their chances in jobs that are dominated by men and from which they are excluded. Then, the percentages of prestige groups, as well as women's and men's share in these groups, will be presented, and this will be followed by the distribution of prestige groups within female and male job groups and women's and men's positions in these categories. Furthermore, jobs with lowest and highest prestige will be demonstrated and Heckman's (1979) two-step (probit) model will be applied to test the components that affect women's entry to the labour market and secondly to the highest prestige jobs, as well as the correlation between these two processes. Finally, ordered

logistic regression analysis results will be given to investigate the relationship between women's likelihood to be in higher prestige male jobs (in the context of the three prestige levels of the hierarchy elevator) and variables that are potentially influential on this probability.

In the Chapter 6, firstly the overall share of domestic responsibilities between women, men and other sources of help are presented. The tables that then follow will summarise women's share in demanding female household chores, based on women's employment status and wages, to measure the time availability and resource bargaining approaches, as well as the impact of women being in paid work and their economic power on the domestic burden. The following section will continue by descriptively presenting women's and men's understanding of female employment, according to educational level, and the reasons given by people who argue that it is not appropriate for women to be in paid work, based on educational level and marital status. Moreover, the share of childcare arrangements between family members and paid work is presented, based on women's employment and wages, to demonstrate how women's responsibility is affected by working outside the home and having higher wages. The next step will be to apply a logistic regression analysis to examine which family-related components affect Turkish women's likelihood to be responsible for the female chores at home. This analysis will be followed by a bivariate probit model that measures men's gender ideology in terms of their attitudes and behaviour towards women's work and their roles at home, and the marginal effects of the model after the main analysis. Lastly, a critical comparison between Northern European and Mediterranean welfare regimes, in terms of women's status at work, will be presented.

Finally, in the conclusions chapter, the findings of the research will be discussed and the contributions this research aims to make will also be presented. The conclusions chapter will also elaborate future suggestions on how to improve women's status in the labour market and at home, based on the results as well as on the literature. The aim of listing potential solutions based on the findings of this study is the significance for the transformation of sociological research into real life practices and problem solving as well as the need that research hypotheses and statistical results to correspond to tangible social issues.

The next section, as mentioned, will survey the literature regarding women's status in higher education, in the labour market, and in gendered jobs before exploring how women fare in gendered higher educational subjects and major job categories.

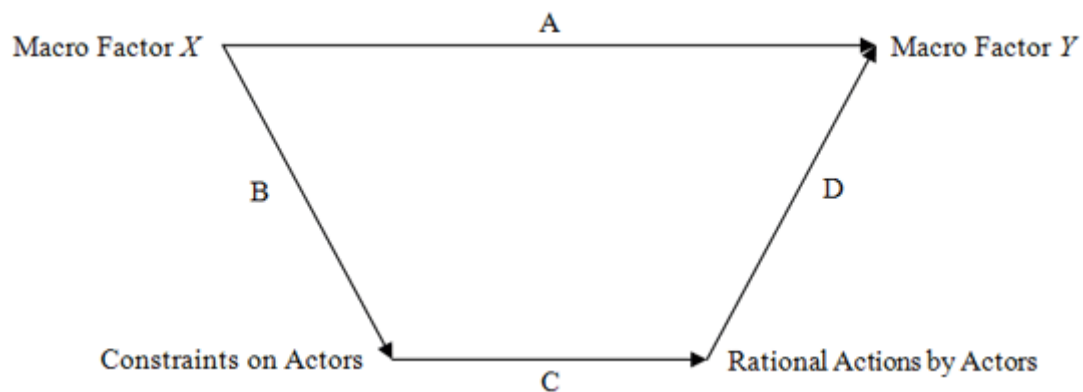
## **2. Literature Review**

### **2.1 Introduction**

This study concentrates on the position of Turkish women, who have been sandwiched between low-prestige, less paid and high-end, highly prestigious male jobs, and thus their restricted allocation to mid-prestige female jobs (see Figure 16a and 16b) despite their positive level of attainment in traditionally male subjects. This chapter will present and discuss the international and Turkish literature related to this trapped position of women in the labour market. The literature review will be organised according to the overall organisation of the thesis which follows Crompton and Sanderson's (1990) explanations of occupational gender segregation as having micro (individual), meso (institutional) and macro (societal) levels. The main concern of this study and this chapter will be the micro and macro levels of occupational gender segregation and micro level factors (particularly those related to gender roles and domestic division of labour) will be used to explain the institutional (meso) level puzzles (mainly the statistical discrimination in terms of women's work as a result of their domestic responsibilities). The literature review will be based on the research questions, which are: 1) Where does occupational gender segregation begin? (Considering the lack of women's transition from successful attainment in male areas of higher education to the male-dominated jobs in the labour market), b) What parameters affect women's exclusion from the labour market? (in terms of vertical and horizontal segregation), and c) What is the society's take on female employment in terms of traditions and social policies?

The dynamics between these different levels of sociological explanations are based on the complimentary relationship between (particularly) micro and macro explanations as emphasised by Coleman (1990) in his model, the “Coleman’s Boat” (as shown below). This research aims to explain women’s exclusion from male jobs and concentration in female jobs similar to Coleman’s (1990) approach in terms of the interactive relationship between micro and macro factors. In other words, this study supports the argument that micro or macro factors could not explain women’s lack of attainment in prestigious male jobs per se as there is a net of relationships between different levels of explanations although this study argues that they are connected to each other in more of a vicious circle pattern rather than the order of Coleman’s Boat which starts with a specific point leading to different levels of explanations simultaneously and afterwards, sequentially.

Figure 1: Coleman's Boat (1990)



Source: Coleman, 1990.

In the context of this research, Coleman’s Boat could be interpreted as following. Firstly, social policies (and the overall political approach) regarding female employment (Macro Factor X) affect society’s and thus employers’ view on women’s work (Macro Factor Y).

At the same time, the non-supportive nature of social policies (Macro Factor X) create constraints on women (Constraints on Actors) by endorsing traditional gender roles in the private and public spheres which forces women to make their choices accordingly, in a “rational” manner that is restricted by social constraints (Rational Actions by Actors). Also, women (actors) are led to choose their jobs by bearing in mind the time they will spend at their work, considering the unbalanced division of labour in the household and what society expects from them instead of corresponding to their education and skills. In return, women’s labour market decisions that are largely shaped by the traditional expectations to fulfil the family-related responsibilities influence society’s and employers’ perspective on female employment (Macro Factor Y), creating the judgement that women’s work is discontinuous and thus not ideal for high-prestige competitive jobs which require dedication and availability. As seen, there is a close-knit relationship between micro and macro explanations when elaborating a social phenomenon. While Coleman’s Boat (1990) builds a relationship between the levels of explanations starting from the point of one aspect as the macro level (Macro Level X), this study interprets this relationship in a vicious circle pattern as mentioned. Over time, the interaction between the micro and macro level explanations is expected to become a continuous circle, thus the actual starting point of this social problem (regarding female employment) vanishes. Therefore, this thesis will firstly present the overall educational and occupational participation of Turkish women in gendered subjects and jobs by also presenting similarities to other OECD countries to evaluate the overall picture. The second step of the vicious circle will be presented as the impact of domestic responsibilities on women’s position in male and prestigious male jobs. Finally, after elaborating the influence of the burden in the private sphere, a closer look into the family life and domestic division of labour as well as Turkish men’s gender ideology will be taken which will be followed by

the social policy implementations regarding women's work, from where a great part of the solution derives and following which the vicious circle comes back to the individual (micro) explanations as in women's exclusion from prestigious jobs based on their double burden and individual qualifications.

The first part of the review will evaluate the literature regarding the first question of where gender segregation begins. The main focus will be the transition from high school to university and from university to the labour market, as well as processes during university in terms of female students' attainment in different gendered divisions. Recent international and Turkish literature will be reviewed to reveal what other scholars have said about the impact of educational subject choices on women's subsequent positions in male-dominated jobs.

The second part of the review will focus on arguments related to the second question of the research: micro (individual) level explanations of the reasons for the qualitative segregation of women and men in the labour market will be evaluated.

Thirdly, macro level explanations of women's work in Turkish society and in the social policy realm will be discussed. The main focus will be on the imbalanced share of domestic division of labour which is reinforced by Turkey's application of the Southern Mediterranean welfare system that positively endorses women's roles as homemakers while underestimating men's position as husbands and fathers.

Before assessing the above-mentioned processes of horizontal segregation, it is necessary to ask in which ways gender differentiation has historically existed within households and the society. It is important to assess the literature regarding how this differentiation turned into segregation and how women were negatively as well as positively affected by social and economic changes. Before we get into detail about what the most recent research indicates, the next section will therefore briefly evaluate the historical context of women's labour market attainment and how the gender differentiation in society has transformed into today's segregated labour markets, so as to understand this segregation from a wider perspective. I will also discuss how women have somewhat overcome the issue of vertical segregation in the international context over time, but horizontal segregation has been prevented only to a certain extent.

## **2.2 Historical background**

This study assumes that when women's exclusion from male areas of the labour market is considered, there is an underestimated aspect of the problem that needs to be looked at from a historical perspective. Historically, women were not admitted to many professions, except those related to female domains or women's family responsibilities. Women were allowed to be, for example, nurses, as a continuation of their nurturing roles, but being a doctor was not considered to be compatible with their family responsibilities because it required more professional dedication. There were also legal barriers to women's education, as well as their labour market participation. Today's gendered labour markets therefore have their roots in this history and in certain changes, all of which have occurred gradually. Thus, this section will present women's educational and occupational attainment in Ottoman society, in the early Republican era and before 1980s.

In contrast to the expectations of passivity of Turkish women's movements regarding their educational and occupational rights, the historical evidence shows a relatively different pattern. Just as European and American women fought for their rights, Ottoman women also struggled to gain equal treatment with men in the public sphere. Knaus (2007) points out that Turkish women's movement is as old as the women's attempts in other Mediterranean or European countries, such as Greece, Spain or Italy, where women started to lobby for their rights about the same time. Ortayli (2000, p. 141) also indicates that in Ottoman society the feminist movement started to be an interest for men as well towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and at the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and for female scholars such as Halide Edip Adıvar who was supported by the ruling elites.

Although in Ottoman society the place of women was considered to be the private sphere, historically women were not given less value or rights compared to European women. Çakır (1994) indicates that in Ottoman society a large population worked on the land: families worked together and women contributed to the economy as family workers, however, for middle class women as in the case of Europe, women had more prestige when they did not work, which is a sign that women's work was needed for economic means and that working represented a lower socio-economic position rather than a higher status. Çakır (1994) adds that regarding Ottoman women's educational attainment history, in 1914 the first women's university was established and co-education in universities started in 1921, and while in the urban areas labour market participation meant to be a civil servant and women were not admitted to this profession yet, there is an inaccurate perception that women were completely absent from the labour market; the main reason for this misperception being the lack of statistics about women up to the beginning of the 20th century as they started to be included in industrial statistics in 1913.

Turkish women gained suffrage in 1934 (Gencer and Ozel, 2010), before many European countries provided this right (including France, Italy and Switzerland) and the first female military pilot (Sabiha Gökçen, the adopted daughter of Atatürk) graduated and started her duty before many of her contemporaries in other countries. Women received particular priority in the modernisation and westernisation process and daughters of middle and upper class urban elite families were mainly identified with Kemalist ideals (Acar, 1993; Palaz, 2003).

In the early years of the Republic of Turkey, the highest female share of academic employment was concentrated in the natural sciences (Palaz, 2003). In 1947, 22% of humanities and 44% of natural sciences academics were female, which was dissimilar to the situation in the US and the UK at the time (Palaz, 2003). Acar (1991) indicates that after the 1950s, when the Kemalist ideology started to lose its initial effectiveness, women's participation in natural sciences decreased considerably: women were not as ideologically motivated as they had been two decades earlier and were more influenced by traditional values of society and economic motives as a result of the social and financial conditions which prevailed until the 1980s, when, as will be seen in the following chapters, women's higher educational attainment started to increase slowly.

Palaz (2003) states that after 1950s changing state policies and economic recessions put Turkish women in a more disadvantaged position. By the 1970s, certain jobs were still attributed to women in the society which also affected and is reflected in mothers'

preferences for their children's future jobs in these years; in 1973, among married women aged 15-49, one in four mothers wished their daughters to be teachers, while the second preferred 'job' is claimed to be 'housewife', which is a desired status particularly in rural areas, with being a doctor an aspiration for daughters in urban areas (Ozbay, 1979). In regard to the latter, it is interesting to note that this aspiration turned into reality, as medicine became a female job by 2000. Ozbay (1979) indicates that getting married (there is a high rate of post-marriage withdrawal from the job market) and having children affected women's work negatively in the 1970s (the latter particularly for urban women) and although education increases women's chances in the labour market, 60% of married women of age 15-49 claim they work only for financial reasons regardless of educational level, only 8% are working for the sake of working and 33% claim they would continue working even if there was no financial restriction in the household.

In the Turkish literature, there are feminists and scholars (e.g. Arat, 2006; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1986) who recognise the momentous reforms Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder and the first president of the Republic of Turkey, initiated in relation to many areas of social life, particularly the Civil Law introduced in 1926. Although Atatürk has been criticised for reinforcing patriarchy and preventing gender equality by addressing men as the head of the household (Tekeli, 2011), which contradicts with his efforts towards an equal society under difficult social circumstances of the time, even the Civil Law by itself has changed women's status in the private sphere drastically in this particular historical context including in terms of rights within marriage and during divorce, the right to inherit, and political rights (Gencer and Ozel, 2010). A remarkable part of Turkish feminism is built on the criticism of Kemalism and Mustafa Kemal Ataturk himself at times. The criticism

concentrates mostly on that these reforms did not benefit all women, particularly those in rural areas, and the claim that the primary aim of the reforms was to retain the motherhood role as the main function of women. Feminists have also discussed the fact that far from aiming to achieve women's liberation, the reforms labelled women as breeders and educators, and women were given the duty to educate the nation (Durakbaşa and İlyasoğlu, 2001) which preserved patriarchy while women's rights were used as a medium rather than an aim (Berktaş, 2004). Kağıtçıbaşı (1986) emphasises that the reforms applied by Atatürk were life-changing as well as they demanded and created a fundamental change of women's status in the society, and even though these reforms have been criticised for not providing wide-scale change in everyday life for many women in rural areas (Kandiyoti, 1987), no legal change can be expected to provide a total social and cultural change. The reforms, according to Kağıtçıbaşı (1986), were a first step on the path towards gender equality in the public and private sphere. Blaming Kemalist reforms for the inadequacy of these changes to improve the status of women in recent times not only undermines the extended social problems in the political, social and economic realm that have occurred so far in Turkey's history which failed to carry Atatürk's reforms forward but also disregards the strong patriarchal tradition that has existed before the Republic was established, in Ottoman society. Also, this approach ignores the conjuncture of the time when these reforms took place as it was the first decade when a new Republic was being established. The fact that the feminist movements that could have contributed to these criticised realms of women's lives starting from the 1980s is another reason direct criticism towards Kemalism for women's current state is not reasonable in terms of not being explanatory as to why women's disadvantaged status persists. Actually, Arat (1994) indicates that Turkish feminists failed to create radical change and although a significant feminist consciousness was created in urban circles, in the 1980s they created a pluralist polity rather than a

feminist one. Interestingly, as seen, the second wave feminism is criticised in the same manner of its own criticism on Atatürk, which shows it might be time for Turkish feminism to adopt a more solution-oriented perspective that focuses on the problems in the current social, political cultural structure rather than targeting a particular individual or ideology as it is obvious that this has not benefited Turkish women's status so far.

## **2.3 Where does gender segregation begin?**

This part of the literature review is concerned with the processes by which gender segregation starts to show its first particular signs, which is related to the initial research question in this study. Thus, the main focus will be on the literature regarding the socialisation process, high school subject choices and success rates, subject choices in higher education and the transition from university education to labour market entry.

### **2.3.1 Educational gender segregation: Turkish and international literature**

Historically, women were excluded from educational systems altogether and started to participate, particularly in higher education, later than men. Traditionally, as mentioned in the occupational history section above, women were not a part of the public sphere and the labour market, and thus they were not enrolled in educational institutions. In the last three decades, more women and men started to attain higher education in Turkey, with the diffusion of educational opportunities. As women's overall higher educational attainment started to increase in 1980s, horizontal segregation patterns in the enrolment and graduation rates of women in the educational system do not persist as much as it would be anticipated. However, this does not transfer to the labour market. Although women are still indirectly led to choose areas that are compatible with their domestic roles, such as

nursing, teaching, literature and social sciences, results show that their attainment in traditionally male subjects are above OECD averages.

The following parts of this section will discuss the arguments that are related to the first research question of where the gender segregation begins. Firstly, the differences between the dynamics of educational and occupational segregation will be discussed, to assess whether the lack of educational attainment of women is mirrored in the labour market. This will be followed by assessments of socialisation, high school subject choices, comparative advantage hypothesis, and mathematics ability that is associated with male subject areas. Before the underlying reasons for labour market segregation are discussed, as mentioned in the literature, arguments regarding university education and the transition from university to the occupational sphere will be evaluated.

#### ***2.3.1.1 Differences between educational and occupational segregation***

The historical process of women's educational attainment and occupational participation show similar trends in terms of women's late access to the public sphere. Gender segregation according to the sub-fields is also inherent in both of these spheres, as in the example of women studying environmental engineering rather than mechanical or civil engineering, or female doctors being mostly paediatricians or dermatologists rather than surgeons. However, there are many differences in terms of the patterns of access to the educational and occupational spheres as regards the level at and the extent to which, access occurs.

Educational systems are expected to be less segregated than labour markets for many reasons. Firstly, labour market attainment is only one of the motivations for educational attainment overall. Education can be a source of status attainment or it can be pursued in order to gain social capital in general or in the marriage market, besides being a certificate for a profession (Kalmijn, 1998; Ermiş, 2009; Jacobs, 1989). Secondly, in the Turkish case, enrolment in university occurs according to an examination in the form of a test, thus when educational segregation is considered, direct (formal) influence is rarely observed. This is different for the labour market in terms of the relatively higher levels of discrimination, exclusion, legal barriers, unequal treatment and employment practices seen in the labour market (Reskin and Hartmann, 1986). Thirdly, economic life has a different context compared to the educational sphere, in terms of the factors involved, such as unemployment, employer prejudice and structural differences. In the labour market, external influences are more effective and complicated than those in educational sphere, where more abstract and indirect (informal) factors, such as the influence of teachers, family and socialisation, exist.

Subject choices and gender segregation in high schools (and universities) are the main focus of the first research question which investigates where occupational gender segregation begins. High schools are one crucial setting in this regard, as they lead students to their higher education. The major decisions regarding university education, which consequently (even if only partially) influence labour market positions of women, have their roots in this sphere. Thus, the following part of the review will evaluate gender segregation in high schools by reviewing the arguments in the literature related to socialisation processes, comparative advantage theory and mathematics success. To

evaluate the literature regarding segregation in higher education, examples from the literature on specific main subjects will be presented.

**2.3.1.2 Socialisation and other social factors affecting high school students' gendered subject choices**

Specific labels are attached to every school subject regarding their feminine and masculine natures, as structured and attributed by the society. These labels that are linked to subjects could change from context to context, whereas there are universal stigmas attached to certain educational areas. As social sciences and humanities are traditionally seen as “soft, easy, and domestic”, natural sciences are considered as “manly, difficult and tough”, the former being socially attributed to female and the latter to male features.

The literature shows a tendency of men to shift to other subject areas when female students start to study subjects previously dominated by men, which is described by England and Li (2006) as the “devaluation of the feminine”. Although England and Li (2006) do not agree with the argument that there is no change in female students' gender stereotyped major choices over time, they argue that overall educational attainment levels increase more dramatically compared to the rates of female attainment in sex-atypical areas. Although there is an ongoing discussion about whether it is appropriate to decide that the educational sphere is the starting point for eventual horizontal segregation in occupational areas, particularly in terms of vocational education, arguments in the literature share a common view that the educational sphere contributes strongly to horizontal gender segregation. Vocational education can be highly segregated and leading to certain jobs after graduation; girls mainly predominate in health, home economics, and office education while boys generally study mechanics, agriculture and technical preparation and considering

vocational education also requires apprenticeship, women being mostly excluded from these training opportunities (Reskin and Hartmann, 1986). For Turkey, unlike research in different contexts stating that university major choice differences between women and men have not decreased from 1980s to 2000 (Turner and Bowen, 1999), women are increasingly a part of male subjects and mostly more successful than their male counterparts despite the lack of the reflection of this attainment in the job market.

### **2.3.1.3 Rational choice theory and comparative advantage**

Rational choice theory is another approach to horizontal gender segregation in the educational sphere. Jonsson (1999) argues that female students choose their subject of study by considering the relative advantage (benefit) of a subject (as well as costs and the probability of success) and that girls and boys attach different values to their area of studies and expect different outcomes including their prospective domestic roles as well, thus choose a subject related or relevant to their future work at home, which will provide them with flexible employment conditions and working hours.

As the comparative advantage hypothesis attributes major importance to the preferences of female students and their rationally planned futures, it tends to exclude external influences and the impact of social constraints in society that may affect their “plans”. In addition, during life course, when circumstances, labour market conditions and individuals themselves change, life plans and aspirations are shaped accordingly (Jacobs, 1989). However, the comparative advantage approach considers this life-long process to be free from social pressures and bias, focusing exclusively on a discrete decision-making process within a certain period of a person’s life.

#### **2.3.1.4 Success and ability in Mathematics**

To answer the question of where horizontal gender segregation begins, mathematics ability and success are frequently discussed topics in the literature. Some arguments claim that maths ability is partially a source of subsequent labour market exclusion of women from male areas starting in the high school period, and some arguments disagree showing maths to be gender-neutral. This part of the review will evaluate the literature emphasising different points regarding female and male students' mathematics success and whether this is a starting point at which female students begin to be led towards mostly maths-free areas of higher education leading to corresponding jobs.

Sells (1978) indicates that high school mathematics education is a crucial factor for labour market outcomes and his analysis of a random sample of Berkeley University first-year students in 1972 demonstrates that 8% of girls and 57% of boys had taken four years of high school maths. This is an impressive yet quite a limited snapshot of evidence. Other research suggests an opposite causal relationship between maths achievement and occupational choices: as maths can help women to be enrolled in university, it is not the sole and even direct determinant of occupational outcomes (Chipman, 2005; Eden, 1992).

Valian (1998) emphasises that overall success differences in maths are not only small but also smaller than within female and male students, and adds that while mathematical skills are crucial for many professions, the differences between girls and boys does not refer to a prospective difficulty in achieving equality in both genders' maths success.

Fennema and Sherman (1977) point out that although there is no significant gender difference in terms of liking maths, girls have a higher level of anxiety regarding maths, which is a result of socially-structured values, and this possibly affects their enrolment

levels and success rates. Arguments stating that mathematics is a barrier for women to attain maths-related careers have been criticised on the basis that maths as a subject has always welcomed women and it is other sciences that have not been as accepting, thus maths does not “prevent” women’s attainment in scientific areas (Chipman, 2005). Also, if the determinants were talent and natural ability in maths, women’s educational attainment patterns would be stable and they would not be increasingly entering male areas in higher education (compared to the past) as a result of (albeit slow) social change (for Turkish women in this particular case).

The results of Francis’ (2000) research suggest that girls and boys have a tendency to perceive ability as a gender neutral feature, and to think that female and male students have the same abilities, female students are even considered as more successful in some areas by their male peers. However, contradictory arguments address the lower self-estimate held by girls regarding mathematics as a crucial factor. Jacobs and Eccles (1985) point out the importance of expectancy value of achievement, motivation, parenting practices and their indirect impacts on children’s values attached to maths and science. In addition, personality and self-confidence, which are created and shaped in social life, have significant influences on girls' self-expectations as regards maths achievement (Gallagher and Kaufman, 2005). Pajares (2002) claims that factors related to the structuring of academic self-concepts, task-specific beliefs and self-efficiency are stronger for males than females, and that this starts at secondary school and gets stronger.

## **2.4 The impact of education on labour market outcomes: The case of Turkey**

Education is frequently emphasised as being a necessary though an inefficient explanation of women's position in the labour market (Reskin and Hartmann, 1986; Jacobs, 1989), while higher education is a necessity for higher prestige jobs. Palaz (2003) refers to the OECD (1989) statement that education is very important mainly because it is *“raising the competences and skills of workers and thereby improving their ability both to perform in a particular job and adapt to the demands of emerging jobs”* (OECD, 1989).

Becker (1962) indicates that the kind of on-the-job training covered by the employee could initially affect one's earnings but in the long run the human capital investment provides an advantage to the individual. However, as tertiary education can be accessed as a result of personal effort, candidates for on-the-job training are usually chosen by employers and women are mostly excluded from these opportunities (Bergmann, 1989). It should also be considered that, as a result of employment practices as well as social constraints, the significance of education is undermined by the impact of marital status and the number of dependent children. Looking at equally educated men and women's positions in the labour market, women usually hold lower positions in the same jobs compared to men, and they are concentrated more in female areas like literature or law, rather than science or medicine.

Scholars argue that Turkish women's low overall educational attainment rates in the rural areas are a crucial barrier for female migrants' work life in urban areas. In the 1950s, when internal migration started to increase, female migrants were unqualified for prestigious

jobs and therefore faced few choices. By the 1970s, they also continued to lack the competition power held by both highly educated women and particularly highly educated men due to immature industrialisation (Özbay, 1979). This continues, relatively speaking, today. Özbay (1979) argues that education acts as a trigger for inequalities rather than diminishing them. In other words, socio-economically advantaged women have more access to education and thus to relatively higher status jobs and when there is no adequate education, “other” women could not attain politically and economically powerful jobs that are partaken in by men who have graduated from prestigious, traditionally male subjects, such as engineering (which is still a male-dominated subject area) and medical jobs (which became a female occupational area in 2000).

#### **2.4.1 Professional education: From school to work**

Higher education can be considered as the first formal step in the professional life, as the choice of subject influences students’ views about their area of interest. Thus, this section of the literature review will evaluate arguments related to university level education. I will discuss whether the university is a starting point at which female students begin to become estranged from male areas by a) enrolling in traditionally female areas in the first place, or b) having difficulties during university life in terms of the gendered curricula or male peer-pressure. The latter could change their labour market aspirations (i.e. after experiencing a negative “condensed rehearsal” of their prospective labour market environment).

During tertiary education, female students’ attitudes, in terms of their motivation and expectations regarding their professions, are shaped. However, even in cases where female students enrol in engineering science or medicine programmes and graduate successfully

and idealistically, the incompatibility of domestic responsibilities and the work life, exclusion, and a lack of appreciation lead women to change areas, leave the labour market, or in some cases give up further training (e.g. for practitioners in medicine, Crompton and Sanderson, 1990). As an example, engineering is an area which has always been attached to masculinity and thus to concepts such as “difficulty” and “toughness”, and which also has been seen as mostly hostile to women. In the literature, the common argument about the difficulties female engineers face is related firstly to the process of adapting to the culture of the profession (i.e. the fraternity tradition) (Dryburgh, 1999). By going through this process of adaptation and the internalisation of their professional identity, female engineers try to be a part of the engineering world and present themselves as non-threatening members of the profession. In other words, unlike male engineers, female engineers also have the challenge (in addition to the difficulties of the major/job itself) to learn how to deal with male students’ and colleagues’ prejudices.

Although women and men have similar orientations towards their jobs in the engineering profession, non-work/work success is compatible for men, whereas for women it is conflicting (Etzion, 1988). Although female engineers are either affected by their parents who are also engineers, have a particular interest in the profession or want a challenge, they report that even if they do enjoy their jobs, they face difficulties at work, which are generally due to gender discrimination, occupational requirements, and parenthood-work dilemmas (Eden, 1992). In the Turkish case, although Turkish female engineering students on average accounted for 25% of all engineers even by 1988, female engineering students indicate that their main and persisting problem is exclusion from informally-formed male

spheres and the gendered pattern of the sub-sections of the professions (Zengin-Arslan, 2002).

Although the same gendered pattern exists for medicine, the literature shows that medicine is more accepting towards women in many contexts (although the major job category mostly includes nurses, midwives etc. as well as doctors) compared to engineering science professions also considering more than 50% of employees in medicine were women by 2000 in Turkey. Studies suggest that, in many countries, even in highly-gendered labour market regimes, medicine has begun to be a neutral main subject, and both women and men become doctors approximately equally (Crompton, 1999). Either male or female, medicine students mostly end up being doctors, unlike students of other subjects which mostly do not lead to pre-determined occupational futures. Does this situation mean that there is no segregation in the work life of female and male doctors? Crompton et al. (1996) indicate that female doctors specialise in branches that are compatible with their responsibilities at home, they sometimes even have to stay as general practitioners since having children creates a barrier in their work life: such women do not want to wait longer to become specialists in a particular branch of medicine, mostly because they wish to have and take care of their children, thus they are somewhat forced to make a choice. Goldin and Katz (2010) found that there is a negative relationship between female doctors' attainment and the working hours of specialties in medicine, showing women's preference of workplace flexibility, with an increasing number of women becoming veterinarians who benefit from the opportunity not to take on emergency hours. Goldin and Katz (2010) add that the increase in female pharmacists (and female veterinarians to some extent) is

partially due to being employees rather than partners which makes them more substitutable for each other.

Entering this formerly male-dominated area, female doctors combine their work flexibly through part-time work or non-fixed working hours, to make their job compatible with their domestic work and this is not because they became doctors as a continuation of their domestic responsibilities and it is not because this profession is highly compatible with family life (Crompton, 1999). Female doctors do their best to make their work more flexible as unwritten social rules expect them to satisfy unpaid duties even if they work outside the home in any sort of paid work. Regarding unpaid work, Jacobs (1989) indicates that fertility is a limited process within the life cycle, although it could be argued that in fact in Turkish context, motherhood is a longer-lived commitment due to the traditional family structure, and thus it is a heavier burden for women than it should be also because of the unbalanced sharing of childcare in households.

Regarding the occupational category of medicine in Turkey, Gediz-Gelegen (2009) shows that although it is highly feminised, women have not improved their attainment in male branches of this profession according to the analysis of this research conducted at Ankara Numune Hospital, a position that is similar to the British case. Gediz-Gelegen (2009) interprets this situation as being linked to the three major factors of the '*gendered climate of medical jobs*' to be listed throughout the rest of this paragraph. Firstly, women are assumed to have the ability to communicate better by nature, thus they are needed in areas which require good communication skills, such as paediatrics or psychiatrics. Thus, they

are more accepted in these branches, which could be seen as a *safety zone* for them. Secondly, they try to choose areas to adjust to their family responsibilities in a more compatible and less conflictive way. Thirdly, women assume that less paid and less prestigious branches of medicine are less competitive, and thus easier, which results in their underrepresentation in traditionally “masculine” areas of medicine due to their low self-expectations (mostly created by social factors) (Gediz-Gelegen, 2009).

Law, as a previously male, recently neutralised profession, still continues to exclude women in different ways. Despite having overcome the barriers to attend law schools legally in the past, it could be observed that today women still struggle in their educational experiences as well as in their jobs as lawyers in many different contexts. Although there are few studies which show that there are no negative gender-based experiences during law school (Garrison et al., 1996), there is an extensive literature on the negative experiences of female law students including improper comments from male colleagues (Krauskopf, 1994) and female law students’ success being dependent on their adaptation to an environment constructed for men (Jason et al., 1975). Ku (2008) indicates that segregation and de-segregation processes in this profession needs to be elaborated in its different stages also both during and after training, which suggests that segregation starts even before active legal practice begins. Regarding the post-educational process, Martin and Jurik (2007) state that initially women graduating from law schools are underrepresented in solo careers and small firms and overrepresented in public sector which continues to expand throughout their careers, and particularly in occupational sub-areas of legal professions that are predominated by men, women encounter problems including hostility,

exclusion from informal work cultures and marginalisation when they have family responsibilities.

## **2.5 Why does horizontal gender segregation occur in the labour market?**

This section of the chapter will focus on the explanations for why there is a persisting segregation in the labour market, and will stress the different mechanisms behind the potential answers. This part will be divided into three main sections: individual (micro) level, sectoral/industrial (meso) and social (macro) level explanations, based on Crompton and Sanderson's (1990) categorisation as mentioned earlier in this study. In the section which discusses individual (micro) level explanations, I will assess innate differences, the human capital theory, the impact of education on the labour market participation and the rational choice approach. The discussion of industrial/sectoral level explanations will address the importance of the mechanisms embedded in the occupational structures, such as formal and informal employment practices, employers' and male colleagues' attitudes towards women, workplace conditions, exclusion from social events outside work, constraints in the process of hiring, and on-the-job-training. Finally, the discussion of macro level explanations will focus on the impact of socialisation, social constraints, culture and social norms on women's positions in male-dominated jobs and welfare states' gender policies.

As can be seen, there are many aspects of the question of what lies beneath the exclusion of women from top-prestige jobs, and as Reskin and Hartmann (1986) describe, explanations are "*multiple, inter locking and deep seated*". These explanations range from legal barriers in the workplace to stereotypes in society regarding women's status, and

from the division of labour in the public and private spheres to the impact of socialisation processes. There are also crucial elements as in historical, political and economic changes that affect the status of women as well as arguments that speculate women's inferior labour market positions may be a result of their innate characteristics which are greatly criticised. The next part of the review will start by evaluating the literature regarding the second research question, by conducting a literature review of the above-stated micro level explanations.

### **2.5.1 Individual level explanations (the micro level)**

This part of the review will assess the literature related to micro level explanations of horizontal gender segregation. In the following sub-sections, innate differences, human capital, rational choice and Hakim's preference theories will be evaluated.

#### **2.5.1.1 Innate differences**

Historically, women were seen as less rational and as too emotional for "tough" professions that require authority (Reskin and Hartmann, 1986). Other arguments regarding the innate features of both genders relate their biological differences to mental capacities rather than levels of physical strength and claim (Baron-Cohen, 2003, 2007) that it is brain activity which causes women to be more empathetic and men to be more reasonable. In relation to these brain activities, women are claimed to have a tendency to be more successful in, for example, the humanities, while men tend to succeed in the hard sciences, such as engineering. Valian (1998) emphasises that while physical sex differences do exist, (gendered) behaviours are both a result of hormones and social environment, changing the former is not needed to change behaviour as altering the latter has more direct impact. While the explanations based on purely biological differences

utterly overlook the impact of social and cultural factors, they also ignore individual differences between human beings regardless of their gender.

Lueptow et al. (2001) indicate that social change has not brought change in sex typing. However, except in the case of some very specific professions which require particular physical strength, such as heavy construction work, innate differences do not adequately explain gender segregation inherent in the labour market (Reskin and Hartmann, 1986). Gender relations are historically specific and feminists argue, biological differences are not relevant explanations for women's and men's work (Crompton, 1999), as, free from biological differences, role differentiation evolves in time and according to social change. It should also be added that emphasising the importance of biological differences regarding gender roles completely ignores cultural and social diversity in the world. In other words, if they were due to innate differences gender roles would be the same in all countries and cultures; however, there are many different forms of female-male relations and role differentiations in different cultures. Social mechanisms and human behaviour cannot be referred to biology by ignoring the cultural and social processes experienced by individuals and societies (Sahlins, 1976).

#### **2.5.1.2 Human capital theory**

One of the most discussed individual level approaches to occupational gender segregation is human capital theory. Human capital theorists indicate that people invest in training and other means of (professional) self-improvement according to the importance they give to their future jobs (in comparison to the other areas of their lives). Becker (1993) suggests that women's investment in human capital mainly aims to increase household efficiency especially in terms of childcare since women spend most of their time in domestic work

while men do invest in human capital that improve their market efficiency, again in relation to the time spent in paid work activities. Becker (1993) also argues that the differences in this specialisation of women and men makes it harder to differentiate between the biological and environmental causes of the existing division of labour patterns and adds that the efficiency which derives from the specialisation of individuals' human capital investment needs to be 'appreciated' as a different issue than the exploitation of women within the share of roles. Polachek (2004) indicates that when all else is constant (which this research argues to be very rare in real life scenarios) women's withdrawal from the labour market due to family-related reasons decreases lifetime work years thus the potential rewards from the human capital, reducing the value of the human capital investment as well as women's incentive to do this investment (compared to men) that results in receiving lower wages than their male counterparts. Mincer and Polachek (1974) suggest that expectations of future work and family life largely determine the scope of individuals' human capital investments. This approach assumes that as women expect their careers to be discontinuous, mostly due to domestic work and childcare issues, they choose traditionally "feminine" areas, which require less investment and thus less human capital. It is also claimed that women entering male-dominated areas tend to "stay" longer in these jobs, because they invest in these jobs more than they would in "feminine" areas, in terms of training, competition with male colleagues and dealing with harder work conditions.

Human capital theory is open to criticism for many other reasons. Firstly, human capital theory tends to ignore the simple fact that both women and men might well quit their jobs for the sole reason that they are not satisfied with the work itself, with their promotion chances or with their salaries. Human capital theory also brings us to the question why

women are excluded from male jobs even when they are trained for them. In other words, these arguments do not explain above the OECD average attainment of Turkish women in most of the male university majors and their lack of participation in jobs that are associated with this training. The continuing mentality in Turkey that a solid education is beneficial to be a good mother cannot be associated to high success rates of women in traditionally male majors.

It also excludes the impact of social constraints and describes family as an economic unit rather than a social one. While arguing that women's lack of human capital is responsible for their relative exclusion from male-dominated jobs, they undermine the fact that it is the very impact of social circumstances that prevents women from acquiring human capital. Despite equal opportunity legislation, women in technical science subjects and related jobs still face discriminatory employment processes, and domestic responsibilities are still barriers for their labour market participation. Also, human capital theorists' focus on the importance of the investment in education and self-improvement seems not to be reliable as regards technical occupations, since women's attainments in these main subjects have no particularly positive impact on horizontal and vertical segregation patterns (Devine, 1992). Polachek (1981) argues that women's time in and out of the labour market determines their concentration in certain jobs and that life cycle labour market patterns are related to women's career choice patterns. England (1982) criticises human capital approach, indicating that results do not show that women make career choices designed to absorb their time out of the labour market because women are not penalised less for spending time out of the labour market when they are in female-dominated jobs. Palaz (2003) emphasises the significance of educational qualifications as a means of human

capital, and she also indicates that Turkish women have an informal support mechanism, through family relations, unlike in Northern Europe and North America.

### **2.5.1.3 Rational Choice Theory**

Rational choice theory indicates that people make choices/plans to maximise their interests in the labour market by reflecting on the consequences of their actions (Breen and Goldthorpe, 1997; Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992). Thus, according to this approach, educational and occupational spheres are strongly connected and by considering their future domestic responsibilities and/or occupational plans women “choose” traditionally female areas in order to contribute to their home-related responsibilities (such as becoming good mothers), and they therefore compromise their prospective careers by participating in less well-paid and less prestigious flexible jobs. Rational choice theorists reckon that there are options for people to choose from, however, they still underplay the strength of social pressures and constraints. This study sees the impact of social structures on people’s actions as having a stronger influence. In other words, the focus is on the argument that choices are strictly socially structured, are indeed social structures themselves, and that women make choices among what is possible and available to them (Blackburn et al., 2002). If choices were purely rational, they would be equally available to women and men, although women are socially constrained to have less human capital (and thus career chances) due to their domestic responsibilities. Thus, preference-related theories remain only partially adequate in explaining broader social contexts as people do make choices but only among the provided ones.

In the Turkish literature, some scholars precisely indicate that women's active decisions are influenced by micro factors rather than the social structures (Kasnakoğlu and Dayıoğlu, 1997). Women's decisions to be outside the labour market are also claimed to be related to the maximisation of the household utility function as a joint rational decision in the household (Becker, 1965). It should not be forgotten that at times women might choose not to work and are reluctant towards the labour market. However, this is not always an attitude regarding the labour market but attrition and inability to cope with the double burden (Kocacık and Gökkaya, 2005) which makes the notion of an unbiased choice questionable.

#### **2.5.1.4 Hakim's Preference Theory**

Hakim (2000), a pioneer researcher on women's labour market patterns and lifestyle choices, agrees with rational choice theories and argues that women's labour market positions have been improved as a result of the expanded preferences presented in the 21st century and through the revolutionary changes in their lives. These changes are stated as: a) the contraceptive revolution enabling women to control their productivity; b) the equal opportunities revolution; c) the expansion of white collar professions; and d) the creation of secondary earners (Hakim, 2000). Hakim (2000) adds that the differentiated and polarised nature of women's work and lifestyle choices as a result of these changes affected their labour market patterns dramatically and with the help of their extended preferences, women choose between being home-centered or career-centered, or to adopt an adaptive lifestyle by combining the two. Hakim (2006) suggests that although women's attitudes are not particularly influenced by these preferences, their decisions regarding attaining labour market participation and having children are strongly affected by the choice of being either home-centered, career-centered or adaptive.

Hakim's preference theory (2000) has been criticised in the literature. Crompton and Harris (1999) indicate that although women do make choices, some to go into work or become homemakers without actually consciously choosing either option, Crompton (2006) adds that class structures determine the boundaries of the choices one could make. Research also shows that women are not either career- or family-oriented as Hakim claims (Procter and Padfield, 2002), rather they desire both roles, which puts them in the category of 'drifters', which Hakim implies to be unrealistic or even caricaturised. Procter and Padfield (2002) also suggest that while Hakim indicates women's work can be explained by their heterogeneity of choices, a significant minority of women develop a strong career pattern and follow a traditionally "masculine" style of employment, even when also undertaking motherhood. The majority of women, as in the example of Turkey, have a different orientation that centers on the priority of family formation and care; even if they work, work tends to be secondary.

Although revolutionary changes have occurred in many women's lives globally, as mentioned above, preferences remain limited to those that social circumstances and constraints permit. Also, it is not clear how/to what extent path-breaking changes have positively influenced women's (work) lives. Firstly, although the contraceptive revolution took place, women continued to be responsible for childcare (although they now have greater control over the timing of having children). Secondly, equal opportunity legislation has not been internalised by employers and by internal labour markets. Thirdly, the expansion of white collar jobs helped women to become an increasing part of the primary labour market, but not necessarily in the male-dominated areas. Finally, the increase in the

need of additional workers in households due to the economic crises occurred over time in Turkey has continued to trap women into secondary (mostly discontinuous) jobs due to the requirement to make temporary economic contributions to their families and men being preferred for limited jobs available during these times (particularly in prestigious positions), thus their overall participation has been increased but not necessarily the quality of their jobs.

In terms of the concept of 'preference', this thesis, as mentioned, argues that external circumstances cannot be isolated and it would be simplistic and reductionist to ignore the versatile social structures in which women are affected by macro factors such as traditions or an unbalanced domestic division of labour. The preferences women have and the choices they make are surrounded by social constraints and are circumstantial rather than intuitive. We could give the example of a mother who chooses to work for economic reasons but who would prefer to stay home and in one respect, working will maximise her profit financially in terms of her child's future. While this 'preference' would not make this mother career-oriented, as there would be a compulsory choice and this choice would be rational on the surface, it is only rational from one perspective as staying home for her child could be an equally rational choice for this woman. If women go back to work in order not to lose their job, in terms of the risk of career-break penalties, and if they are only working for financial reasons, it is difficult to talk about real heterogeneity of preferences. While preference theory is a more sociological version of the economic rational choice theory, it is certainly the case that there needs to be a more multi-dimensional consideration of women's states, particularly as regards culturally restricted contexts.

## **2.5.2 Societal level explanations (the macro level)**

Macro level explanations regarding horizontal gender segregation mainly focus on the impact of social constraints and external social forces. The following parts of this chapter will evaluate the arguments regarding socialisation, cultural norms, female-male relationship dynamics, social stereotypes towards working women, domestic division of labour patterns and welfare state regimes.

### **2.5.2.1 The impact of socialisation**

Various arguments focus on the relative importance of boys being raised as boys and girls being raised as girls in shaping their future gender roles given the family values, social labels and the influence of role models which are present in the family and in early schooling. Crespi (2003) argues that the way we think and behave are products of this socialisation processes. Many studies also suggest that women are guided towards “feminine” areas in early (family) and later (teacher and peer influence) socialisation processes and that this could result in an unconscious tendency to participate in female areas of the job market. Sheridan (1997) states that early socialisation and occupational aspirations are strong and stable determinants of women’s and men’s distribution in the labour market (in aggregate) alongside with the social control hypothesis of Jacobs (1989) that keeps the segregation levels high throughout life course. While Reskin and Hartmann (1986) argue that there is little evidence in the literature suggesting that the socialisation process has a direct influence on women’s position in the labour market, Jacobs (1989) agrees that there is no particular evidence that the impact of the early socialisation process continues at the later stages of life and that it strongly affects women’s concentration in female work areas. Jacobs (1989) also points out that when cohort data following individuals’ life course labour market patterns is analysed, it is seen that the impact of

socialisation vanishes in adulthood. It is an undeniable fact that women are influenced by the social roles in which they are accordingly raised. Valian (1998) suggests that gender schemas, which are consciously or non-consciously formed hypotheses regarding sex differences, are highly influential in women's and men's view on individuals' professional roles. However, as people change and improve during their life course and as social circumstances, labour market structures and opportunities evolve, the impact of social constraints would be expected to become more important than the influence of childhood conditioning as in Jacob's (1989) argument on the life cycle and changing circumstances throughout individuals' lives. Hoffman (1977) also indicates that although socialisation processes still include traditional gender role allocation, shifts to keep up with the changes in new adult roles are in compatibility.

#### **2.5.2.2. Cultural norms**

Another important societal level explanation for gendered patterns in the labour market is related to the cultural beliefs held about women in the society. Hutchins (1980) describes embedded values and beliefs towards a certain phenomenon to be generally "referentially transparent" in an anthropological respect: in other words, that we sometimes are not even consciously aware of our (gendered) opinions. Common attitudes regarding cultural beliefs about women's work generally point to women's role at home and social expectations regarding women fulfilling domestic responsibilities. The common belief that women should be home-oriented causes women to be labelled as temporary secondary workers rather than equal providers for their families and career-oriented individuals. However, it should be remembered that women have replaced men in history in cases such as war time as in Britain, United States and Germany women replaced men in many areas of the labour market and social life in World War 1 as well as World War 2 (Perry, 2012), showing their

competence when there is opportunity; yet the strength of the long established gender roles have continued to prevail. As Braybon and Summerfield (1987) indicate, the ruling authorities aimed to keep the entrance of women into men's work a permanent necessity to preserve the existing economic and familial structures despite the fact that women moved from basic service jobs in the first World War (e.g. cleaning, clerical work, cooking, waitressing, some driving etc.) to heavier and traditionally more masculine jobs (handling anti-aircraft guns, running communications network, mending aeroplanes etc.) in the second World War. Still today, as Crompton (2006) argues, in contrast to what post-structuralists have stated structures continue to count and gender is thus not performative.

As mentioned throughout the literature review section, male-female relationship patterns are significant for explaining the persisting gender segregation in labour markets.

Although historically women have been seen as subordinate, unreasonable and talented only in home-related tasks, these speculative perceptions have dramatically changed over the last century. However, it is still not completely comfortable for both women and men to work under the supervision of a female manager. Powell (2011) argues that women and men both prefer working with male managers although there is an improvement in these preferences over time in terms of the preference of women as managers. Powell (2011) suggests that the prejudices, socially constructed beliefs and professional characteristics that are attributed to female and male managers are the underlying reasons of this tendency. Dezso et al. (2013) emphasise that there is a lack of unity among female managers as women could consider their female counterparts on the qualitatively resembling levels as threatening to their identities. Thus, it could be argued that women's

perceptions about their own job (that also involves some sort of insecurity) as well as other women's jobs in the workplace can create another barrier for female employment.

### **2.5.2.3 Social stereotypes and the impact of tradition on working women in the society**

In Turkish society women's primary sphere is still considered the "home" and social norms tend to determine what is appropriate for women and men in the labour market. There is still an emphasis on patriarchal relations and gender-based cultural roles in the process of increasing horizontal segregation. The social prejudices, which see women's roles as homemakers and men's as breadwinners, affect men and women's wages as well. Men are paid more and promoted at higher rates as women's wages are seen as a supplement to their husbands' earnings as a result of the different benefits offered to women and men in particularly gendered jobs (Colak and Ardor, 2001). On a related note, it is frequently emphasised in the literature that being married has a negative effect on women's work life; if the marriage is arranged, particularly in urban settings, women are even less likely to participate in the job market; the effect is stronger for highly educated women in this context (Uraz et al., 2010). Sex stereotypes and hostile attitudes towards working women as well as the "devaluation of the feminine" (England and Li, 2006) are also remarkable reasons for sex discrimination via contingent sex segregation and sex labelling/typing. The devaluation of the feminine argument suggests that occupations lose their prestige and wage rates are lowered when women enter them (England and Li, 2006). Counter arguments suggest that jobs become available to women when men lose interest in them (Reskin and Ross, 1992) precisely because they are becoming less well-paid.

Palaz and Rich (2008) indicate that stereotyping women's work in society and employment processes in terms of the appropriateness of their work results in increasing levels of horizontal gender segregation. They suggest that anti-discrimination legislation and equal treatment policies are crucial for women's position in sex-atypical jobs, although it is educational policies which can make a real difference for women. The motivation behind this suggestion is that education can improve women's status within and outside the labour market, prevent general discrimination, and change the norms society holds for women in general. However, improvement in women's position in the labour market and society cannot happen without substantial changes. Kardam and Toksöz (2013) indicate that the slight increase in the number of women in some non-traditional occupations has not been enough to challenge the traditional mentality towards women's roles in Turkey. Unless social norms towards women's work change, temporary increases in their attainment in male jobs will not be considerable (Öncü, 1981).

Female and male jobs are firstly labelled according to the percentages of women and men in these jobs. Secondly, Öncü (1981) argues that the labels are inherent in the cultural codes in relation to popular images, values and stereotypes regarding women's and men's biological features that could even be turned into an advantage in some occupations such as medicine (which could be attached to women's caring roles in some cases). Öncü (1981) adds that in the 1970s more women in Turkey attained male-dominated areas compared to European women. This is because Turkish women entered the labour market relatively later than European women, and male-female job separation was not inherent in the cultural codes for a long time in the social history. Indeed, the temporary increase in

the rate of women in male-dominated work areas changed into severe horizontal segregation in the 1980s.

#### **2.5.2.4 Domestic division of labour and statistical discrimination**

As introduced and frequently emphasised, the disadvantaged position of women in the labour market is closely related to unbalanced patterns of domestic division of labour and time spent at home. A gendered domestic division of labour within the traditional social structure still continues to prevail in Turkey. This causes women to be excluded from certain sectors (Arslan and Kivrak, 2004; Özbilgin and Woodward, 2004; Öncü, 1981), particularly from male jobs which require travelling and long working hours. Female workers can generally not work until late, not only because of traditional pressures but also because of their home-related responsibilities (Palaz, 2003). These so-called duties are expected to be fulfilled perfectly, which constantly contributes to the patriarchal relations (Çitçi, 1979; Kıray, 1979).

Crompton and Sanderson (1990, p. 35) argue that horizontal gender segregation refers to sex-typed occupations women and men apply to as a tradition and jobs women are crowded into as cheap labour. In terms of the term “discrimination”, it should be added that it is closely related to segregation. Becker (1971) states that discrimination of a group reduces economic relations and as this isolation creates a level of segregation towards this group, an increase in this sort of discrimination occurs alongside with an increase in segregation. Moreover, excluding women from certain occupations, also discriminating them creates segregation between female and male jobs and their different levels of prestige. On a similar note, Bielby and Baron (1986) indicate that even when women and

men are in the same occupations they are assigned different titles and jobs, which is the main form of statistical discrimination. Crompton and Harris (1999) also argue that direct male exclusionary practices have had a significant impact on women's careers and occupational choices and it would seem that there is a huge amount of cross-national continuity in these processes (Baumle and Fossett, 2005).

Women's duties are traditionally pre-determined in Turkish society and women's work is attached to the household responsibilities, leaving their paid work secondary to their roles in the home. Therefore, women are statistically discriminated against due to their assumed (and forced) discontinuity in paid work. As statistical discrimination cannot be seen as a traditional prejudice-based form of discrimination, traditional prejudices could partially be rationalised into statistical discrimination (Baumle and Fossett, 2005). Still, it is crucial to differentiate between traditional and statistical discrimination, also by comparing both approaches to Becker's (1971) idea of "taste for discrimination". Becker (1971) suggests that as a result of their prejudices employers tend not to hire members of certain groups (for example female employees) and the process of taste for discrimination also includes ignorance on the potential and capabilities of the discriminated group in question. So, there may be no specific reason associated with the prejudice, being just a 'taste' against a group while in statistical discrimination there is no direct prejudice but rational expectations of employers to maximise their profit by hiring the employees they expect to be more productive and continuous. Taste for discrimination is affected by the amount of (limited) knowledge on the discriminated group, time and space (the context and era) and differences in personalities (e.g. a woman-friendly employer or a highly traditional manager) (Becker, 1971). Statistical discrimination, on the other hand, is expected to be highly affected by

socially constructed and rationalised expectations that in return realise women's disadvantaged position in the labour market together with the lack of domestic support as a vicious circle. While it is argued that women's exclusion might also be a rational action, to protect male workers' interests (Bielby and Baron, 1986), this results in a self-fulfilling prophecy for women that favouring men (particularly in terms of wages), assuming women will not be as dedicated, causes women to be less motivated for their jobs validating employers' negative expectations as a result (Dolado et al., 2013). Bielby and Baron (1986) state that regardless of the accuracy of employers' beliefs regarding women's work, women are mostly positioned in both routine and less mobile jobs in which they cannot realise their potential which causes their talents to be invisible to their employers that may lead to a quicker withdrawal from work or lower involvement and dedication.

Bergmann (1974) introduces the overcrowding model which suggests that women are concentrated heavily, and are overcrowded, in a small number jobs and this affects their wages negatively. Arrow (1973) suggests that it could be costly to pursue information and determine the productivity of an employee since it is an unobservable trait, so it could be seen that statistical discrimination strongly depends on the perception of reality. Palaz (2003) indicates that Turkish women are concentrated in low paid and less prestigious jobs as a result of many factors, including the preference for men in the employment process as cultural, social and ideological stereotypes about women's and men's roles, aspirations and expectations about their lives have a negative effect on employers' attitudes towards female employees.

Fang and Moro (2011) point out that statistical discrimination occurs when decision-makers -employers in this study- use observable traits of individuals to measure the unobservable -dedication and continuity in the context of this research- and add that in the empirical literature on racial and gender inequality, inequality is often measured after a number of observable factors are controlled for with no reference to the unobservable. As the outcome also the behaviour is more straightforward to measure, the process in which employers make their minds could potentially create bias in the measurement process and statistical discrimination is thus tested and elaborated using various methods in the literature mostly focusing on the indicators visible in the outcome and/or derived from the reaction of employers to these indicators. Iversen and McCall Rosenbluth (2011) evaluate statistical discrimination by analysing women's likelihood to be in different jobs according to individual characteristics mainly being gender, whether working hours are regulated on national level and argue that women face less discrimination when hours are not regulated also restricted by law, providing them a ground to work more and eliminate prejudices. They emphasise that while restricted work hours lower the gender wage gap in the low-prestige jobs, it is the contrary in high-prestige jobs. Ewens et al. (2012) measure statistical discrimination (based on race) by sending messages containing no-signals, signals and positive indicators to landlords for renting purposes, evaluating how they respond to different levels of visibility of race in the renting decisions. Altonji and Pierret (2001) argue that if employers statistically discriminate based on observable traits such as education (and gender in this study's case) they are expected to learn about productivity over time with experience and as the impact of the easily observed variables on statistical discrimination decreases (e.g. they find little evidence of the impact of race on wages), hard-to-observe signals (for which they measure indicators including sibling's wage and father's education) and their correlation to productivity for employers will improve.

#### **2.5.2.5 Revolving doors and social control hypothesis**

As seen in the literature evaluated so far, arguments regarding gender segregation are essentially connected to the cumulative disadvantages caused by the barriers women face throughout their lives, from the early socialisation process to the labour market participation. In terms of evaluating vertical segregation, the glass ceiling phenomenon describes women's consequential concentration in lower level jobs in the same occupational settings as men. Regarding horizontal segregation, the same impact could be described as taking the form of locked/invisible doors for women, who are trapped in female-dominated jobs. However, according to the social control argument (Jacobs, 1989), there is no single life event or coaccumulative disadvantage that contributes to women's underrepresentation in male-dominated professions and past experiences are not as strongly effective as has been suggested; also the social control approach suggests that women are not trapped in certain (female) occupations, and that women move from female to male jobs (and vice versa) throughout their work lives as circumstances change and when jobs become available throughout the life course (Jacobs, 1989).

Jerry Jacobs (1989) emphasises the importance of changing life conditions and the impact of "revolving doors" on women's participation in male jobs; this approach to horizontal segregation could be described as *organic* segregation (which happens in a process throughout the course of a life) instead of *mechanic* segregation (based on one particular life event and cumulative disadvantages). Jacobs (1989) questions whether there is a decisive moment in women's lives when they are *channeled* into female-dominated occupations, asking whether the process is actually more gradual and argues that occupational sex segregation depends on a lifelong system of social control.

Using employment histories from the Washington State Career Development Study, Rosenfeld and Spenner (1992) present a similar pattern for women in the US, by investigating the frequency and factors related to job-shifts for women between sex-typical and sex-atypical jobs. They find that women frequently move between female- and male-dominated jobs, similar to Jacobs' (1989) findings. Their results show that higher rewards make gendered job-shifts less likely and that family commitments neither make it more likely for women to move to female jobs nor create barriers against women's entrance into male jobs. Rosenfeld and Spenner (1992) also argue that a greater level of commitments decreases the probability of moving to female jobs from male ones. However, it should be noted that in order to properly analyse these findings, it needs to be made clearer to what extent women are rewarded in male jobs, enough to not shift to a female one, particularly in terms of the support provided to reconcile their work and family life.

Chan (1999) states that during the first ten years of the work life of a cohort the rate of women working in heavily female jobs increases yet the percentage of the female workers in female occupations declines. His results suggest that for British women there is no distinctive impact of cumulative disadvantages for either female occupations or heavily female occupations, and in particular there is less cumulative disadvantage for the former. In other words, Chan (1999) notes that job descriptions or characteristics do not determine women's work histories, and that it is marital status and the fact of having a child that is a determinant of whether a woman is employed or not rather than whether a woman is in a female or male occupation. Chan (1999) describes this pattern as a *ghetto effect*: there

could be certain factors related to participating in certain occupations, which cause the penalties related to that participation to last longer.

#### **2.5.2.6 Welfare regimes and women's status in the labour market**

The process of the formation of welfare states and their policies regarding gender relations are important determinants of women's labour market positions. Crompton (1999) argues that gender differences are built into the structuring of welfare states and that men were addressed as citizens, whereas women were incorporated as members of families who were supported by men (Pateman, 2006). Waylen (2012) also points out that the attribution of women's roles to the private sphere highlighted their exclusion from the notion of full citizenship in the context of the welfare state. However, Scandinavian states in particular have achieved to endorse woman-friendly policies and this is a proof of the power of state regimes to contribute to women's labour market positions by balancing the public and private sphere positions of women as citizens and wives/mothers.

Social policies play an effective role in upgrading women's position in the labour market. As policies are structured mostly according to states' gender ideologies, they are significant in shaping women's participation rates in the labour market, by supporting women in the public and private spheres. Esping-Andersen (1996) categorises three typologies of welfare regimes: social democratic, conservative and liberal state models: in social democratic regimes (Nordic regimes), where state services and benefits are provided for the majority of the population, childcare and paternity leave support gender equality in labour market participation; conservative (corporatist) regimes (the Netherlands, France, Germany, Austria) provide social services largely in the form of insurance, and childcare regulations shorten mothers' working time, there is a weak familist gender ideology and

men are the primary breadwinners as women are mainly carers; liberal regimes (UK, USA, Canada, Australia) are non-interventionist markets, which have low welfare payments, where childcare is provided by the market and there is a modified breadwinner gender ideology, and women undertake both paid work and caring roles.

A fourth typology has been added to the literature, in addition to Esping-Andersen's categories, namely the Southern European welfare system which has a distinct gender regime where women are treated with reference to their domestic responsibilities while they enter the labour market unprotected when their work is economically needed (Ferrera, 1996), also family benefits and particularly family services are still relatively underdeveloped. In Southern European welfare regimes (Italy, Spain, Greece, Portugal and Turkey), family is still central and the welfare state only covers the risks that cannot be addressed by the family, rather than the normal functioning of the entity (Trifiletti, 1999).

Even though we could argue that the general outlook of women's position in a society reflects a country's gender policies, unbalanced domestic division of labour patterns are the results of complex regulating factors created by contemporary social limitations as well as by historic constraints, thus external interference in the form of state policies can be effective to a certain extent. However, the united impact of social change, supporting policies and changing opportunity structures can offer a context in which the labour markets could become less discriminating. Regarding the influence of welfare regimes on women's position in the society and family, Esping-Andersen (1996) states that the future of the welfare state will face the challenge of harmonising women's work with family formation, as women demand to work and to obtain economic independence (thus families

are expected to be more flexible). However, it is not expected that this will happen fully in Southern European welfare regimes yet, particularly in Turkey, in the near future. This will be further discussed in Chapter 6.

### **3. Data and Methods**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter will introduce the data sets and methodology that are used in the subsequent chapters of the thesis. The data sets analysed in this research include Turkish Census data of the years of 1985 and 2000, the Household Labour Force Survey from 1988 to 2008 and Family Value Survey conducted in 2006 provided by Turkish Statistical Institute (TurkStat), as well as tables and percentage statistics taken from TurkStat's website and resources, OSYM (Turkish Student Selection and Placement Center) website and OECD resources such as articles, reports and information on their website. Chapter 4 offers a descriptive analysis of the inconsistency between women's educational and occupational attainments in male-dominated areas using the Household Labour Force Survey to present women's exclusion from particularly prestigious male jobs according to various parameters and in relation to Turkish women's familial responsibilities, in comparison to their counterparts in other OECD countries where possible. Chapter 5 analyses the Census data and investigates Turkish women's position in male-dominated occupations based on their individual characteristics such as educational level, marital status and number of children; this is done so as to test the impact of these variables on the lack of women's participation at the top layer of the hierarchy elevator which is mostly dominated by men. Chapter 6 evaluates women's share in household responsibilities according to their employment status as well as earnings and analyses the compatibility between men's direct (how they view women's work) and indirect (how much they are involved in unpaid domestic work) gender ideology using bivariate probit analysis (Family Value Survey, 2006).

### **3.2 Women, higher education and gendered jobs**

In Chapter 4, preliminary descriptive results are presented to provide the impact of various parameters on the paradox between women's educational and occupational attainments in male areas. The main data set used throughout the chapter is Household Labour Force Survey (HLFS). From 1988 to 2000, the cross tabulations have been provided by Turkish Statistical Institute (TurkStat) on detailed request for analysis. Data from 2000 to 2008 have been analysed by the author for cross tabulations and percentage calculations. HLFS data has been collected systematically starting in 1988 twice a year on a globally comparable basis and is renewed in 2000 parallel to the changing economic and social structure which brings the need to revise the questionnaire (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2008). The aim of the analysis in this chapter is to present the relationship between individual characteristics of women and their participation in the major occupational categories. As the categorisation of jobs is applied according to ISCO 68 in 1988 and 1998, and according to ISCO 88 in 2008 for HLFS, the job categories are combined together for the presentation of tabulations in this chapter. Although there is a conversion method for ISCO classifications of different years, this research is interested in the main gendered categories of professional, managerial, clerical, service and sales, and agricultural work, and thus the relevant categories in ISCO 68 and ISCO 88 are combined and the remaining categories are added to the 'others' category. To mention the categorisation in detail, ISCO 68 and ISCO 88 categories are combined into main job titles as scientific and professional, managerial, clerical, service and sales, agriculture, and other jobs that include elementary and other occupations in both ISCO 68 and ISCO 88 of International Labour Organisation. To elaborate, the "other jobs" category includes "production and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers" and

“labourers not elsewhere classified” in 1988 and 1998 (ISCO 68), “craft and related trades workers”, “plant and machine operators and assemblers”, and “elementary occupations” (ISCO 88) in 2008.

In the first section of Chapter 4, Turkish Census data of 1985 and 2000 are used to present Turkish women’s position in top five prestigious occupations descriptively (HLFS data contains major job titles while Census data includes minor job categories) according to age groups to evaluate women’s continuity in a pseudo-panel pattern. In the second section, results (in number of students) taken from OSYM (Student Selection and Placement Center) which are converted to percentage figures will be presented to show female students’ position in male subjects in terms of educational horizontal segregation. In the third section, cross tabulations using Household Labour Force Survey data from 1988 to 2008 are demonstrated to investigate Turkish women’s share in the combined job categories of ISCO 68 and ISCO 88 according to demographic variables, which are argued to be significantly influential in women’s position in the labour market overall and in male jobs mainly being educational level, marital status as well as part-time work opportunities. In the fourth section, the reasons of female workers’ withdrawal from the labour market and Turkish women’s maternal employment (by the age of youngest child) among other OECD countries are discussed. Finally, comparisons to countries with similar patterns of women’s educational attainment and occupational participation are presented.

### **3.3 Women in male jobs and their prestige groups**

Throughout Chapter 5, Turkish Census data of 1985 and 2000 that are taken from the Turkish Statistical Institute (TurkStat) are used. Both Census data sets include 5% of the population and include questions consistent with the aim of this part of the research such as individual characteristics as well as detailed labour market information to be able to evaluate the impact of the existing variables on the statistical discrimination women face in the top-ranked male occupations. The purpose of this chapter is to investigate the factors that affect women's attainment in male jobs overall and in prestige groups as a continuation of the previous chapter. This analysis is conducted using variables regarding women's differentiated burden as they are hypothesised of being excluded from the job market on this basis. Also, the previously mentioned exclusion of highly educated women from the labour market is discussed using Heckman two-step probit model. The Census data is a good fit for the analysis of this chapter because the raw data is available for 1985, which is compatible with the time span this study is interested in and provides a retrospective basis regarding women's participation in the occupational prestige groups, also, it directly includes a variable on having children (unlike the Household Labour Force Surveys (HLFS)) and the detailed job categories to combine with prestige scores.

Internationally, a female job is by and large described as an occupation with a female population of 70% and over, but the Turkish data allows female employees numbering 50% and over in a job as the criterion on which to consider it female due to the restricted and even total lack of any participation at levels above this. When male jobs are determined as 70% and over male population, women's rate in these jobs are 7.2%, which is a low rate as the analysis will be on women in this category. This number raises to

13.6% when it is for 60%, however, as there will be almost no mixed occupations, I decided to keep it at 50% although is not a common preference in the literature. As indicated before, as an example, Browne (2006) finds that while 49% of the workers are women in the particular context of their research, 10% margin based on this number is used to create the mixed gender occupational category as jobs with 39% to 59% of female population. In the literature, there are other examples of measures for gender category of jobs in terms of their composition as well. Addison et al. (2014) argue that jobs with 67% and above female population are female jobs, jobs accommodating 34% to 66% female workers are mixed jobs and jobs with 33% and less women are male jobs. Anker (1988) indicates that jobs with 80% and above population are male jobs, female jobs are ones in which female share of workers is less than half of the average percentage of female population for the non-agricultural labour force as a whole, since addressing jobs with 80% and more female workers would result in a very few female jobs in countries with low female labour market participation, even though many jobs might have a relatively high concentration of female workers. Rose and Hartmann (2004) group 21 detailed occupations into three tiers (based on education and training as well as those leading to similar wages) as less-skilled jobs, good jobs and elite jobs which are separated as only female and male among them, similar to the categorisation of this study yet in a limited context and using relatively subjective definitions. While this study recognises that the existence of mixed occupational categories are beneficial to compare the dynamics of every group and how women fare in each, to prevent any confusion, jobs that are internationally (with exceptions) addressed as mixed gender jobs will not be used in this study and jobs with 50.01% and more female workers will be defined as female jobs due to the shortage of jobs where 70% and more workers are women.

As stated throughout the thesis, Turkish women are trapped in jobs where female workers are the majority. As there is only a limited number of women in male jobs, the aim is to examine the impact of various determinants of women's probability of being in a male-dominated job, thus a logistic regression analysis is applied to both 1985 and 2000 Turkish Census data using 'being in a male job' as the dependent variable. In other words, the aim of the first analysis of this chapter after the initial presentation of women's share in female and male jobs is to evaluate the impact of the potential involvement of variables in the process of women's exclusion from male-dominated jobs that are densely located in the top and bottom of the hierarchy elevator. Logistic regressions are widely used in the Turkish literature to investigate the relation between women's overall labour market participation and individual characteristics (Ince and Demir, 2006; Yıldırım and Doğrul, 2008; Yamak et al., 2012; Dayıoğlu and Kırdar, 2010). However, this research applies the method to examine female employment in male jobs and focuses on two points of time in order to be able to draw comparative inferences. The gendered job categories are created by labelling the 81 job categories (according to ISCO 68 both in 1985 and 2000) in combination with each sector as female (50.01% and over female population) and male (49.99% and lower female population) occupations as mentioned above.

Firstly, the impact of age groups on the likelihood of women being in a male job is investigated. Age groups represent women's different life stages related to education, marital status and having children, which are positively and negatively linked to their current and prospective labour market positions. As data from 1985 and 2000 are presented, age groups could be interpreted based on the cohort effect referring back to Jacob's revolving door hypothesis (1989). Although the 15-year gap between two

questionnaires is not particularly reflective of the change that has occurred (particularly for younger women), it should be remembered that Jacobs (1989) in his research analyses two data sets with a one-decade gap, and this comparison could be relevant for particularly women aged 25-45 in terms of their likely exposure to life changes.

The second independent variable is 'living in urban region'. It is common in the Turkish literature to analyse women's overall employment patterns separately for urban and rural areas. In this research, however, the regression analysis is not applied separately to women in urban and rural areas. This is because women's occupational prestige patterns are similar for women in both areas based on the same parameters. In other words, despite the descriptive differences between the life and employment patterns of women in urban and rural areas as well as their overall labour market participation, they are not dramatically different when their position in male jobs and the relevant prestige groups are taken into consideration, socio-economic status being a greater determinant of women's position in family and work than region (Orçan, 2008). Also, traditionally, particularly in rural areas, women's work has been seen as more "acceptable" before marriage (Kıray, 1979) as well as it is stated in the literature that while the number of children decreases female employment in the urban, there is a positive impact of children for women's work in rural areas (Ayvaz-Kızılgöl, 2012). In the regression model, urban residency as a reference point to rural residency is added to the model to control for the regional impact on women's position in male jobs.

Thirdly, the following educational variables are added to the model: low (no schooling, no literacy and primary school), medium (secondary and high school) and high education

(university and above). There is an international agreement in the literature that an increasing educational level means improving female employment (Cohen and Bianchi, 1999; İnce and Demir, 2006; Yamak et al., 2012; Zella, 2010; Bettio and Villa, 1999). Some of the arguments in the literature refer to higher education as the sole and most important determinant of women's work (Zella, 2010), while others argue that it is not the only identifier and marriage and children exacerbate women's disadvantaged situation in spite of higher educational qualifications (Ince and Demir, 2006). Hoffman (2009) finds that the presence of children has a stronger negative impact on married women's work than it has on single women between 1980s and 2000s, however due to the traditional social structure, it is very uncommon to have children outside marriage in Turkey, thus this research will focus on married women only when measuring the impact of children on female employment. Although education does not guarantee a job (as well as a male-dominated or a prestigious job), it is almost a must to be in a prestigious one. The logistic regression analysis will examine whether increasing educational level influences the likelihood of women being in a male job.

Fourthly, marital status is added to the model. Although educational level has a substantial role in determining women's occupational prospects as well as overall attainment in male jobs, this research expects its effect to be reduced by marriage and the number of children that are seen as the source of the statistical discrimination particularly in the top-ranked jobs in relation to family-related career break reasons. Married women are excluded from low-prestige male jobs due to traditional notions attached to their caring roles and from high-prestige male jobs as a result of the expected family-related career breaks. Regarding the former, Göksel (2013) states that urbanisation is one of the significant determinants of

the decrease in female employment not only because there is a lack of job opportunities for migrant women in the urban areas at first stage but also conservatist men's attitudes change in urban and rural areas, thus increasing urbanisation bring along rising conservatism that influence the rate of female labour force participation. The literature suggests there is indeed a negative impact from being married in terms of women's likelihood of being outside the labour market, particularly in the Turkish context (Uşen and Güngör-Delen, 2011; Kakıcı et al., 2007; Dayıoğlu and Kırdar, 2010; Yamak et al., 2012). This research will analyse the impact of being married on women's positions, particularly in male jobs. Thus, the third control variable is marital status, with married women being the reference group, in order to analyse the impact of marital status on the odds of being in a male job overall.

The fifth control variable is the number of children. The double burden of women is strengthened when women become mothers. Children are also the main reason women take career breaks (Gangle and Ziefle, 2009; Arun et al., 2004; Malo and Munoz-Bullon, 2007) which in turn affects their occupational status when they are back in the job market even in the most egalitarian countries (Aisenbrey et al., 2009). There are two reasons to focus on the number of children rather than the age groups of children. Firstly, the variable of children's ages only exists for the data of 2000 and not for 1985. Secondly, this study expects that coping mechanisms for childcare to diminish when women have multiple children, thus the number of children is as significant as the age groups of children when childcare as a barrier to women's work is discussed. Yıldırım and Doğrul (2008) indicate that the age groups of children do not keep married women from working outside the home, therefore it is not the age groups of children, but the number of children which

affect the non-participation decision of married women. When the number of children increases, the triangle of the traditional notions attributed to motherhood, the responsibility for children and the lack of childcare is expected to make it less likely that women will be in a male job both in less traditional low skilled jobs and demanding highly prestigious jobs. Furthermore, mothers are responsible for children at all ages until they leave home due to the dependence of children in the Turkish context in terms of close family bonds and traditions regarding family life. Thus, as Yıldırım and Doğrul (2008) similarly indicate, this research considers the increasing number of children as being a more effective variable than children's ages. Labour market participation rates are lower for married women than single women and having children has a substantive negative effect on women's work (Cohen and Bianchi, 1999), which is expected to be even more severe for demanding male jobs particularly when the number of children increases.

The variable 'urban 5 years ago' is the final control in the logistic regression analysis on women's probability of being in a male job. This variable is added to the model to control for the immigration effect, as the internal migration that have started in the 1950s in the form of rural-to-urban continued as urban-to-urban (mostly metropolitan cities) migration in the 1980s (Öztürk, 2007). This variable, thus measures the impact of being in an urban area five years ago compared to being in a rural area to examine whether previous residency influences women's chances of being in male jobs since the educational and occupational opportunities are scarce and limited in the latter compared to the former. This independent variable is only used for logistic regression analysis since it measures women's position in male jobs overall, thus including low-prestige male jobs (although

women are not highly represented in these occupations) and therefore the impact of migration is relevant where low status jobs are in the picture.

The analysis following the logistic regressions will investigate the impact of the interaction terms of education and marital status on women's likelihood to be in the high-prestige male jobs as two major (positive and negative) determinants of women's occupational trajectories in these jobs. Finally, the descriptive findings on occupational prestige overall and in relation to female and male jobs will be demonstrated. This focus on the distribution and share of prestige groups is intended to provide the basic context of the hierarchy elevator in the Turkish labour market before analysing women's positions in these positions based on their individual characteristics.

### **3.3.1 Highly qualified women and careers**

Heckman two-step probit model will be presented in Chapter 5. As the dependent variable for the second step of the analysis is binary (1 being the highest prestige jobs and 0 being the rest of the jobs), the Heckman probit model also the 'heckprob' instead of the 'heckman' command will be used. Before Heckman (probit) selection model is used, the traditional heckman command in Stata is tested (see Appendix 5.2) as will be discussed further in this section. Heckman correction is a widely used method to control for the selection bias created by the absence of an otherwise potentially effective part of the population from the sample, traditionally employed to measure the impact of education on women's wages as well as in other areas such as the occupational aspirations of female and male students (Busch, 2011), women's and men's overall labour market participation

(Fligstein and Wolf, 1978), and the occupational prestige of women in male jobs as in this research. However, this model is as frequently criticised as it is used. Scholars argue that the practicality of the Heckman correction should not refer to its random application without careful consideration. One of the main concerns regarding the Heckman correction's use is what we could refer to as 'interference with natural elimination'. In other words, it is often emphasised that what is called selection bias could be the result of a natural process, in which people not included in the sample do not have the ability, desire and/or necessary qualifications to be included in the first place. Stolzenberg and Relles (1990) suggest that in an educational setting, when for example a test result and related student achievements are examined, those who are not in the sample could well be sick at the time of the exam or throughout the semester, others may not be capable of studying for a degree or have poor overall performance, drop out before the grades are given, lack the academic success or the necessary qualifications and so on.

Sartori (2003) proposes that there is a relationship between intelligence and market wages when women's labour market participation is considered, thus women who are highly educated (and are considered to be smart) are more likely to enter the labour market (which is confused with sample bias) and uneducated working women are exceptionally smart<sup>2</sup> based on the unmeasured variables within the equation (intelligence). So, this argument suggests that drawing inferences from all the non-included groups will cause even greater bias, which could worsen the current situation. Fligstein and Wolf (1978) indicate that their findings regarding the equal female and male labour market participation

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<sup>2</sup> In Fligstein and Wolf's words, "the smarter women may anticipate that their intelligence will be recognised on the job, resulting in higher wages." (Fligstein and Wolf, 1978, p. 178)

could be a result of the selection bias created by their sample of working women, which is a 'overrepresentation of those who have found a job that commensurate with their education' (p. 198). As women who cannot find a job in accordance with their education and who could afford to stay out of the labour market would not be in the sample of working women (Fligstein and Wolf, 1978), they thus apply a reformulation of the Heckman correction (probit model) to the whole sample (of women) using Duncan's SEI (Socioeconomic Index) (1961) to prevent selection bias on the basis of the dependent variable.

The arguments regarding Heckman's model also focus on the contexts in which this model can be used and should not be used (Stolzenberg and Relles, 1990; Puhani, 2000; Bushway et al., 2007). There are certain circumstances when it is argued that using Heckman model, even though in some cases it is not ideal, could be the best option. One common approach towards Heckman model is that it should be used within good reason rather than randomly, particularly when discrete dependent variables are involved (Bushway et al., 2007).

Stolzenberg and Relles (1990) argue that when normality can be assumed, censoring is severe and samples are relatively small (as is the case in studies of job mobility in organisations), Heckman is an appropriate correction model. In contrast, Puhani (2000) suggests that those cases in which the need to correct for selectivity bias are the greatest are those with a high correlation between the error term of the selection and the outcome equation, and it is those with a high degree of censoring where Heckman model is particularly inefficient. Puhani (2000) suggests that this method is easy to use although there are problems, mostly due to the use of it when there are collinearity issues in the data. Bushway et al. (2007) argue that the Heckman correction is potentially beneficial

only when there is an incidental selection. They suggest that, when using the same predictors for the selection process and the substantive outcome, there will be subsequent correlation between the correction term and the included variable, and that multicollinearity is a common problem. They add that it also does not make sense to correct for selection bias in situations where it is relatively small, even in the worst case scenario.

In the Turkish context, a majority of women are not in the labour market due to their lack of education, the burden of domestic work or on traditional grounds. As the literature shows and results support so far, highly educated women are not adequately present in the labour force as women from other educational backgrounds in Turkey. The analysis in Chapter 5 focuses on women of working age (15-64) who are already in the labour market. However, although there is an increase in the overall higher educational attainment and a reasonable level of attainment in male majors in universities, there is a loss in the transition to the labour market and it is clear that there are many women outside the labour market who are highly qualified. Thus, this research expects the so-called ‘selection bias’ to be severe when Heckman selection model is used (as in “heckman” command in Stata), with the result that the study confidently argues that there is a compulsory withdrawal (or no participation in the first place) of women from the labour market, and that the expectation is that there is no natural elimination process or the luxury to choose otherwise.

However, it should be stressed that selection bias is not a barrier in seeking the results this research aims for. The purpose is to determine the impact of individual characteristics on women’s likelihood of being in a male job overall and in higher-prestige male jobs,

obviously focusing on women who are in paid work. Thus, the aim of using the Heckman correction is to examine non-employed women's expected positions in regard to higher-prestige male jobs if they were in the job market, as the results show a high level of qualified women are not employed.

As mentioned above, initially the Heckman correction model was applied using the individual prestige scores of jobs that vary from 15 to 73 as the dependent variable by considering it a continuous variable due to its increasing and continuous nature. This model was not expected to provide a 'magical' solution to a serious problem in this research; rather, it serves to illustrate a potential situation. As there is no agreement on the problematic issue of the ideal sample size, this research agrees with the argument that the Heckman model is best used with severe censoring of the selection and large data sets, thus it is considered appropriate to use this model considering that the first equation (all women) includes a large part of the sample. The truncation value of Heckman analysis found by using the Stata command "heckman" (that will be explained further in Appendix 5.2), which requires a continuous dependent variable, showed that a woman who has average (sample) characteristics and is selected into the labour market is less likely to be in the higher prestige job category compared to a woman (with average composition of characteristics) randomly chosen from the population<sup>3</sup>, underlining the lost potential of women who are not working to be in the highest level of the hierarchy elevator. However, the "rho" also p value which should be between 0 to 1 was -1 in this analysis which

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<sup>3</sup> Vartanian, T. P, Course Handout, Bryn Mawr College, Heckman Selection Models: [www.brynmawr.edu/socialwork/GSSW/Vartanian/Handouts/Heckman%20selection%20models%20explained.pdf](http://www.brynmawr.edu/socialwork/GSSW/Vartanian/Handouts/Heckman%20selection%20models%20explained.pdf).

implied the outcome of the model being questionable despite the statistically significant coefficients in the selection and outcome equations as well as the constant coefficient representing the statistical significance of the analysis. I reckon the reason to be the dependent variable's continuity trait being relatively vague as even though the prestige scores are continuous, there is the restriction that the scores begin with 15 and end with 73 with gaps in between scores unlike e.g. wage as a variable that is more of a continuous determinant, causing it to be more suitable as a discrete variable with ongoing yet countable components. Thus, Heckman two-step probit model (Stata: heckprob) is used next and although it does not provide a truncation value, it presents the correlation between the two steps of the analysis to evaluate whether same mechanisms work when women are entering the labour market and the highest prestige jobs (according to SIOPS, regardless of gender composition), and the selection process in the analysis occurs as displayed in the below figure.

<b>Figure 2: Two-step Heckman probit model</b>
Step 1: The probability of women being in the labour market
Step 2: The probability of women being in prestigious jobs

The next step will be to present the likelihood of women of working age (15-64) being in high-prestige male jobs compared to low- and medium-prestige jobs, presenting the ordered logistic regression results. Referring back to the hierarchy elevator, Turkish women's probability of being in higher-prestige male occupations, which is relatively atypical and thus an interesting case, will be examined. The dependent variable is the

three-level prestige groups of male jobs and the independent variables are age cohort, educational level, urban residency, marital status and number of children. The contents of the variables are the same as the logistic regression analysis. The motivation to use ordered logistic regression analysis is to illustrate the impact of age, education and family-related dependent variables that positively and negatively affect women's positions in the higher prestige male jobs of the three level hierarchy elevator.

### **3.4 Women's Double Burden and Men's Gender Ideology**

In Chapter 6, the Family Value Survey conducted in 2006 by the General Directorate of Family and Social Research in collaboration with the Turkish Statistical Institute is analysed as it incorporates the necessary variables regarding domestic division of labour and how female employment is viewed according to various parameters. To produce this survey, 24647 individuals at and over the age of 18 in 12280 households were interviewed. A need for further policy formation regarding family life had been determined and the questionnaire was prepared in order to investigate the Turkish family structure, individuals' values regarding family life and their lifestyles within the family (TurkStat, FVS, 2006). The questionnaire also includes questions on respondents' approach to female employment, in what ways religion affects their lives and how domestic division of labour is shared within the household, as well as how the decision-making processes are formed to elaborate the inter- and intra-family relations within society.

In this chapter, the impact of domestic division of labour and men's gender ideology on women's work will be assessed. But firstly, social policy regimes in regard to women's work will be discussed in a comparative style, as they are strongly related to women's

heavy burden at home, and consequently, their discontinuity at work, as a result of the regulations that orientate the family as the provider for itself. Initially Northern European regimes will be presented and this will be followed by Mediterranean policy regulation that is argued to include Turkey particularly considering the common traits in terms of family as the social security net. This chapter will finish by discussing the social welfare regime Turkey belongs to, and comparing it to two very different regimes: Northern European and Southern European welfare regulations. Turkey has been included in the latter and this is one of the main reasons why women experience the differentiated burden at home. The Mediterranean social policy regime expects women to fulfil the needs of the family and in return penalises them for their discontinuity as a result of achieving this goal when they are employed, as will be presented in the vicious circle of Turkish women's work in the following chapter.

In the following section, the aim is to investigate women's position in the family and to analyse what components influence women's and men's attitudes and behaviour regarding whether it is appropriate for women to work, and if not, why they are expected to stay home. In addition, the impact of women's employment status and level of income on their participation in demanding female housework will be examined to evaluate the time availability and resource bargaining approaches. Ideally, the time availability also women's time spent at work is measured by the hours spent working, however, since there is no data on the hours worked in the Family Value Survey, employment status (as employed and not employed) is used for this analysis. Also, this section will focus on men's attitudes and behaviour regarding women's work and analyse their understanding of

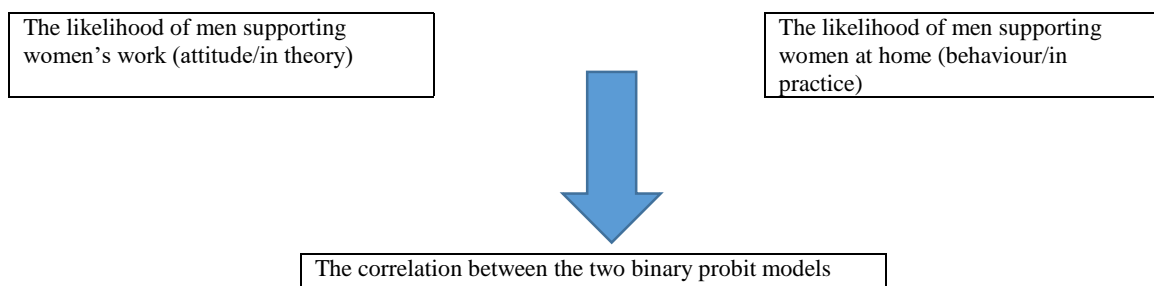
female employment in theory and their contribution in traditionally “feminine” household chores.

To elaborate the methods used in Chapter 6, firstly, cross tabulations on women’s share in female household chores based on women’s employment, women’s and men’s approach to whether women’s work is appropriate or not (and if not, why) based on educational level and marital status and childcare responsibilities based on women’s employment and income will be presented. For childcare, the variable includes care for children aged 0-5, regardless of the number of children, referring to general childcare of young children. The aim of the presentation of these preliminary results will be to provide a basis for further analysis regarding women’s overall position in the family, which so far has been considered as the main reason for women’s discontinuity at work. Secondly, logistic regression analysis will be applied to evaluate how women’s employment status and wages affect their responsibility of doing the female housework. The female housework includes tasks that are done on a regular basis and are traditionally attributed to women’s caring roles namely cooking, ironing, doing laundry, doing the dishes, simple sewing, tidying up the house daily, serving evening tea and setting the table (the last two tasks are ‘mildly’ female and more on a neutral side). Male chores include tasks that are done on an irregular basis and are less ‘urgent’ as well as less time consuming than female chores, those that are associated with the traditional notions of masculinity such as daily grocery shopping (being on a more neutral side), paying monthly bills (as a representation of the male breadwinner model), making small repairs (as a sign of physical strength) and painting the house (the last two tasks are also largely done via paid assistance). Both female and male housework could be recognised in the percentages they are performed by women and men,

portraying an absolute segregation. The dependent variable is ‘undertaking the female housework’; independent variables include working women, women with lower income and women with children.

The next step is to use a bivariate probit model to measure men’s gender ideology in terms of their attitudes towards women’s work and their contribution in female household responsibilities which represent their behaviour, as well as the correlation coefficient of the error terms of these two gender ideology components (Jones, 2007) as illustrated in the below figure. The independent variables are urban residency, age group, educational level, marital status, income and the number of children. There are commonalities between probit Heckman selection model and bivariate probit in terms of involving two equations and being probit models as well as having correlated residuals from two equations<sup>4</sup>, yet it should also be added that while probit Heckman selection model functions in a sequential pattern, bivariate probit regression model measures two models simultaneously and separately before presenting their correlation.

**Figure 3: Bivariate probit model** (bivariate probit model allows us to estimate two separate logistic regression models with binary dependent variables, and predicts the correlation between the two equations)



<sup>4</sup> Vartanian, T. P, Course Handout, Bryn Mawr College, Heckman Selection Models: [www.brynmawr.edu/socialwork/GSSW/Vartanian/Handouts/Heckman%20selection%20models%20explained.pdf](http://www.brynmawr.edu/socialwork/GSSW/Vartanian/Handouts/Heckman%20selection%20models%20explained.pdf).

A further independent variable is created using factor analysis, which is religiousness. To measure the level of religiousness, the responses to separate questions regarding how influential religion is in terms of choices of spouse, friends, dress, voting, job choices, relationship with neighbours, and eating and drinking habits are combined, and a common Likert scale (Likert, 1932) of ‘not influential’, ‘influential’ and ‘very influential’ is created using factor analysis. After the bivariate probit model, the marginal effects will follow for discussion.

### **3.5 SIOPS: Information and criticism**

As there are other occupational prestige scales in the literature (Goldthorpe and Hope, 1974; Ganzeboom et al., 1992; Duncan, 1961; Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992; Nakao and Treas, 1990), Standard International Occupational Prestige Scale (SIOPS) is preferred as an internationally representative scale, which is also useful in incorporating one minor study from Turkey. The aim of this section will be to investigate prestige groups as the dependent variable, thus SIOPS is the ideal measure of occupational prestige rather than other measures that focus on individuals’ social status or prestige. The detailed occupational prestige scores (for minor groups) are presented in Figure 4.

**Figure 4: Occupations according to prestige level, with SIOPS scores (Treiman, 1977), ISCO 68.**

**High-prestige occupations**

Jurists (73), Physical scientists and related technicians (66), Legislative officials and government administrators (64), Managers (63), Accountants (62), Teachers (61), Life scientists and related technicians (61), Economists (60), Medical, dental, veterinary and related workers (60), Aircrafts and ships' officers (59), Authors, journalists and related writers (58), Professional, technical and related workers not elsewhere classified (57), Statisticians, mathematicians, systems analysts and related technicians (56), Architects, engineers and related technicians (56), Government executive officials (55), Clerical supervisors (55)

**Middle-prestige occupations**

Sculptors, painters, photographers and creative artists (51), Transport and communications supervisors (50), Sales supervisors and buyers (49), Computing machine operators (49), Athletes, sportsmen and related workers (49), Farm managers and supervisors (48), Composers and performing artists (48), Working proprietors (wholesale and retail trade) (48), Production supervisors and general foremen (46), Technical salesmen, commercial travellers and manufacturers' agents (46), Insurance, real estate, securities and business services salesmen and auctioneers (46), Stenographers, typists and card- and tape-punching machine operators (46), Workers in religion (46), Managers (wholesale and retail trade) (45), Broadcasting station and sound equipment operators and cinema projectionists (44), Telephone and telegraph operators (44), Jewelry and precious metal workers (43), Machinery fitters, machine assemblers and precision instrument makers (except electrical) (43), Members of the Armed Forces (42), \*\*\*Not in labour force\*\*\* (41), Printers and related workers (41), Electrical fitters and related electrical and electronics workers (41), \*\*\*Unclassifiable occupations\*\*\* (40), Chemical processors and related workers (40), Farmers (40), Managers (catering and lodging services) (40), Stationary engine and related equipment operators (38), Plumbers, welders, sheet metal and structural metal preparers and erectors (38), Stone cutters and carvers (38), Metal processors (38), Clerical and related workers not elsewhere classified (38), Bookkeepers, cashiers and related workers (38), Housekeeping and related service supervisors (37), Working proprietors (catering and lodging services) (37)

**Low-prestige occupations**

Blacksmiths, toolmakers and machine-tool operators (36), Cabinetmakers and related woodworkers (36), Protective service workers (35), Tailors, dressmakers, sewers, upholsterers and related workers (34), Tobacco preparers and tobacco product makers (34), Food and beverage processors (34), New workers seeking employment (32), Manual workers not elsewhere classified (32), Miners, quarrymen, well drillers and related workers (32), Hairdressers, barbers, beauticians and related workers (32), Transport conductors (32), Bricklayers, carpenters and other construction workers (31), Production and related workers not elsewhere classified (31), Glass formers, potters and related workers (31), Service workers not elsewhere classified (31), Painters (30), Rubber and plastics product makers (30), Mail distribution clerks (30), Spinners, weavers, knitters, dyers and related workers (29), Wood preparation workers and paper makers (29), Transport equipment operators (28), Paper and paperboard products makers (28), Fishermen, hunters and related

workers (28), Salesmen, shop assistants and related workers (28), Shoemakers and leather goods makers (26), Cooks, waiters, bartenders and related workers (26), Forestry workers (24), Material-handling and related equipment operators, dockers and freight handlers (22), Tanners, fellmongers and pelt dressers (22), Agricultural and animal husbandry workers (22), Launderers, dry-cleaners and pressers (22), Building caretakers, charworkers, cleaners and related workers (22), Maids and related housekeeping service workers not elsewhere classified (22), Sales workers not elsewhere classified (15)

While this study evaluates women's employment patterns starting from 1980s (with a brief reference to 1970s and earlier) to 2000s which is accompanied by a descriptive account on the employment trends in 2010s together with the social policy regulations of the time. This could cause the inference that the classifications created in 1977 might not fit the context of contemporary Turkish labour market. However, there are various reasons that Treiman prestige scale is a suitable choice for the particular context of this study. First of all, the main use of Treiman scale concerns women's probability to be in most prestigious and prestigious male jobs. In this perspective, associating highest prestige with managerial and professional jobs is largely recognised. Surely, there could be deviations from the generalisations in some contexts for all prestige scales. For example, while some of the risky blue collar jobs are rewarded with higher pay (Tang, 2014), manual labour or crafts that are physically demanding and dangerous at times (predominated by men) a high wage is offered to workers to attract employees and be preferred over other low-skilled, less dangerous jobs (Furchtgott-Roth, 2012, p. 25). However, it should be added that this trend is expected to be suitable to countries with developed economies with strict labour regulations. Also, although Furchtgott-Roth (2012) indicates that it is by choice that women are not attending low-skilled and highly paid jobs (rather than the low paid and low-prestige jobs), not only employers tend not to hire women for these jobs (due to the deep-seated traditional views on gender roles, expecting men to perform better particularly

in jobs requiring physical strength, considering women as more fragile and vulnerable etc.), there are also regulations that exclude women from being employed in risky jobs (that are paid more despite their prestige level) in many countries.

There are also relatively recent studies that categorise occupations into similar hierarchical groups as SIOPS. Rose and Hartmann (2004) divide 21 detailed jobs into three hierarchical layers, or “tiers” as they address (which this study have implemented for all jobs categorised according to ISCO 68) and categorise them into less-skilled jobs, good jobs and elite jobs, each containing a female and a male section. Although their conceptualisation is rather subjective particularly as in “good jobs”, the grouping of the occupations is similar to that of Treiman. For example, managers, jurists, health professionals, teachers, pilots, accountants etc. are in the highest prestige group; clerical and administrative jobs, farm owners and managers, and health and science technicians are considered as good jobs, while farm workers, sales clerks and low-skill service jobs are in the less skilled job category, categories arranged according to similar years of education and training, and pay. Although SIOPS is not solely based on wage, a significant part of prestige is related to wage, or to put it differently, prestigious jobs tend to be paid well. Treiman’s (1977) categorisations also suits the wage rates of jobs associated with different prestige. In Table 2, wages of selected major and sub-major job groups provided by Turkish Statistical Institute are presented regardless of gender to discuss whether relatively recent wage rates in Turkey and prestige scores of Treiman scale are compatible.

**Table 2: Monthly average gross wage of selected occupations, YTL (TurkStat, 2006)**

<i>Selected jobs in high-prestige classification</i>	
Corporate managers	2827
Legislators, senior officials and managers (Legislators and senior officials)	2738 2409)
Life scientists and Health professionals	2234
Physical, mathematical and engineering science professionals	2148
Professional jobs	1860
<i>Selected jobs in middle-prestige classification</i>	
Other associate professionals	1412
Physical and engineering science technicians	1314
Stationary-plant operators	1184
Metal, machinery and related trades workers	1137
Office clerks	1101
<i>Selected jobs in low-prestige classification</i>	
Protective service workers	826
Drivers and mobile-plant operators	869
Service and sales	793
Sales workers	683
Other craft and related trades workers	646

*Data Source: Selected wage rates obtained from Income Statistics, 2006 (Turkish Statistical Institute website, Dynamic Search section). Author's table.*

Turkish Statistical Institute provides information on their website's dynamic search section on wages of major and sub-major occupational groups in 2006 (ISCO 88).<sup>5</sup> As seen from Table 2, the highest paying jobs are all included in Treiman's higher prestige category. To add to the high-prestige occupations' wages, general managers are paid a monthly average gross wage of 1783 YTL which is 1759 YTL for other professionals' category and 1468 YTL for teaching professionals on average, which include university level instructors. In the middle-prestige level, other associate professionals including bookkeepers as well as athletes, sportsmen and related jobs etc. are paid 1412 YTL on average. Metal, machinery

<sup>5</sup> It should firstly be noted that the amounts presented on TurkStat website are average gross monthly wages while the Family Value Survey, as demonstrated in Chapter 6, includes average monthly net wages. Also, as it will be explained in Chapter 6, by 2006 the currency was YTL (New Turkish Lira) as the currency title was changed back to Turkish Lira in 2009 after 4 years of use. Finally, TurkStat provides monthly wages of jobs of ISCO 88 categorisation, thus the equivalent in ISCO 68 have been addressed to associate wages with occupational prestige.

and related trades category that contains blacksmiths, tool-makers and related workers, electronics fitters, and telephone and telegraph operators which are in the middle-prestige level of SIOPS are paid a monthly wage of 1137 YTL. The average gross monthly wage of physical and engineering science technicians is 1314 YTL and this category includes broadcasting and telecommunications equipment operators, one of the jobs in the medium level prestige category formed according to SIOPS. Office clerks, among which there is the category of stenographers, typists and related jobs as one of the top three common female-dominated jobs in 1985 and 2000, are paid an average of 1101 YTL. Protective service workers; drivers, and service, shop and sales workers are also paid low in accordance with their position in the SIOPS. The lowest prestige job in the Treiman scale also service jobs are paid one of the lowest gross monthly wage that is 683 YTL. Other craft and related trades workers such as food processors; cabinet makers, and tailors, dress makers and hatters are paid 646 YTL on average and are all at the bottom of Treiman's prestige scale as well. As seen, there is also a compatibility between Treiman's prestige scale and the structure of Turkish labour market in terms of wage (which is among the significant determinants for occupational prestige), wages are in the payment bands that correspond to jobs' prestige categories. As the wages provided in the above list represent those for the major and submajor groups, it should be noted that these are the general average amount for categories that include a high range of occupations. Also, prestige is not solely based on wage in SIOPS, thus a perfect fit is not necessary yet there is a high level of compatibility between Treiman scale and wages in Turkey as mentioned. For example, while "jurists" is the highest prestige job category, it is not the highest paid job in Turkey (managerial positions are the highest paid), however, jurists and managerial employees are still in the highest paid band together. Similarly, the occupational category of "accountants" is not widely considered as one of the most prestigious jobs in the

Turkish context but it is still in the “scientific, technical and professional jobs” category which is shown to be one of the highest paid occupational categories.

As presumed, SIOPS is criticised for ignoring cultural differences as an international scale and variations over time in the literature. Treiman (1977) indicates that there is no evidence regarding purely cultural differences that affect the prestige attached to certain occupations, and adds that when particular occupations are attached to exceptional privilege and power within a cultural context, they are highly rewarded and where there is no such power or privilege, the claimed cultural differences have no impact on the prestige score of an occupation. Treiman (1977) also indicates that social differences in the organisation of work, rather than cultural values, create differences in some instances, where the example of accountants for Turkey could be given. Although in SIOPS accountants are at a high level of prestige, in Turkey they have a relatively lower prestige level regarding education, status and income. Although some minor differences exist as in this example of accountants, however, the overall prestige scores fit the general picture, particularly in terms of the professions’ educational requirements, income and desirability. Treiman also indicates that SIOPS is representative regarding gender, ethnicity or particular local groups such as students regarding the variation in the raters’ opinions. For women in particular, as they are less attached to the labour market, their evaluations would be expected to be different. However, although women’s jobs could be downgraded by men and men’s jobs could be upgraded by women, Treiman indicates that the ratings are very close both in industrialised and non-industrialised societies. Evertsson and Duvander (2009), in their research on the prestige-related penalties regarding Swedish women’s

career breaks, also argue that the definition of low- and high-prestige jobs' characteristics is well understood and agreed upon internationally.

For the criticism regarding changes in the term 'prestige' over time, Treiman indicates that the prestige of occupations remains persistent, although he admits that substantial social change could result in some variation. In Turkey, there has been change in terms of the slightly increasing educational level of Turkish women since Treiman's work was published in 1977. However, this change has not affected the prestige of jobs; for example, when people were less educated being a doctor was prestigious and desirable, and it still is. Thus, positive changes have brought Turkey's standards (in terms of occupational prestige) closer to those in Europe.

The prestige groups in the 1985 and 2000 Census data that are created by attaching scores to each job according to SIOPS (Treiman, 1977) are both inclusive of ISCO 68 categorisations. The ranking starts with the score of 15 (sales workers) and the highest score (for minor occupational groups) is 73 (jurists)<sup>6</sup>, although the numbers do not continue with equal gaps in between but rise in a linear pattern. The low-prestige group starts with sales workers (15) and ends with cabinet makers and wood processors as well as blacksmiths and tool makers (36). The lowest score in the mid-prestige group is determined to be 37 and this score is associated with working proprietors (catering and

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<sup>6</sup> The highest score among minor occupational groups belongs to "Jurists" yet the overall highest score is held by the position of "Chief of State" as an occupation (90), followed by the individual occupations of "Ambassador" (87), "Leader of house" (as a member of legislative bodies) (86), "University president, Dean" (86) and "Member upper house" (as a member of legislative bodies) (85) (Treiman, 1977).

lodging), and housekeeping and related service supervisors. The highest score of the middle-prestige group is 51 and sculptors, painters and creative artists are in this group. The high-end occupational group starts with clerical supervisors (with a score of 55) as a job category that requires a relatively high level of education as well as occupational experience from which women are excluded both vertically and horizontally and which is often referred to as incompatible with women's domestic responsibilities in the literature, particularly in the banking sectors' high-end managerial and supervision professions (Crompton and Sanderson, 1990). Finally, the highest prestige occupational position is held by jurists as determined by the Treiman scale (1977). There are 12 groups and 32 jobs in the lowest prestige group, 13 groups and 32 jobs in the mid-prestige group and 12 groups and 16 jobs at the top of the hierarchy ladder.

SIOPS includes 85 occupational prestige studies conducted in 60 countries to provide a common ground for an international scale (based on representative samples of national populations, representative local populations, casual samples of general populations and samples of local populations such as students). Occupations are rated on three-, five-, seven- or nine-point scales regarding their prestige, respect, social standing, and desirability for one's own son, desirability for oneself and so on, as well as on the skill and educational requirements of the job and the subsequent income level. Treiman's SIOPS (1977) is applied to the Turkish Census data to categorise occupational prestige groups. This scale is used for this part of the analysis for several reasons. Firstly, it is internationally applicable and the original version uses ISCO 68 to label the prestige scores, with Turkish Census data also being grouped according to the same categorisation. Secondly, the hierarchy pyramid refers to occupational prestige rather than using the socio-

economic status of individuals as a measure, which makes SIOPS the most suitable scale for adaptation to the Turkish context.

### **3.6 Weaknesses of the research**

Quantitative research is partially limited to the data used and its content in terms of the potential analysis and interpretations it allows. In this study, Household Labour Force Survey (1988-2008), Census data (1985 and 2000) and Family Value Survey (2006) are used. Although in sum, these data sets fulfil the aim of this research that focuses mainly on the period between 1980s and 2000s, and it could be considered a strength to have diversity in terms of the data sets, it would have been ideal to analyse a data set that includes the time span between 1980s and 2000s with all variables needed. To minimise the inconvenience, each data set is assigned to the chapters according to the components needed for analysis of individual sections.

To be able to measure change over time, the use of longitudinal/panel data is essential. Unfortunately, the data used in this research could only provide a pseudo-panel perspective by comparing age groups in two points of time with a 15-year gap as there was no official longitudinal data set available. For future research, panel data containing components of women's detailed occupational attainment and time spent at paid work as well as undertaking household chores would be helpful to analyse women's position in the public and private spheres. Also, further research is needed to analyse the link between current state of women's work, family responsibilities and social policy practices, and to measure statistical discrimination as directly as possible.

## **4. A descriptive investigation of Turkish women's educational, occupational and family roles**

### **4.1. Introduction**

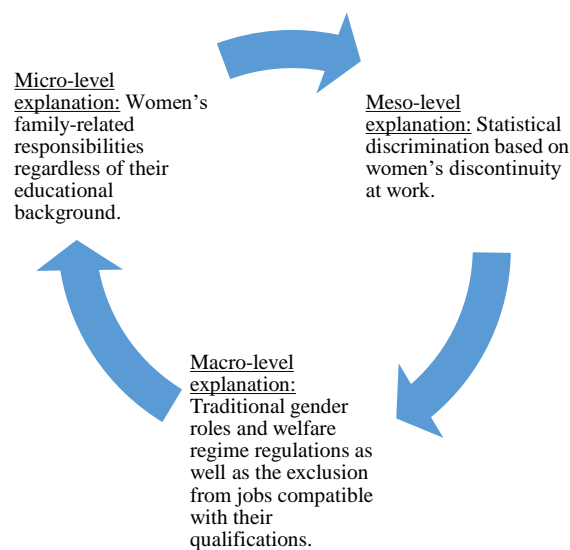
Turkish women in the labour market have been sandwiched between high-end, highly prestigious male jobs and less paid, low-prestige male jobs, excluded from the former by a seemingly shatter-proof glass ceiling and from the latter by custom and the traditional structure of the society. The result is that they are trapped in mid-prestige female jobs. This description seems to refer to a combination of vertical and horizontal segregation. To describe it in detail, there is an occupational segregation by field at the top- and bottom-prestige jobs which are predominated by men in Turkey, with women being not adequately represented in male jobs that are highly ranked such as managerial jobs, as well as low-ranking male-dominated occupations mainly as elementary and service jobs. The aim of this chapter is to examine this horizontal gender segregation (combined with and resulted in vertical segregation), the incompatibility between the higher educational sphere and labour market for highly educated women, and women's concentration in particular jobs by mainly presenting the expected relation of women's work to the traditional roles attached to married women and mothers. In other words, this research focuses on the subsequent statistical discrimination in the workplace based on women's forced discontinuity due to family-related reasons (also the individual characteristics such as marital status and motherhood) even when they are qualified for a career-driven work pattern. While there is still quite a low but increasing level of higher educational attainment among Turkish women (Turkey has the lowest levels of female population with tertiary education for ages 25-64; Blades and Pearson, 2006, p. 12), there had been a

simultaneously decreasing overall labour market participation until late 2000s (the most dramatic decrease in female employment among OECD countries; Blades and Pearson, 2006, p.16), the low rate of labour market participation (excluding unpaid family workers in agricultural sector) being persistent for women from all educational backgrounds. One aspect of this pattern that there is a low female employment rate is explained by internal migration and the lack of available jobs for new urban women with no qualifications, who face cultural and economic barriers in terms of their working lives (The World Bank, 2009). A similar trend is inherent in horizontal segregation patterns: Turkish women's representation in traditionally male subjects, which mostly lead to prestigious male occupations, is at decent levels and their proportion in these subjects is above many of their OECD counterparts by 2008 (OECD, 2010). However, they are hardly represented at all and have a low share in prestigious male jobs due to the competitive and demanding nature of these jobs as well as their patriarchal environment that exclude women from the social and occupational networks.

There are mechanisms that explain this paradox (particularly regarding highly educated women's exclusion from high-prestige jobs), which are closely related to each other in a vicious circle pattern (see Figure 5). These are investigated on micro, meso and macro levels (concepts organised as in Crompton and Sanderson's (1990) explanations for occupational gender segregation) in this research: women's heavy burden at home, the subsequent discontinuity at work with the statistical discrimination that occurs as a result, and the lack of social policy support. At the micro (individual) level, women are expected to fulfil the household-related responsibilities regardless of their educational level and related aspirations, and this holds them back from attaining the high-prestige jobs

corresponding their qualifications. That, in turn, intertwines with the meso (institutional) level of problems that women are excluded from the job market and prestigious jobs in particular, as a result of fulfilling these expectations. And finally, the overall social pressure regarding women's roles at home derived from the traditional social structure and the welfare regime regulations that are interactively related to this social context prevent women from obtaining careers and we come back to where the vicious circle started: women staying home due to their domestic burden. At the macro level, Southern European (Mediterranean) welfare regime regulations, which are also implemented in Turkey particularly in terms of family-related social security, are highly influential on women's position at work and in the family. Gal (2010) states that in the context of Mediterranean welfare regimes that are characterised by low social expenditure compared to social democratic and corporatist regimes, the low rates of female employment are associated with the focus on family as the main provider for itself as well as the nature of the economic development in these countries and the predominant traditional male breadwinner model.

**Figure 5: The vicious circle of highly educated women's position in high-prestige jobs**



*Author's figure.*

At the meso level, employers' behaviour strengthens the vicious circle of women's heavy burden at home (as a micro level element) and the associated inability to work in competitive high-ranked jobs. Employers expect women to be less reliable, long-term or continuous compared to men, thus to maximise their profits and in order to avoid investing in employees who are potentially discontinuous, they statistically discriminate against women, taking gender as a measure for their decisions (Phelps, 1972). As a result, women are trapped in the mid-prestige female occupations that usually require pre-job training (as in medium/vocational to high level of education) rather than on-the-job training which is mostly seen among the top-prestige occupations for which employers are unwilling to invest in female employees due to their expected career breaks based on family-related reasons. When the age of first marriage according to women's educational level is investigated, the results demonstrate that women's potential period to start working coincides with their age of getting married, which brings with it the aforementioned household-related responsibilities. In 2011, the highest rate of low, medium and highly educated women for the age of first marriage is seen at 16-19 for low educated women with a percentage of 42.3, 20-24 (54.8%) for medium educated women, and 25-29 (55.1%) for highly educated women (TurkStat, FVS, 2011). As seen, marriage occurs at a time when women are ready to start their labour market participation (considering that high-school education ends at the age of 17 on average and medium educated women get married between 20 and 24; university education ends at 22 on average and marriage occurs between 25 and 29 for highly educated women), which is another result that refers to the career-break effect of domestic responsibilities associated with marriage on women's work.

In the process of building the Republic, Turkish women were placed in a strategic position within the family and society by being saddled with the responsibility of being highly educated women that are active in social life while the traditional social structure that has prevailed for a long time beforehand continued to label women as the primary and mostly only caregiver as wives and mothers. This pattern continued to be unchanged for decades, even today, and has been intertwined with the Southern European welfare regime Turkey has been implementing throughout the years; as Trifiletti (1999) expresses it with the emphasis on the family's role in providing welfare as well as reducing the levels of childcare expected from the state. In this context, women are expected to fulfil their families' needs and this expectation became the prominent determinant of women's roles in Turkish society even when women are highly qualified, which has been considered to be a positive trait as a wife and mother, not only aimed for a career.

Turkey has been included increasingly in the Southern European welfare regimes in the literature (Gal, 2010; Grütjen, 2008) and the burden on family as the provider for its own welfare in Turkey refers to a remarkable fit; with the pattern that women are sent to labour markets unprotected when their work is economically needed in this particular context (Ferrera et al., 2001). Flaquer (2000) argues that the family solidarity both explains and is a result of the underdeveloped family policies as there is a reluctance to change, many people in Mediterranean countries thinking family services are more successful than external social support which need to be preserved. A detailed account of the impact of the Southern European welfare regime on women's work will be given further in Chapter 6.

The 'superwoman' expectation that is frequently seen among Southern European welfare systems (Moreno, 2002) has not been successful in Turkey (despite women's decent level

of higher educational attainment) which is mainly a result of their differentiated burden. The almost Parsonian functionalistic approach<sup>7</sup> to women's roles that is a result of the traditional social structure together with the centrality of the family as a substitute for the social welfare provisions resulted in a necessity to balance work and family life. As it is also frequently emphasised in the literature, tensions between work and life responsibilities are at the core of gender-related employment puzzles (OECD, 2012b). These tensions are correlated to main factors such as the lack of career consciousness, flexible job opportunities particularly in transition processes (such as when returning from maternity leave to full-time work) and adequate childcare/family benefits as well as reinforcement of paternal involvement in Turkey.

The Turkish Household Labour Force Survey data confirms the discontinuous work patterns of female employees compared to their male counterparts. Looking into the age groups in which women tend to leave the labour market among those who have not looked for a job in the last three months, the most common age women leave their last job remains consistently young over the years. Findings demonstrate that for women who did not attempt to search for a job in the past three months, the highest rate for the age to leave the last job is between 20 and 24 in 1985, remaining the same in 2000. However, for men, it is 40-44 in 1985 and 45-49 in 2000, showing an increasing trend. This research argues that this discontinuity of women's work is exactly why women are positioned in certain jobs that are mostly in the mid-prestige section of the hierarchy elevator, forming an almost

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<sup>7</sup> Talcott Parsons (as a functionalist theorist) argues that solidarity is achieved by individuals' fulfilment of their share of roles and values within society which are internalised via socialization, and that this process also includes the roles of actors in the capitalist system (Berberoğlu, 2005).

compulsory 'comfort zone' for women. Bielby and Baron (1986) argue that women are given access to these certain occupations (as in the case of Turkish women) and this pattern is identified as a part of the description of statistical discrimination. Osipow (1975) adds that certain jobs are male-dominated as a result of employers' expectation that there will be significantly more turnover in women's work lives, the prejudice that women's aspirations for the job market is lower than that of men, and women facing discrimination in jobs requiring geographic mobility. Phelps (1972) indicates that employers who seek to maximise their profit will discriminate against women if they believe they are less reliable, qualified or capable of continuous service than men and if the cost of gaining information on candidates is excessive, which is mostly the case if the impossibility of measuring potential discontinuity for individuals is taken into account. Yip and Wong (2014) focus on the impact of aggregate fertility on the statistical discrimination women encounter and indicate that while women and men bring the same level of value to a firm, the fact that women are paid during their maternity leave decreases the profit they provide to the employer which causes them to be paid less overall (this is found to be stronger in female-dominated jobs) and thus to be statistically discriminated. Iversen and McCall Rosenbluth (2011) state that although reducing working hours seems to provide women a ground to compete with men in the labour market, it actually is a source of statistical discrimination in terms of its relation to discontinuity due to family responsibilities being a reasoning for employers to exclude women from leadership positions. Reskin and Hartmann (1986) indicate that while women and men are attributed different levels of prestige within the same occupations, even in the hiring processes women are excluded based on the assumption that they will be less productive, statistical discrimination serving as 'a cheap screening device'. As stated by Fang and Moro (2011), theories that derive from Arrow's arguments (1973) (which constitute the basis of the statistical discrimination theory

together with Phelps' (1972) approach) depend on unobserved human capital rather than observable human capital such as educational level. This argument is consistent with the fact that highly educated women are excluded from the labour market as they are not employed in jobs that are compatible with their qualifications despite their observable human capital, as a result of their expected discontinuity. Therefore, even when their educational qualifications, previous achievements and dedication to their training in the past are visible to employers, unobservable human capital such as the rationalised prejudices of employers regarding women's priorities become a barrier for their work. In light of social norms and previous experiences, male employees are considered 'safe' to hire, as their risk of discontinuity is lower than that of women in the statistical view of employers. Therefore, employers are not willing to take the risk of investing in women's on-the-job training or hiring them for top jobs, which means that women's qualifications are hidden behind this so-called rational prejudice that women will not be continuously present at work, which in turn prevents women from making their own rational choice to decide to work in such jobs.

The lack of women's participation in top-level male occupations is particularly problematic as it exacerbates occupational gender inequality in terms of wage, occupational status and prospective career building, as well as entailing that human capital goes to waste. Thus, this chapter is mainly interested in the patterns of women's exclusion from these areas and at what stage things go wrong. Therefore, it will analyse Turkish women's position in university majors and job groups as they are conceptualised by the International Labour Organization (ILO), using preliminary descriptive results based on different parameters and presenting comparisons to other OECD countries where possible.

It is crucial to show the main patterns of the Turkish labour market before a more detailed analysis of women's exclusion from certain occupations and prestige levels is presented in the next chapter. This part of the thesis also aims to provide a basis for future comparative research by providing descriptive analysis of gender dynamics in the Turkish labour market in comparison with other OECD countries.

The first section of this chapter presents the hierarchy elevator that elaborates the distribution of female and male labour market participation in gendered occupations in a hierarchical pattern. The second section examines the traditionally female- and male-subject attainment of Turkish women overall and in comparison to their OECD counterparts as Turkish women are in a surprisingly good position among other OECD countries when female students' share in traditionally male subjects such as computer science and engineering is considered.

There is an expected positive relationship between educational attainment and labour market participation on the part of women. However, the increasing higher educational attainment of Turkish women and their improving participation levels in traditionally male subjects are not reflected in the labour market; they are concentrated in certain jobs and excluded from most of the male-dominated occupations as mentioned before. Thus, before presenting Turkish women's gender-specific participation in the labour market, their position in the educational sphere is evaluated so as to determine where the segregation begins, how the enrolment and success rates are distributed between genders in university education, where there is no possibility for statistical discrimination in the entry process and when family responsibilities have not started for women to a large extent. In the third

section of this chapter, Turkish women's concentration in job groups is discussed to show the degree of female or male concentration in particular occupations. In other words, following the concepts used in the international literature, this section will assess the 'feminisation' and 'masculinisation' of professions in Turkey, to what extent the labour market is gendered, and the share of women and men in different occupational categories in order to present the degree of women's exclusion from male occupations. Fourthly, the reason for not looking for a job (which is by and large due to being a housewife, referring to the impact of marriage) and maternal employment rates in OECD countries are also demonstrated so as to discuss where Turkey stands in supporting married women's and mothers' employment among its OECD counterparts. Finally, women's position in similar countries to Turkey in terms of women's position in the work and family life are evaluated in order to elaborate the common ground female employment is based on in these countries, as well as to see in more detail what makes them similar to each other.

Before continuing with the next section, the issue of the time difference between the data sets of these two chapters will be clarified briefly. Second, it will be explained how the transition from the educational to occupational sphere occurs in the Census data of 1985 and 2000, which will be used in Chapter 5. In this chapter, due to the variables needed for relevant analysis, the Turkish Household Labour Force Surveys of 1988 to 2008 are used, while for the same reason Chapter 5 analyses Census data from 1985 and 2000. As the earliest educational data is available for 2000 in this research, the transition into the labour market is obviously not reflected for 1985 and 2000 in the following chapter. There is not really an incompatibility issue between the two data sets for the years of Census data and HLFS data, as they overlap considerably and each individual year presents the horizontal

segregation patterns for itself. However, for educational data, the presentation of descriptive results for 2000 and 2004 correspond to the horizontal segregation in 2004 and 2008 for this chapter; while the following chapter requires correspondence from the 1970s for 1985 and further years to see the impact of education filtering through, as well as the previous state of women in the gendered jobs. The 1970s data is not enclosed in this research but reference is made to literature as well as Turkish Statistical Institute report on Turkish women in society since 1920s that help to explain the gap created by the data. To discuss how women's attainment from 2000 to 2008, that will be demonstrated in the following section, is reflected in the labour market, descriptive results on women's work in 2012 will be presented in the following chapter.

The book 'Women in Turkish Society' (Abadan-Unat, 1979) and the research included in this book presents an extended analysis of the 1970s regarding women's educational attainment and employment from various aspects. Kazgan (1979) indicates that in the 1970s, agriculture, some of the service jobs and mild manufacturing industry work (such as textile/weaving, tobacco production, food industry, packaging in chemistry industry, etc.) are female jobs while the majority of women work in agriculture (while in 1970s there was still a high level of internal migration) and the tobacco industry, which was a heavily female area then; they are the least represented in mining, heavy industries (automotive industry, machinery industry etc.) and service jobs that require 'close contact' with men such as security service workers and waiters. Özbay (1979) demonstrates that the age of first marriage increases with the increasing education (p. 205), and in 1975, 70% of highly educated women were in non-agricultural work, although only 1.9% of working women were highly educated (p. 187), girls with a medium level of educational usually

attend girls' art schools or institutes where they are taught to be successful homemakers rather than how to contribute directly to the economy (Özbay, 1979). According to the 1975 Census data, women in vocational education are mostly primary school teachers, nurses and midwives, while highly educated women work in professional jobs, a majority of highly educated women are in areas that are associated with literature and law education rather than science and medicine, and regardless of educational background they are underrepresented in trade, non-manufacturing industry, and the high-prestige managerial jobs, referring to the hierarchy elevator, as derived from the 1976 data received from the State Institute of Statistics (Özbay, 1979). Turkish Statistical Institute (1995) also report that in 1970 only 0.06% of women were highly educated and among highly educated people, women's share was 18.5%. The report goes on to demonstrate that the mean age of first marriage for women is as young as 19.87 years old while in 1975, 78.1% of women are not in paid work due to being housewives, and 41.2% and 47.4% of women in total female population were housewives in 1975 and 1985 respectively. There is a gradual and sharp decline of female employment over the years which was 72% in 1955, 50.2% in 1970 and 43.7% in 1985 as female ratio has dropped from 43.1% in 1955 to 36.1% in 1980. In addition, in 1970, 2.4% of women were in professional, scientific and technical jobs which was 0.08% for managerial jobs, 88.6% for agriculture and 1.2% for sales and service jobs. Last but not least, 82.9% of women in 1970 were unpaid family workers (TurkStat, 1995)<sup>8</sup> which is 84.4% in 1985 and 68.6% in 2000 (TurkStat, HLFS, 1985 and 2000). We could see that from 1950s on, women's overall labour market participation started to drop constantly and gradually parallel to their decreasing employment rates in

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<sup>8</sup> TurkStat, 1995. Information taken from TurkStat on women's status in society from 1950s to 1980s could be found in the report at <http://kutuphane.tuik.gov.tr/pdf/0013622.pdf>

agriculture that is compatible with the internal migration patterns in Turkey that started to be prominent in 1960s and continued with the second wave which began in 1980s as stated in Chapter 1.

In the 1970s, the hierarchy pattern in the labour market is similar to the 1980s to the 2000s, with women being excluded from the top jobs (managerial occupations) and low-prestige jobs (heavy industry and service jobs such as waitresses and protective services).

Professional jobs of medium-prestige were, even then, women's dominant areas. Looking into women's attainment and graduation success in male subjects by 2000 and beyond, there is obviously a leap in three decades. We could say that, by 2000, there are positive changes in women's work in that two highly prestigious occupations have become female areas and women have also started to expand their participation in the low-prestige service jobs (presumably due to economic hardship, as in the aforementioned case of Mexican women). However, their participation in these areas, particularly for highly educated women in the top-prestige jobs, is still much lower than expected and the less gendered nature of higher education is still not reflected in the labour market for male jobs.

Although, as seen in the literature and according to the results of this study, the patterns of women's position in the private sphere in terms of their unchanging domestic roles are very similar in the 1970s and 2000s, it could be argued that women's position in the male areas of the educational sphere has improved remarkably. While in 2000, still only nine per cent of women in working age are highly educated (TurkStat, Census data, 2000), their proportion in most of the male subjects exceeds that of the many of their OECD counterparts by 2008 (OECD, 2010). As mentioned above, from 1970s to 2000, the entrance of Turkish women into the overall higher education got to a point where two of

the highly prestigious jobs became female in the labour market in 2000. Turkish women are still not adequately represented in male jobs and prestigious male jobs even when they are highly educated, thus the positive impact of increasing education could be considered as slowly processing for the labour market. Thus, the reflections of women's success in 2000s in male subjects are anticipated to be reflected in the labour market is still to come, presumably slowly, if only the insistent major problem of Turkish women's heavy domestic responsibilities will be prioritised in the social policy realm. In other words, it could be seen that the positive reflection of education in the labour market does not correspond as promptly as expected for Turkish women since their aspirations lodge in between educational and occupational spheres as a result of the coinciding start of married life and employment, the former being the main barrier to women's work particularly in prestigious jobs. Despite the resembling patterns of domestic division of labour in 1970s and 2000s that Turkish women's roles are associated with care-related work both in and out of the private sphere, change over time could also be observed as will be presented further in this study.

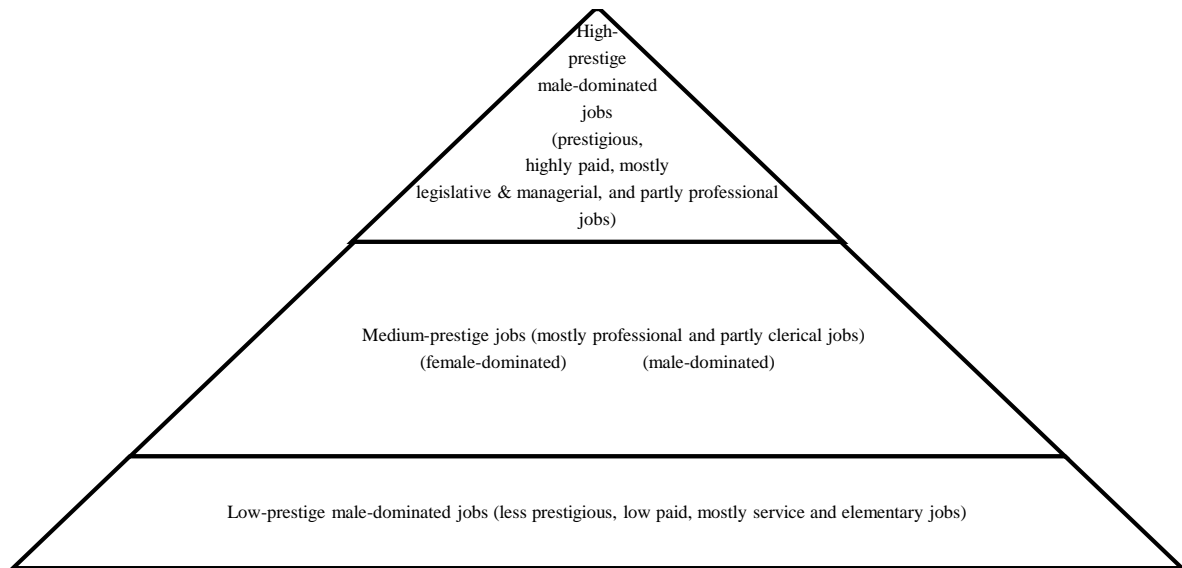
## **4.2. The hierarchy elevator**

This research argues that there are three different layers of 'genderedness' in the Turkish labour market. The hierarchy elevator presents how the distribution of women and men is organised in detail as seen in Figure 6. At the bottom layer, there are the low-prestige, low-paid (mostly) male-dominated jobs. These are referred to as mainly male jobs due to the traditional structure of Turkish society since they have long and unpredictable working hours and conditions. They are generally elementary jobs, agricultural work and low-prestige jobs in the service sector. Secondly, there is the middle layer, which is further

divided into male (jobs with 50.01% and over male employees in Turkish context) and female professions (jobs with 50.01% and over female employees for Turkey) and which is also the most crowded section of the hierarchy elevator. These are mainly mid-prestige professional and clerical jobs in which women and men are largely separated according to the gender-related characteristics of the occupation and this category also includes supervisors/managers/owners in other job categories including sales and agriculture. The third and 'top' layer refers to prestigious jobs which are mostly male-dominated and are competitive and well-paid, require a high level of dedication and mostly exclude women due to the prejudice regarding the disruption of their work. These are managerial jobs, senior official positions and high-end professional jobs in general. While women are majorly concentrated in the female sections of the middle-prestige layer, there is also segregation in the top layer that the minority of women achieve to be in this category are mostly represented in the limited number of prestigious female jobs (mostly emerged by 2000) and as well as in the low-prestige layer that women do traditionally female work. Ecevit (1989-1990) indicates that in 1980s the (formal) industrial sector accommodated a low rate of women who were mostly in traditionally female sub-categories of manufacturing industry such as textiles, tobacco, and food and beverages. Regarding the latter, Ecevit (1989-1990) adds that this is a part of the traditional gender roles assigned to Turkish women. For the service sector, as will be seen in the following sections, women are concentrated in the traditional sections of this sector such as maids and cleaners, and although women have increased their attainment in service jobs from 7.5% in 1980 to 17.4% in 2000, their participation was still limited in these occupations by 2000. Bielby and Baron (1986) argue that if jobs are almost perfectly segregated by sex, hierarchy ladders are likely to be segregated as well which is the case for the hierarchy pattern in the Turkish labour market that women are mainly not members of the top-ranked professions

and male jobs of all levels. They further indicate that men and women perform different duties on different levels and men monopolise the specialised jobs with more complex tasks that require on-the-job training as employers expect them to be continuous workers.

**Figure 6. Turkish occupational gender hierarchy “elevator”**



*Author's figure.*

As mentioned, women who are educated to a low level are expected to be employed in the bottom layer of the Turkish occupational hierarchy ladder, yet they are excluded from this area. As the agricultural sector is expected to be highly female but persists in the form of unpaid family work, the only representation of women in this layer is in this job category together with “maids and related housekeeping service workers not elsewhere classified” who work with the female of the house under relatively more conventional conditions. Highly educated women’s (who are still a relatively small yet growing group in Turkey) labour market participation is divided between the middle layer and a very limited part of the highest layer. This research argues that in the bottom level of the hierarchy elevator, the

type of discrimination is different than in the top level. In the former, there is traditional discrimination while in the latter, statistical discrimination takes place. In other words, women are excluded from the low-prestige occupations only because these are not traditionally appropriate for them and are simply 'men's work'. On the contrary, for the top-prestige occupations, employers hire based on their own rational decisions and previous experiences, real or expected statistical distinctions or empirically assessed risk and productivity rather than by prejudice, irrational taste or unfounded stereotypes that are related to group interests (Baumle and Fossett, 2005; Dickinson and Oaxaca, 2009). Indeed, employers' rational choices to hire men for top-ranked jobs based on women's expected discontinuity at work nearly abolishes women's own potential rational actions in the labour market in spite of their gained human capital.

So far, this research has indicated that Turkish women have been excluded from the low-prestige level of the hierarchy elevator due to tradition and from the top-prestige occupations based on their discontinuity triggered by the imbalanced domestic division of labour. Regarding the latter, employers' previous experiences on female workers have shown them at one point in women's life stages, there will be career breaks and as the top level jobs require continuity and prestigious jobs mostly come with on-the-job training necessities, employers are rationally unwilling to hire women for these high-end jobs.

Table 3 shows Turkish women's level of discontinuity over the years using a pseudo-panel pattern in top five prestigious occupations: accountants, managers, legislative officers and government administrators, physical scientists and jurists. Women between the ages of 25-34 are expected to finish higher education if they have attended, so taking mainly this age group and above, it could be seen that the increase slows down after the age of 34 and

particularly after the age of 45. In addition, women's attainment in prestigious occupations for the same cohort (from 1985 to 2000) decreases. As having a career in high-prestige jobs requires long years of dedication, this decrease refers to a discontinuity for women to be in top positions of highly ranked jobs as expected. The results also support the fact that unlike Jacobs (1989) argues, in his terms; the revolving doors are not working for women in Turkey as results does not show to any fluctuations regarding women's attainment in male jobs overall and in prestigious ones throughout the life course but to an inversed U-shape that refers to an increase until a certain age and decrease afterwards, which is expected to be impeded by the domestic burden of Turkish women.

**Table 3: Turkish women's position in top 5 prestigious jobs according to age groups (%)**

	1985	2000
<b>15-24</b>	4.2	5.3
<b>25-34</b>	32.4	29.2
<b>35-44</b>	35.2	35.1
<b>45-54</b>	18.6	22.0
<b>55-64</b>	8.1	6.7
<b>Total</b>	100.0	100.0

*Data Source: Turkish Census data, 1985, 2000 (Turkish Statistical Institute). Author's tabulation.*

Although in times of economic crises, gender-specific jobs are considered as shelters for women (OECD, 2002), being trapped in these occupations is a negative pattern as these are relatively lower paid and are low- to mid-prestige occupations compared to the top-level male jobs, with only few opportunities for a career and a concomitant effect on women's status in the family and society (England and Li, 2006; OECD, 2002; Coré, 1999). As occupations in the middle section of the hierarchy elevator have a certain degree of prestige depending on the profession itself, there is more to the differences between the top-prestige and middle-prestige jobs than the position of them in the hierarchy ladder. The

former requires continuity, years of dedication and a high level of rivalry, in return, it offers more promotion and ‘career’ opportunities as well as higher wages (government officials, managers, jurists) while the latter absorbs career breaks, women have a lower likelihood to improve their job prospects and are mostly (but not necessarily) paid less compared to the top-ranked jobs. The Turkish women who are in mid-prestige or high-prestige male jobs are expected to possess professional jobs which they aim to arrange in accordance with their domestic responsibilities and which are expected to provide more flexible options that could largely be found in self-employment. As these jobs also require a certain level of educational attainment, that brings us to the importance of higher education as a requirement for these jobs.

### **4.3 Horizontal segregation: From university to work**

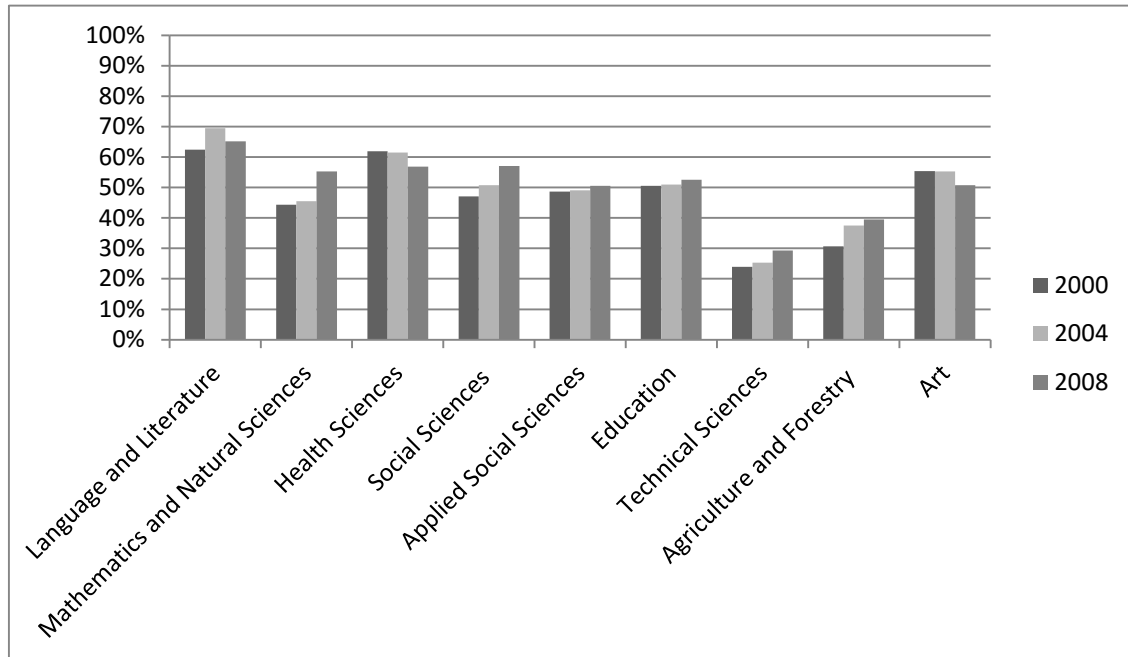
Educational level is a substantial determinant of women’s occupational status, and the university field as the source of a professional education prepares students for their subsequent careers. Therefore, it can be expected that there is a certain level of consistency between students’ subjects and the occupations they enter as an outcome. In other words, in order to attain the high-prestige male jobs, education is a necessary medium and is expected to be specifically in a related traditionally male subject. However, the OECD Deputy Secretary claims that the number of female students enrolled in science majors is not reflected in the labour market (OECD, 2006), which is very much the case for Turkey. Thus, before women’s position in job categories (ISCO 68-88) is evaluated, this section will discuss Turkish female and male students’ attainment rates in their majors in comparison to other OECD countries.

Theoretically, investigating women's university education is significant as it clearly presents the paradoxical pattern of the lack of transition from education to work. Moreover, educational attainment is the distinguisher for attaining high-ranked, top level jobs with specialised skills, which is why the female and male educational attainments need to be studied. Education as in pre-job and on-the-job training also plays a key role in terms of their relation to the occupational prestige as mentioned previously. To put it differently, while mid-prestige occupations usually require pre-job training also university education and/or training of any sort before attaining the labour market (as in stenographers, broadcasting or computing machine workers etc.), high-prestige occupations strictly require pre-job training as well as mostly on-the-job training (as in medical and dental jobs, managers, governmental officers and alike, which are also promising in terms of upward mobility) that is necessary for further career improvement and for which employers are unwilling to invest in female workers considering their expected career breaks and discontinuities at work. It is significant to investigate the relationship between education and employment also in order to see what obstacles emerge when women enter the labour market, which were not there when they attain the male subjects in university. This research argues that the missing piece of this 'puzzle' is marriage which burdens women with new responsibilities and social expectations and is the first step before motherhood to have a family-related career break. Indeed, results show that highly educated women do not marry at young ages, thus responsibilities that come with marriage are not expected to influence their (higher) educational attainment overall or in a specific subject. Among women who marry between the ages of 25-29 (when they are expected to already be graduated from university) for the first time, 37% are married (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2011). Therefore, we could argue that highly educated women tend to marry later than women with lower educational qualifications, which

shows that family-related responsibilities are not influential when they are in university but are involved when they are ready to be a part of the labour market.

Figure 7 illustrates the proportions of female students enrolled in main subject areas using data obtained from OSYM statistics (OSYM, 2000, 2004, 2008). Considering the subjective labels attributed to certain subjects, female majors could be grouped as language and literature, social sciences and some majors within applied social sciences and art, whereas traditionally male subjects would be mainly the mathematical and natural sciences, some branches of health sciences (considering that this area includes doctors, nurses and midwives), technical sciences, and agriculture and forestry. Nonetheless, the figure below shows that female students are represented in all subjects at a reasonable level and the picture is not as gendered as would be expected for the labour market. Also, although female students are mainly enrolled in language and literature majors, they have increased their share in traditionally male subjects like mathematics and natural sciences as well as technical sciences. It should be remembered that it takes some time for changes in the educational sphere to filter through the labour market. However, as the participation of women in jobs groups will be presented for 2008 as well, results of 2000 and 2004 for educational attainment would be expected to be mirrored in the labour market, and further in this chapter details of women's employment in 2012 will be discussed to elaborate the reflection of women's higher educational attainment in the job market.

Figure 7: Proportion of female student admissions in main subject areas (OSYM, 2000, 2004, 2008) (%)

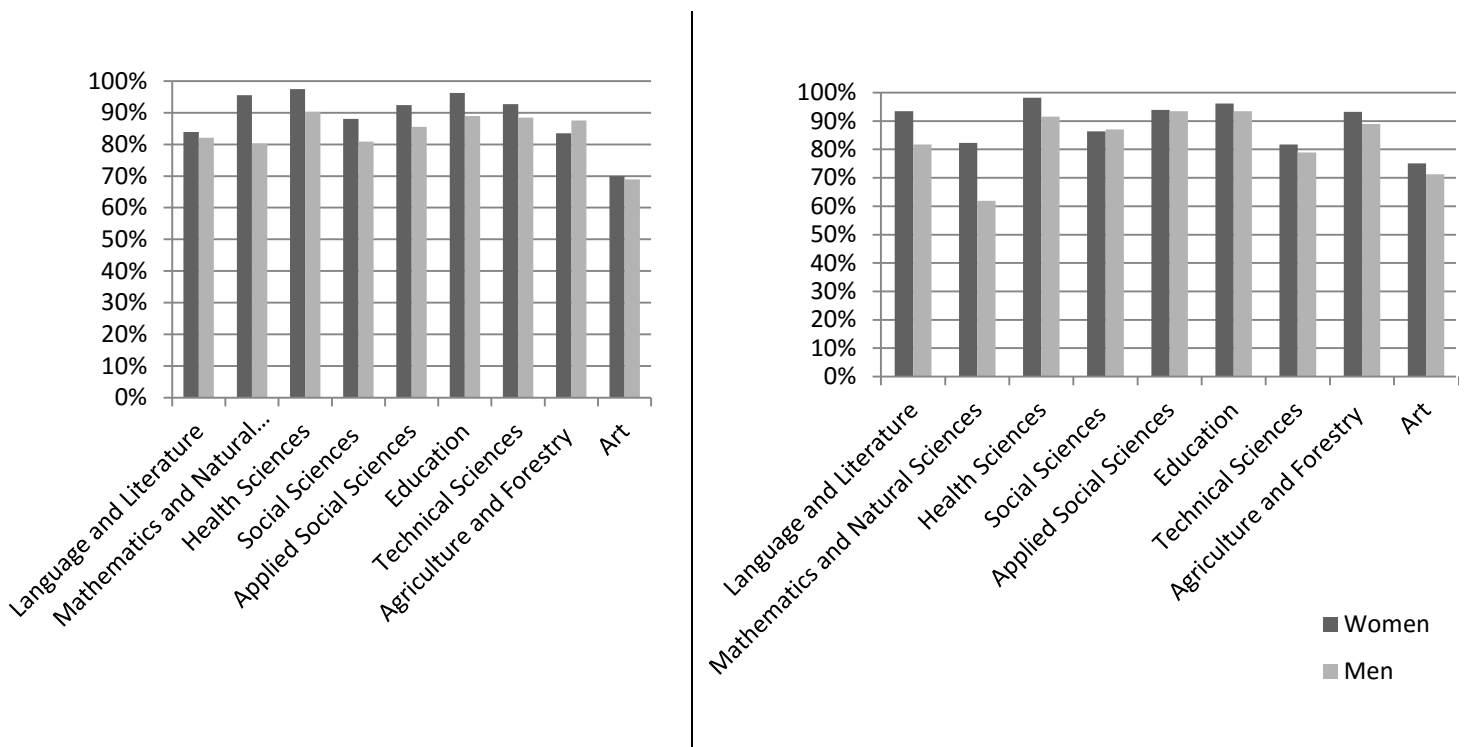


Data Source: Information taken from OSYM website, 2000, 2004, 2008. Author's figure.

In the literature, there are arguments stating that women's underrepresentation in male occupations is related to their tendency to prefer majors that are attached to less well paid and less prestigious jobs in the labour market (OECD, 2002; England, 1979). Jonsson (1999) suggests that women rationally choose their fields according to their life plans, which involve domestic responsibilities, rather than lack of ability (particularly in mathematics-related majors) being an explanation. Jonsson (1999) also argues that female students choose majors that will provide them the maximum interest in their future lives as mothers and wives. However, results on Turkish women's higher educational attainment so far has shown that arguments that women and men attach different notions towards work is not always the key explanation as even in a traditional society like Turkey, the male subject attainments of female students are above the average of OECD, so it is not they attach themselves towards traditional notions (OECD, 2002) but traditions and society do associate women's place with the household, which employers support by statistically

discriminating them particularly in top-ranked jobs. We could also see that women have increased their attainment in some of the majors to 50% and over. Thus, from 2000 to 2008, mathematics and natural sciences, social sciences and applied social sciences majors have become female-dominated. As by 2000, “life scientists” (according to ISCO 68) as one of the occupational groups with high-prestige became female-dominated, the increasing female enrolment in mathematics and natural sciences is predictable in retrospect considering this change.

**Figure 8: Percentages of all female and male students graduated successfully (OSYM, 2004 (left)-2008 (right)) (%)**

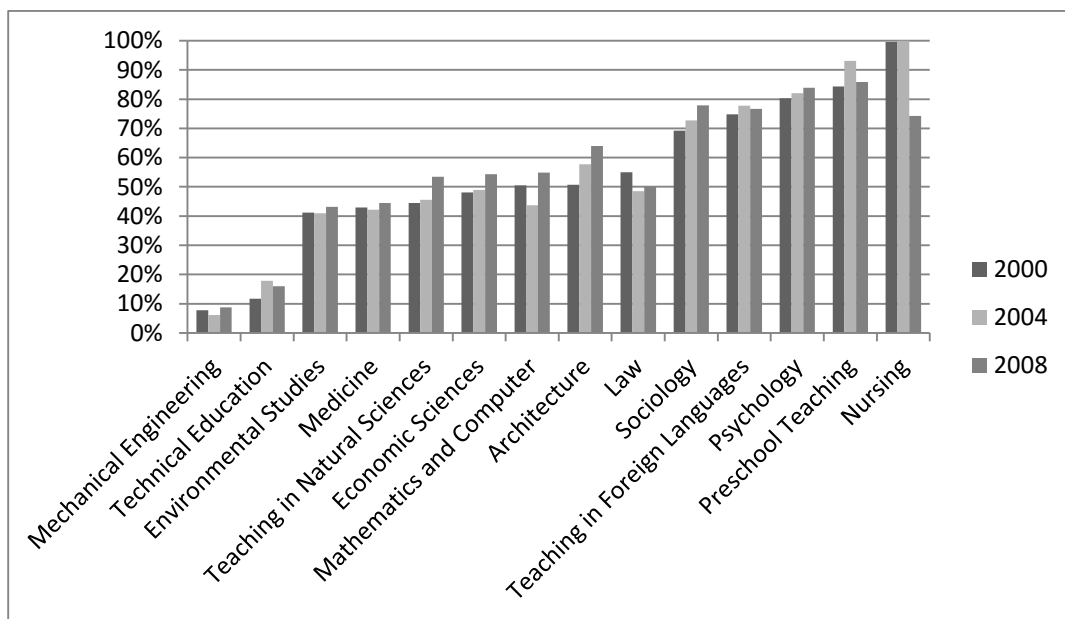


Data Source: Information taken from OSYM website, 2004, 2008. Author's figure.

Female students are not only enrolled in all subjects at a reasonable level but their average success rates are higher than those of men. Above are the graduation rates of female and male students in 2004 and 2008. In Turkey, university education is four years long and thus correspondently to the Figure 7, Figure 8 presents the percentage rate of all female

students graduated successfully (except certain jobs such as the health sciences, which include ‘medicine’ that requires a 6-year Bachelor’s degree). As Figure 8 shows, both in 2004 and 2008 at least 70% of all female students who enrolled in university have graduated and in both years, female students’ graduation rates (except for agriculture and forestry in 2004) are higher than their male counterparts.

**Figure 9: Female students’ participation rates in detailed subject areas (OSYM, 2000, 2004, 2008) (%)**



*Data Source: Information taken from OSYM website, 2000, 2004, 2008. Author’s figure.*

As can be seen in Figure 9, the mechanical engineering and technical education majors are heavily male, with environmental studies and medicine being male-dominated despite women being fairly well represented. The natural sciences, economic sciences, mathematics and computer sciences became female-dominated in 2008; architecture and law (except in 2004 for the latter) are relatively female fields as well. It could be seen that sociology, foreign languages, psychology, pre-school teaching and nursing are heavily

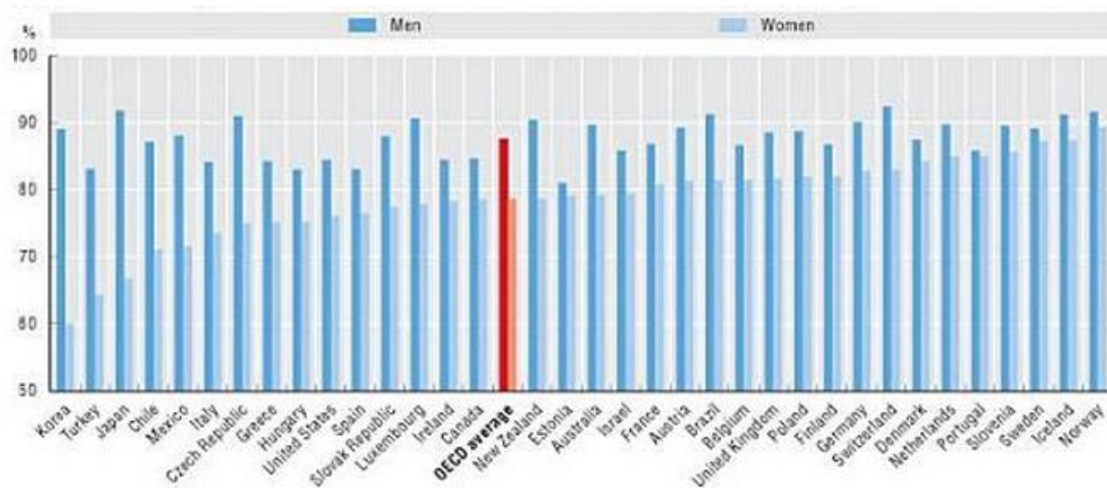
female-dominated majors. However, traditionally female subjects such as pre-school teaching and especially nursing, which are seen as a continuation of women's nurturing role in the domestic sphere, have recently started to incorporate more male students. Mathematics provides the basic qualifications for engineering and other technical sciences and female students' attainment level in this major affirms that talent in certain subjects is not a particular reason for women to be underrepresented in technical sciences. Based on the results seen so far, it could be suggested that the lack of human capital is not a primary explanation for women's exclusion from top-ranked male jobs in terms of their increasing university education as well as this picture implies that the barriers on the way to prestigious male jobs start building up after the stage of schooling. In terms of change over time, between 2000 and 2008, teaching in natural sciences, economic sciences, and mathematics and computer sciences have become female-dominated with 50% and over female population. While these majors are mathematics-related, they are also traditionally considered to be male areas, creating an expectation that this transition will be reflected in the labour market.

Research on OECD countries also shows that Turkish female students are represented at decent levels in male-dominated subjects, also their share in these majors is at satisfying levels compared to women in many other OECD countries (see Appendix 4.1). Turkish women have the third highest rate in the proportion of women to men in mathematics and computer science majors in 2008 and are in between Greece and Mexico in the figure, which share similar female employment patterns to Turkey as will be discussed further in this chapter. In addition, in the engineering, manufacturing and construction majors, Turkish women's proportion is higher than the OECD average in 2008. However, there are

two surprising results: Turkish women's proportion in humanities, arts and education, which are heavily female, is in the lowest five among the OECD countries. Also, even though female students enroll in medicine at decent levels in Turkey, the proportion of women to men is lower than the OECD average.

Figure 10 shows that Turkey has the second lowest female employment rate for highly educated women. Employment levels of highly educated female employees in Chile, Mexico, Italy and Greece, which have similar female employment patterns to Turkey, are lower than the OECD average as well. This picture implies that there are many women outside the labour market who are potential employees in prestigious (male) occupations. As mentioned throughout the chapter, educational level is expected to have outcomes in the labour market for both women and men. It is also frequently emphasised in the literature that higher education is expected to provide a higher variety of opportunities and more interesting and better jobs for women (Yıldırım and Doğrul, 2008; Yamak et al., 2012; Zella, 2010; Cohen and Bianchi, 1999; İnce and Demir, 2006, Palaz, 1999). However, due to the traditional values attributed to married women's and mothers' roles, their employment rates are low even when they are highly qualified. İnce and Demir (2006) suggest that, due to their lack of educational attainment, Turkish women are not adequately represented in the labour market. However, results show that not an expected proportion of highly qualified women are in paid work, which will be analysed using Heckman correction model in the next chapter.

**Figure 10: Employment rate (25-64) of individuals with university education by gender in 2010 (OECD, 2012c)**  
(%)



Source: OECD, *Education at a Glance*, 2012.

Highly educated women's employment patterns are similar to Turkey in South Korea and Japan, which the literature associates with the traditional expectations attributed to women's roles in these countries. This resemblance with Japan also arises from the resemblance between the Japanese/Oriental welfare regime and Mediterranean welfare regimes (Esping-Andersen, 1996) as the above figure shows. The lowest employment rate for highly educated women is observed in Korea as seen in Figure 10. As stated by Kong (1997), married women face a severe conflict between realising their career prospects and taking care of their families in Korea similar to women in Turkey, and they lack power in the labour market due to exclusion from professional, and managerial and administrative jobs (their representation being dramatically low in the latter). Japan is also among the three countries with lowest employment for highly educated women as seen in the above figure. While Yun-Suk and Ki-Soo (2005) find that Japanese women and men have more liberal attitudes towards married women's work than Korean women and men, Brinton (2001) emphasises that Japanese and South Korean cultures share a common Confucian background and a patriarchal social system, although there is a high level of educational

attainment and successful competition of women with men for high-prestige universities in Japan as stated by Kariya and Dore (2006). Also, Lee (2008) indicates that despite all the hardship they face, Korean women's job satisfaction is higher than their male counterparts and that this shows the importance of work in women's lives in terms of life quality and self-perception. However, Korean women are exclusively guided towards taking leave after childbirth legally, socially and financially instead of being encouraged for a neutral childcare arrangement (Lee, 2009), they are expected to concentrate in domestic work and OECD comparisons also show that gender wage gap in full-time employment is the highest in these countries (Blades and Pearson, 2006). Furthermore, there is a remarkable level of horizontal segregation in both countries; women are overrepresented in non-manual sectors such as clerical, sales and service jobs as men are mostly in manual jobs, while women in both countries are underrepresented in managerial and manual sectors (Lee, 2012) and in the top and bottom-ranked prestige male occupations, showing a similar exclusion pattern as displayed in the hierarchy elevator. Kariya and Dore (2006) also affirm that Japanese women are excluded from the top male jobs (managerial occupations) although they increasingly participate in professional jobs (even though this is mainly in female jobs such as school teachers and social workers in particular). As stated in Roberts' review (2005) of Brinton's book (2001), Brinton and Sunhwa Lee (2001) evaluate the question of why there is a mismatch between human capital and occupational attainment in Korea and Japan, which is the same situation as it has been seen in Turkey, and they identify three main explanatory points as in the extent of sexual discrimination in the labour market, the state's response to society's demand for higher education, and the cultural demand for education.

As seen, highly educated women's employment is as problematic as it is for low educated, unqualified women. There are two prevailing arguments regarding highly educated women's employment. One of them suggests that women who attain higher education are less likely to leave the labour market for family-related reasons since there is a higher opportunity cost to them (OECD, 2012b). The other argument suggests that highly educated women could leave the job market when they have to compared to women in families with lower incomes, as they are expected to marry a highly educated and thus better paid husband (Ermiş, 2009) which is related to the argument that when there are no economic problems, women tend to withdraw from the labour market (Ercan et al., 2010; Yıldırım and Doğrul, 2008). However, for both approaches, all other circumstances should be stable; when there is no adequate childcare support and all the home-based responsibilities are on the shoulders of women (for both lower and higher levels of education who have similar experiences in the private sphere), being highly educated may not have its expected positive impact on women's work as in the Turkish case.

As stated in the literature review, there are also differences between the inequalities in the educational sphere and labour markets. Of course, there are still barriers affecting female students' ability to access higher education in Turkey. However, these are increasingly being overcome and more students are participating in higher education, with a significant proportion of many majors being female-dominated. That said, when labour market participation is discussed, other means come into play which influence women's work even when they are highly educated, including employers' attitudes and the opportunity structure as well as the uneven domestic division of labour as a result of the traditional notions attached to women's roles, which will be discussed in following sections.

## 4.4 Horizontal segregation in the labour market

This part of the chapter will examine the horizontal gender segregation patterns in the Turkish labour market, in terms of women's uneven concentration in ISCO 68-88 jobs. In low-prestige male jobs, women are represented mostly in agricultural work as unpaid family workers since many of the low-paying service jobs are not appropriate for married women in terms of their role and position in the society. In OECD countries, overall, there is still a horizontally segregated environment, and the exclusion of women from male-dominated jobs is prevalent enough that we can meaningfully talk of male and female jobs in OECD countries (Coré, 1999). In an OECD report (2012b), it is indicated that clerical, sales and life science/health sector jobs are female-dominated (including nurses as well as doctors), whereas women are excluded from managerial, high-end administrative, and manual and production jobs. This is similar to the situation we see in Turkey. Although there are more egalitarian labour markets as well as severely segregated ones within OECD countries, Turkey fits well into the segregated labour market category. In the Turkish case, as women are represented in the labour market overall at a very low rate, women who are in the labour market are trapped in mid-prestige female jobs. The question at this point is what happens in the transition from educational sphere to the labour market.

To be able to investigate this question, this part will discuss women's share and proportion in the main occupational categories organised according to the combination of ILO categories: ISCO 68 and ISCO88. Firstly, women's proportional representation in the relevant job categories will be examined, followed by women's share in these jobs. Next, jobs that accommodate the lowest and highest numbers of females will be discussed. This chapter will then examine the relationship between women's concentration in job groups

in light of the parameters that affect their employment patterns the most: educational level, being married and flexible employment opportunities especially in relatively more prestigious jobs in the cases they need to work flexibly such as returning from maternity leave to full-time work or when family-related emergencies occur. Thus, after the number of occupations accounting for half of women's and men's total employment in OECD countries is presented, Turkish women's share in job categories for highly educated women who are expected to be represented in higher level male job categories, for married women who are expected to work mostly in agricultural work (female low rank) or professional jobs (female mid-prestige jobs) according to educational level, and for part-time working women will be examined.

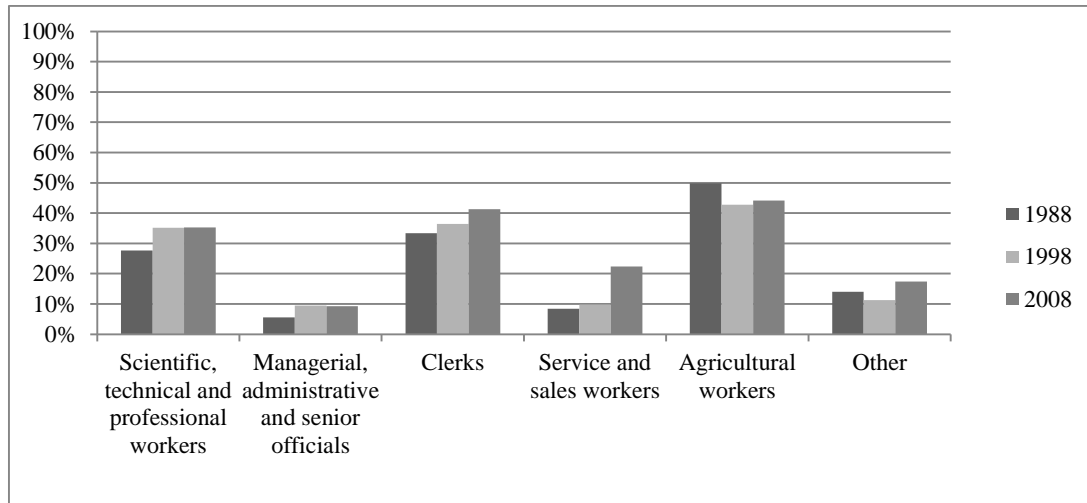
The expectation that women should be the main caregiver largely refer to part-time or interrupted work patterns instead of full-time careers, the former being predominantly associated with sex-segregated jobs (in the case of interest to this research, mid-prestige female jobs). Crompton (1999) points out that women prioritise the necessary arrangements to balance household and work life rather than focusing on their careers when they face the double burden. As women are believed to be the ideal and sole carer for children, this is also the major reason for their discontinuous work histories (Crompton and Sanderson, 1990, p. 36), which in turn is not ideal in regard to women taking on male jobs, particularly the ones at the top of the hierarchy elevator. To illustrate this fact, the literature demonstrates that female doctors prefer to remain as practitioners so as to be able to take care of their household and children (Crompton, 1999) and thus do not aim for further career improvement. In pharmacy, although it has become a neutral and almost a female job over the decades, women make career choices that are again a match for their

domestic responsibilities. Although it is not the whole story, flexible work arrangements are a substantial motivation for women to choose this profession (Crompton and Sanderson, 1990, p. 78) due to restrictions caused by family formation. Despite the increasing attainment of women in pharmacy in the UK, women still prefer the more flexible jobs within this sector such as hospital pharmacy.

In Figure 11, Turkish women's proportions in major job categories are demonstrated. Although, at first glance, Turkish women seem to have a high share in agricultural work and a low representation in the managerial jobs, the change over the two decades should be carefully analysed. It is a positive employment pattern that Turkish women's proportion to men decreased in only agricultural work (in which they are mostly unpaid workers) and increased in other categories. As women's share in professional and managerial jobs remained stable from 1998 to 2008, women have increased their share in clerical jobs. Although the highest increase is seen in sales and service jobs, which generally accommodate low-prestige, traditionally male jobs, this increase could be attributed to 'new urban women' of 1980s. However, it should be added that this job category is among the jobs with the lowest female proportion, unlike in Britain and many other OECD countries where the service sector has been dominated by women for a long time (Crompton and Sanderson, 1990). Turkish women are mostly excluded from this area for which the terminology 'pink collar' (Howe, 1978) has been used and it has been emphasised that this concept not only refers to female-dominated occupations but also low-paid, low-prestige stereotypically female jobs (Zaidi, 2013) that are characterised as dead-end, non-unionised and labour-intensive as stated by Tang (2014). New and different job options in service sector emerged in the last two decades and provided more part-time

opportunities, which have been fulfilling a great need on the part of women in the labour market in various contexts (Hakim, 1979), although the traditional social structure is a barrier for this to happen in Turkey.

**Figure 11: Women’s share in job categories in 1988, 1998 and 2008 (%)**



*Data Source: Household Labour Force Survey, 1988, 1998, 2008 (Turkish Statistical Institute).  
Author’s tabulation.*

In Turkey, although women increased their participation in this sector, the service sector still remains a heavily male-dominated area. The Census data of 2000 shows that women have a high proportion in particularly “maids and related housekeeping service workers not elsewhere classified” category in the service sector as will be shown in detail further in this study, which means that there is a high rate of women who work under the supervision of the female of the household they are employed at when they are in the low-prestige segment of the job market and this category can also be stereotyped as a female-dominated occupation in accordance with Anker’s (1998) segregation table. This also refers to the traditional structure of Turkish society whereby service sector jobs are seen as inappropriate for women except if they are contained within a domestic context. Clearly then, the overall picture is compatible with the hierarchy elevator: the lowest female

proportion is in highly prestigious male jobs (managerial and senior officials' positions) and low-prestige male jobs (service and sales and other jobs that include craft workers, elementary jobs and plant machine operators and the like).

As much as it is important what women's proportion is compared to their male counterparts in job categories, how they are distributed throughout the labour market is also significant. Female and male jobs are defined according to the proportion of women and men in a job or job category, as was explained in the previous chapter. However, there is another side to this the story, which is working women's share in the job categories shown in the table below. Women have a high (but decreasing) proportion in agricultural work, with 35.4% of agricultural workers being female compared to 76.8% in 1988 and 67.7% in 1998. Twice as many women are represented in professional jobs in 2008 in comparison to 1998, and although this is still a very low rate, more women are in managerial jobs. Also in terms of the distribution of women in non-agricultural occupational attainment of women in 2008 (HLFS, 2008), 24.6% of working women are in "professional jobs" category. There is a substantial increase in the 'other jobs' category, which shows that economic reasons have entailed women taking on relatively lower prestige jobs although women are still represented at a low level in this category as well.

**Table 4: Turkish women's (working age, 15-64) overall participation in the job categories (%)**

	Scientific, technical and professional employees	Managerial, legislative jobs and senior officials	Clerks	Service and sales workers	Agricultural workers	Other	Total
1988	5.7	0.3	5.2	4.4	76.8	7.6	100.0
1998	8.7	0.8	7.2	6.9	67.7	8.4	100.0
2008	16.4	3.0	9.2	9.5	35.4	26.5	100.0

*Data Source: Household Labour Force Survey, 1988, 1998, 2008 (Turkish Statistical Institute).  
Author's tabulation.*

Tables 5 and 6 present the common jobs with the lowest and highest female representation in 1985 and 2000. Table 5 shows us that housekeeping and related service supervisors have the lowest proportion of female workers. As a service job with unpredictable working hours and non-traditional work type, women are not represented in this job at all. “Painters” category is also among the job groups with no female workers, again because this is a traditionally male job as well as a low-prestige and unconventional occupation. ‘Miners, quarrymen, well drillers and related workers’ is one of the riskiest and male-dominated job categories and it is forbidden by law to employ women of any age in jobs requiring work under the ground or sea (Turkish Labour Law (Article 72), The Official Gazette of the Republic of Turkey, 2003, no. 25134), thus women are represented only with a percentage of 0.05 in this category in 1985 and under 1% in 2000. All three jobs in the table are sex-atypical and require physical strength, unpredictable working hours, and traditionally inappropriate working conditions, as well as being culturally masculine and non-traditional. It is thus seen that the lowest levels of female participation are seen in these low-prestige male jobs, which this research attributes to a traditional social structure in which women’s social roles are rigidly determined.

**Table 5: Jobs with the lowest female proportion (%)**

	1985	2000
Housekeeping and related service supervisors	0.0	0.0
Painters	0.0	0.6
Miners, quarrymen, well drillers and related workers	0.0	0.9

*Data Source: Turkish Census data, 1985, 2000 (Turkish Statistical Institute).  
Author’s tabulation.*

The results presented in Table 6 on the jobs that accommodate the highest proportion of females (common highest percentage of female employees in 1985 and 2000) also show a consistent picture with the descriptive analysis presented so far, vividly illustrating the Turkish job hierarchy elevator that the highest representation of Turkish women commonly in 1985 and 2000 is observed in middle-prestige jobs of SIOPS. The “stenographers, typists and card- and tape-punching machine operators” category could seem confusing at first, however, it would be expected that women mostly work as typists in this category. While “computing machine operators” also have a high share of female participation, both jobs could be described as mid-prestige occupations, albeit repetitive and less open to mobility. Women’s share is the highest for the category of “farmers”, and while their share shows an increasing trend between 1985 and 2000, 86.1% of all working women of employment age (15-64) worked as farmers in 1985 and it dropped to 71.4% in 2000. For “stenographers, typists and card- and tape-punching machine operators” and “computing machine operators”, despite their high proportion in this category, women’s overall participation rates are 0.8% and 0.02% in 1985 and 1.5% and 0.4% in 2000, respectively. Farmers represent the most prominent of the female jobs for women in rural areas, while computing machine operators also have a high rate of female participation. There is a striking result in 2000; unlike in 1985, that there are two jobs that are in the highest prestige group which became female occupations. These two jobs are medical occupations<sup>9</sup> and life science jobs, which stand at the bottom of the top-prestige level. As they are professional jobs, this supports the argument that professional occupations

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<sup>9</sup> According to ISCO 68, medical and related jobs include dentists, pharmacists, veterinarians and midwives as well as doctors; yet nurses and midwives are in a different subcategory. (Doctors are in the 0-6 coded submajor group, and nurses and midwives are in the 0-7 submajor group. Also, major groups numbered 0 and 1 belong to “professional, technical and related workers” category).

provide the opportunity to be a part of the top ranked-jobs as for Turkish women they are relatively more open compared to other jobs dominated by men and the boundaries are not as strict in terms of horizontal movement in these occupations compared to upward mobility. Despite the fact that medical jobs include midwives and nurses which are highly female jobs and female doctors tend to concentrate in female branches despite their increase in becoming doctors (Gediz-Gelegen, 2009), it is a slow but remarkable change, showing that Turkish women started to force the closed doors of previously prestigious male jobs in moderation. There is, however, still room for improvement, as only 2.20% of working women are in medical jobs (which includes doctors as well as nurses and other health workers), which is 0.03% for life scientists in 2000.

**Table 6: Jobs with highest female proportion (%)**

	1985	2000
Farmers	53.5	56.9
Stenographers, typists and card- and type-punching machine operators	55.7	70.2
Computing machine operators	60.3	42.7

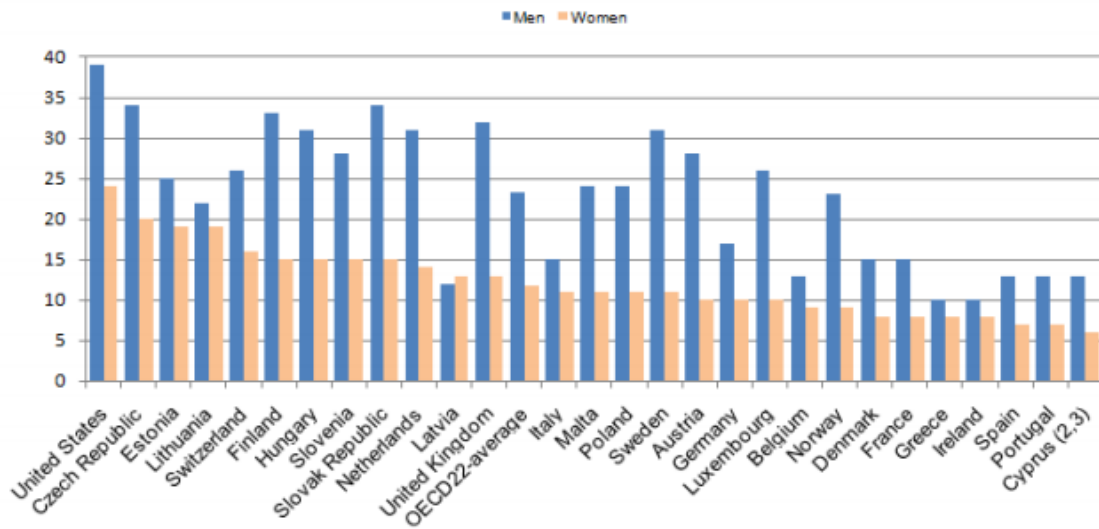
*Data Source: Turkish Census data, 1985, 2000 (Turkish Statistical Institute).  
Author's tabulation.*

Verashchagina and Bettio (2009) present the results derived from Eurostat of 2005 for gendered occupations (p. 31) and the top six jobs with the highest female population in Europe are housekeeping and restaurant service jobs, administrative associate professionals, other office clerks, personal care and related workers, domestic and related helpers, and at most shop salespersons. While housekeeping services are among the most female-dominated jobs across Europe, it is the least female job in Turkey. As this can be explained via the traditional structure of Turkish society that excludes women from these jobs based on conventional discrimination, a minority of Turkish women in service jobs

are in areas that are a continuation of their caring roles which is “maids and related housekeeping service workers not elsewhere classified” (Turkish Statistical Institute, Census data, 1985 and 2000).

Results also show that women are concentrated in a limited number of jobs in OECD countries overall. In 2007, 50% of working women were concentrated in 11 occupations, while the equivalent amount was 23 for male workers among OECD countries (OECD, 2007). Figure 12 shows that Italy and Greece, which resemble Turkey in terms of female employment patterns, are also below the OECD average regarding women’s limited concentration into fewer occupations. The US has the least segregated labour market, whereas Sweden is surprisingly more occupationally segregated even if it is not in terms of overall female employment that is in accordance with the argument that more segregated labour markets accommodate higher rates of female employees (OECD, 2012b), which is not the case for Turkey. Results derived from the Turkish Census show that there are only three occupations in 1985 that accommodated female workers with a percentage of 50.0 and over (TurkStat, Census data, 1985). These are stenographers and related workers, farmers and computing machine operators, while there were 44 heavily male jobs with a male population of 90% and over. In 2000 (TurkStat, Census data, 1985), there were four jobs with a female population of 50% and above (life scientists; medical, dental and veterinary jobs; farmers; and stenographers and related jobs), over 70% of stenographers being female and over; while the number of heavily male-dominated jobs dropped to 36.

Figure 12: Number of occupations accounting for half of total employment (OECD, 2011a)



Source: OECD, Family Database, 2011.

Table 7 demonstrates the share of women in occupational groups to reveal their subsequent occupational position according to educational level. It shows that, as expected, women educated to elementary level and below are employed in agricultural work at a rate of 88.5% and 86.3% in 1988 and 1998, respectively. However, in 2008, the share of women in this group drops to 51.5%, which is expected to be a result of internal migration. This is supported by the fact that women with lower levels of education increased their participation level in the ‘other jobs’ category, which includes elementary jobs, craft workers and plant machine operators. Mid-level educated women (secondary and high school) are concentrated in clerical work throughout the two decades. Presumably due to the lack of employment opportunities, their participation rates in sales and service jobs as well as in the ‘other jobs’ category, which include low-prestige occupations, increased over time. Highly educated women (university and above) are concentrated in professional jobs as expected and despite the slight increase in their attainment in the managerial jobs, they are still predominated in professional jobs, which is the way to be in better paid and

relatively more prestigious jobs corresponding to their training and related human capital considering professional occupations have a fair to relatively high-prestige level. Highly educated women's participation rates decreased in other job categories, and as most of the professional occupations are scattered around the mid-prestige jobs (mostly from the middle section to the higher), this picture is also consistent with the hierarchy elevator. It is a positive pattern that the percentage of highly educated women doubles in managerial jobs in two decades as it shows that these jobs are opening to female employees with higher qualifications, however, as it could also be seen there is still room for quite a lot of improvement as the rate of highly educated women are more than eight times higher in professional jobs by 2008.

**Table 7: Turkish women's attainment in job categories according to educational level (1988, 1998, 2008) (%)**

Educational level	Scientific, technical and professional employees	Managerial, legislative jobs and senior officials	Clerks	Service and sales workers	Agricultural workers	Other	Total
<b>1988</b>							
Low	0.5	0.1	0.5	4.0	88.5	6.4	100.0
Medium	22.4	1.0	43.8	8.8	13.0	11.0	100.0
High	77.2	4.2	13.9	2.3	0.5	1.9	100.0
<b>1998</b>							
Low	0.2	0.04	0.5	4.7	86.3	8.2	100.0
Medium	13.9	1.8	35.1	18.3	17.7	13.1	100.0
High	73.8	5.3	13.3	5.9	0.4	1.3	100.0
<b>2008</b>							
Low	1.0	0.8	1.3	7.9	51.5	37.2	100.0
Medium	18.3	4.6	27.9	20.8	7.1	21.3	100.0
High	67.5	8.9	18.7	3.3	0.4	1.2	100.0

*Data Source: Household Labour Force Survey, 1988, 1998, 2008 (Turkish Statistical Institute).*

*Author's tabulation.*

Marital status affects women’s participation in paid work remarkably. Table 8 presents the occupational categories and married women’s share among these groups. The results show that, although married women are still by and large in agricultural work in Turkey, between 1998 and 2008 the share in this category dramatically decreased, presumably due to internal migration and the concomitant withdrawal from agriculture. Their share in managerial jobs is above three times higher in 2008 compared to 1998, even if it still remains very low. Married women’s share in clerical, and sales and service jobs also increased over these two decades, and it doubled in professional jobs with a sharp decline in agriculture. It should be added that in the literature it is frequently emphasised that, even when married women are in professional male jobs, particularly when they have children, they tend to be in the traditionally “feminine” sections of male jobs due to traditional expectations as well as the more self-managable and relatively less demanding nature of these jobs. Examples include being a dermatologist rather than a surgeon, women staying as practitioners so as to be better able to combine their work and family lives (Crompton and Sanderson, 1990) and a concentration in the less demanding segments of the occupational groups as in medical jobs (Gediz-Gelegen, 2009). This brings us to the relationship between flexible work and women’s employment.

**Table 8: Married women’s share in occupational categories (%)**

	Scientific, technical and professional employees	Managerial, legislative jobs and senior officials	Clerks	Service and sales workers	Agricultural workers	Other	Total
1988	5.8	0.3	3.7	3.5	81.2	5.4	100.0
1998	7.7	0.8	3.8	5.6	76.3	5.8	100.0
2008	14.5	2.8	6.0	7.7	41.3	27.6	100.0

*Data Source: Household Labour Force Survey, 1988, 1998, 2008 (Turkish Statistical Institute).*

*Author’s tabulation.*

Flexible work opportunities are crucial for women (as they are for men) in times of need such as when returning from maternity leave to full-time work (for re-adaptation of the mother to the work and regarding the needs of the young child) and when family emergencies occur to be able to balance paid work family life. However, when flexible working needs to be a permanent employment pattern, the quality of these jobs are also important given that we are discussing the horizontal gender segregation in the labour market that eventually and at times simultaneously results in vertical segregation as mentioned in Chapter 1. In 1988, 67.9% of married women were looking for a part-time job (which is one of the major types within the flexible work category) while it was 51.5% in 1998 and 58.3% in 2008 (TurkStat website, HLFS: Dynamic SEARCH, 1988, 1998, 2008). As we could see, since the 1980s more than half of married women looking for employment opportunities aim to participate in a part-time job. In the literature, it is suggested that part-time work could create segmented labour markets, marginalising women in low-paid, low-prestige jobs with no career prospects (Jaumotte, 2003b). Table 9 demonstrates the share of women in part-time work among ISCO 68-88 job categories to examine whether this is the case for Turkish women.

It is seen that the majority of women in part-time work are in agricultural jobs. As part-time work opportunities provide women with a way out of the differentiated burden and help them to balance family responsibilities and paid work, it is also worthwhile to look at which type of jobs offer flexible work. As expected, there are almost no part-time work opportunities in managerial jobs due to the nature of these high-prestige and demanding positions. The third highest share of part-time working women is in scientific, technical and professional job category in which highly educated women are represented at relatively higher rates overall, and thus this representation that is also in an increasing

pattern could be interpreted as a positive relationship between relatively prestigious jobs and part-time work, yet it still remains at the rate of 11.5%. Unlike expected, women's share in clerical part-time jobs remains at a low rate. Service and sales jobs are expected to offer various part-time opportunities, yet women's overall low attainment in this job category is reflected in their share in part-time work. Although there is a decrease in women's part-time employment in agriculture, 55.3% of women in flexible jobs are still in agriculture. A significant percentage of women in part-time work are in the 'other' category in 2008, which includes craft workers, plant and machine operators and elementary jobs. It should also be added that the literature reveals Turkish women's attainment in jobs with less than 20 hours of work as the second lowest in the OECD, while the percentage of women working more than 45 hours a week was the highest among OECD countries (Blades and Pearson, 2006, p. 19).

**Table 9: Women in part-time work according to occupational categories (%)**

	Scientific, technical and professional employees	Managerial, legislative jobs and senior officials	Clerks	Service and sales workers	Agricultural workers	Other	Total
1988	7.6	-	0.5	3.4	78.2	10.4	100.0
1998	7.4	0.1	0.4	4.0	81.5	6.5	100.0
2008	11.5	0.3	1.05	4.7	55.3	27.13	100.0

*Data Source: Household Labour Force Survey, 1988, 1998, 2008 (Turkish Statistical Institute). Author's tabulation.*

Self-employment, which could also be arranged flexibly at times, is crucial for women to be able to obtain more prestigious jobs with more control over the circumstances at work. This could include working part-time at one's own business, as in the example of how

female doctors in Britain fit their jobs around their motherhood responsibilities by staying as practitioners to preserve their self-employment status (Crompton and Sanderson, 1990). In other words, considering the traditional structure of Turkish society in regard to women's paid work and the pressure on women to fulfil their domestic responsibilities, self-employment is expected to satisfy both criteria. It gives women the chance to be their own boss and lessens the risk of a male colleague harrasing or pressurising them in some way, as well as it provides the opportunity to control their level of dedication in terms of flexible timing to fit the paid job to the domestic work when needed, such as in case of doctors, lawyers and pharmacists: all mostly available as self-employment as previously male but increasingly neutralising occupations. However, somewhat confounding expectations (regarding part-time work opportunities in professional jobs), by 2008 60.4% of self-employed women are in agricultural work and only 4.2% in professional jobs, whereas 34.3% of regular workers are professional workers, showing that part-time work highly contradicts with a decent career in prestigious jobs. This again suggests the negative impact of women's domestic duties as a barrier affecting women's work, particularly in regard to the more demanding highly prestigious male jobs.

#### **4.5 Women's work and family**

As the literature shows a willingness on the part of Turkish women to work despite their awareness of the barriers as well as reveals that Turkish women are eager to work to enjoy economic independence and to provide a better future for their children as stated by an interviewee in the study (Angel-Urdinola, 2011), the higher participation level of single women compared to married women could suggest that married women are less likely to realise their aspirations to be employed (Yıldırım and Doğrul, 2008). This research argues that when marriage and children are involved, which come right after university graduation

for Turkish women in their early twenties (TurkStat, FVS, 2006), the differentiated burden comes into play. The higher expectations of employers and the competition among employees in male jobs, employers' behaviour towards women, the incompatibility between their qualifications and the jobs offered and all the other problems many women face come down to one point: women's double burden and the lack of support for their work within and outside the home as a result of the welfare regime regulations as familial welfare production is still the norm (Esping-Andersen, 1996, p. 11) which is regardless of educational level, urban/rural residency and wage in Turkey as will be seen in detail in Chapter 6. Women take care of the domestic responsibilities regardless of their background, qualifications or urban/rural residency, and married women and mothers are excluded from low-prestige male jobs as they are neither traditional nor compatible with their routine and from high-prestige male jobs as these responsibilities cause them to have career breaks that bring penalties. Also, as stated by Bonoli and Hinrichs (2010), while the standards of employers in low skilled jobs are more basic and are based more on motivation and social skills, the conflict between employers' and society's expectations continues to influence women's careers in high-prestige jobs.

Table 10 supports the argument that Turkish women's labour market position is negatively influenced by their domestic responsibilities. The highest rated reason for not working being the household-related duties implies that the double burden combined with lack of job opportunities and the previously or later occurred statistical discrimination cause women to opt out of the labour market. The Family Value Survey (2006) data reveals that private childcare is not widely preferred by Turkish women, and unlike one perhaps anticipates, grandmothers and close relatives are also not taking care of children at the

rates one might reckon. Over 95% of childcare is done by the mother in Turkey (TurkStat, FVS, 2006). Although “being a housewife” as a reason not to be in employment slightly decreased over time, the rate of the reason “being a student” increased, in accordance with the steadily rising numbers of Turkish women in higher education institutions. Still, the category in the HLFS “not being in work due to domestic reasons” is not even an option for men (Ercan et al., 2010; TurkStat, FVS, 2006). While men do not change their participation in the domestic sphere (Esping-Andersen, 1996), it is not realistic to expect women to be a part of the job market let alone in male-dominated jobs at increasing rates.

**Table 10: The reasons for (non-employed) Turkish women not looking for a job (%)**

	Not seeking a job, but available to start	Working seasonally	Housewife	Student	Retired	Disabled, old, ill etc.	Other	Total
1988	3.8	0.2	78.9	5.0	1.7	7.2	3.1	100.0
1998	1.3	0.4	78.4	7.4	2.1	7.7	2.6	100.0
2008	5.2	1.2	62.4	8.5	3.5	11.0	8.1	100.0

*Data Source: Household Labour Force Survey, 1988, 1998, 2008 (Turkish Statistical Institute).*

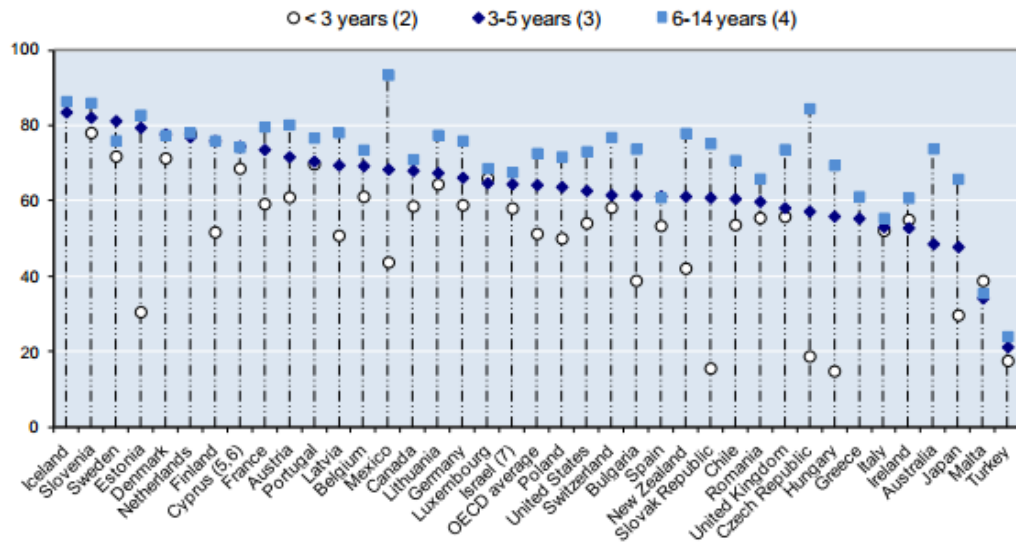
*Author's tabulation.*

With Table 10 illustrates the reasons why women are not looking for a job, a related question is why women left their previous jobs (Turkish Household Labour Force Survey, 1988, 1998, 2008). While, for women, early retirement (22.9%) has the highest percentage among all other reasons followed by education (20.3%) and being in a temporary job (14.5%) in 2002, for men the most prominent reason for leaving the previous job is being in a temporary job (45.2%), education (13.0%) and being a seasonal worker (10.8%) (TurkStat, HLFS, 2002). In 2008, the prevailing reason to leave the previous job for women is illness and injury (17.9%), followed by marriage (16.8%) and being in a temporary job (12.2%), while for men it is retirement (43.2%) followed by being in a temporary job (14.1%) and due to illness or injury (13.6%) (TurkStat, HLFS data, 2008).

Table 10 refers to not looking for a job while the above mentioned results show the reasons for leaving the previous job, thus there is a higher possibility of continuing to work in the latter case.

As there are traditional notions attached to married women's roles, being a mother also doubles the responsibilities as childcare is seen as women's duty, women with children below the age of seven in particular being under a heavier burden (Şengül and Kırıl, 2006). Women's work lives are mostly discontinuous due to family-related reasons and women often have a career break after childbirth (OECD, 2012b), only to face many career penalties stemming from this decision (Arun et al., 2004; Malo and Munoz-Bullon, 2007). Figure 13 presents the maternal employment rates by the youngest child in 2009 (OECD, 2009a). As can be seen in the figure, Turkish mothers had the lowest labour market participation rate in 2009 and when the age of their child was lower, they were even less visible in the labour market. However, whereas in most of the other countries the age of child/ren changes women's employment patterns, for Turkish women it did not seem to create a great difference.

Figure 13: Maternal employment rates by the age of youngest child (OECD, 2009a) (%)



Source: OECD Family database, OECD 2009.

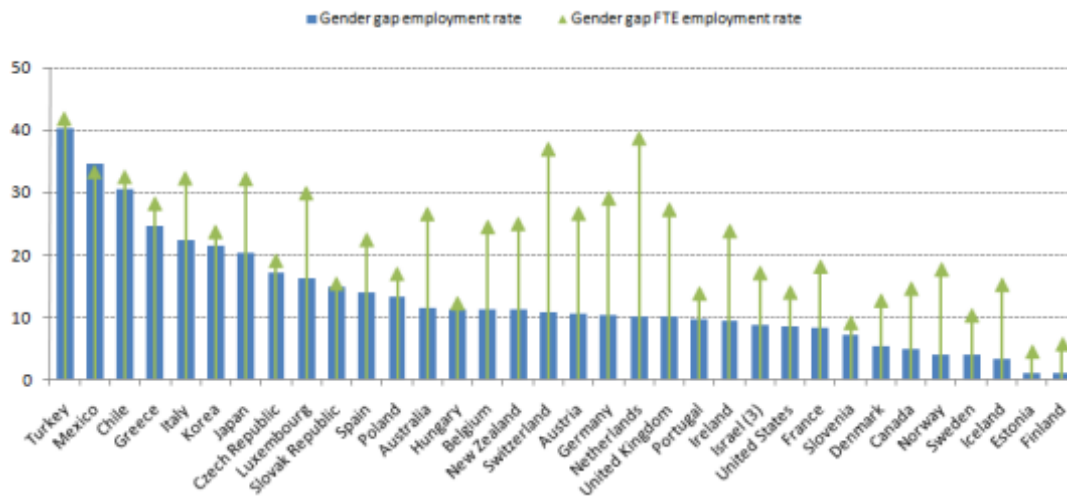
Maternal employment rates are below the OECD average in Italy, Chile and Greece, while Mexico has the highest rate of employment among mothers, with nearly all women with a child of 6-14 years old working. This backs up the arguments in the literature that economic changes and difficulties particularly trigger married women's work even when they have small children, as they must seek to compensate for the financial hardships in the family. When maternal employment is discussed, external support mechanisms are significant in the process. Turkey has the lowest childcare support among OECD countries in 2009 and Turkey's paid leave and child benefits are among the lowest as well (see Appendix 4.2). OECD results (2011b) also demonstrate that while in many countries highly educated women are more likely to return work earlier, these decisions are not only influenced by social policies but also social and cultural structure of the countries.

## 4.6 Women’s work in OECD countries

When female employment patterns in the OECD countries are evaluated, it could be seen that Turkish women are either the least or among the least advantaged in the OECD.

Turkey displays rather interesting trends for female educational and occupational participation in the context of general OECD patterns. In general, North European countries are among the top-five most egalitarian countries in terms of female labour market participation, particularly maternal employment. The advantageous position of women in Northern European countries is to be explained via social policies and state support for women as well as their targeting of improvements in men’s contribution at home that affected women’s positions positively both in the private and public spheres, which will be discussed in the sixth chapter in detail.

Figure 14: Gender gap in employment rates (OECD, 2009b) (%)



Source: OECD Factbook, OECD, 2009.

The similarities between different countries regarding women’s work provide potential explanations for Turkish women’s exclusion from certain jobs. It can clearly be seen that more or less the same countries appear around Turkey in OECD analyses in terms of

women's position in the labour market, as also shown in Figure 14. Mexico, Chile, Greece and Italy are among the countries that are mostly similar to Turkey's female employment patterns. This resemblance, which will be discussed in this section, could explain Turkish women's labour market patterns to a certain extent through comparison to countries that have remarkably different cultures, economies and religions. In other words, the motivation behind comparing Turkey to Southern European, Southern American, Asian and Northern African countries and displaying the common traits of women's status and employment in these different contexts is to show that explanations regarding women's problems in the private sphere and labour market derive from beyond a certain religion or culture and are rather a result of a general traditional social structure accounting women with care work in an unchanging pattern.

To start with one of the most similar countries to Turkey in terms of female employment, Karamessini (2014) indicates that Greek women experienced the U-shape curve in their employment patterns between 1960s and 1980s, also from times when there was modernisation in agriculture to when the notion of economic freedom for women started to be reflected in the labour market. The literature also suggests that although Greek women are increasingly a part of the labour market and their wages are rising (even though the economic crisis that exacerbated in 2015 is an issue worth considering for the prospective employment opportunities in the near future for women and men), their quality of life has simultaneously been degraded as a result of the extreme struggle to combine work and family life (Stavroulakis, 2001). The first reason for the decreasing life satisfaction is presented in the literature as the traditional mentality of men and their lack of participation in household-related responsibilities, and the second problem is the lack of part-time jobs

and flexible employment opportunities in Greece compared to other European countries, which causes working women to struggle with the heavy double burden and consequently withdraw from the labour market (Stavroulakis, 2001). Also, in the literature, the need for social policy support to reduce Greek women's childcare burden is frequently emphasised (Demoussis and Giannakopoulos, 2008).

In Italy, Bettio and Villa (1999) argue that women's labour market participation is responsive to (higher levels of) education at the individual level yet not at the aggregate level, and add that the low labour market participation of Italian women is partially involuntary due the fact that there are no adequate opportunities in the job market yet it mainly affects women with lowest educational level. There is also a relatively lower fertility rate but still a low rate of female employment in Italy (Bettio and Villa, 1999; Rinolfi, 2007). The strong belief that women are mainly responsible for the caring duties negatively influences their decision to work as well as to have fewer children, which is on average just over one child per woman in Italy (Rinolfi, 2007). Despite the relative low fertility levels, however, the literature shows that domestic responsibilities and expectations for women in the household cause them to withdraw from the labour market. Rinolfi (2007) indicates that women struggle to access and regain their positions in the labour market when they are pressured to balance their work and family lives in the mid-life phase when the main decisions are made such as marriage or having children. She refers back to the Eurispes report of 2006, which described working mothers as 'acrobats' struggling between work and family caring duties. Rinolfi (2007) suggests that the difficulties working mothers face are a result of traditional roles and a lack of childcare support. Also, similar to Turkey, employment rates reach their peak between the ages of 25

and 34 and then fall after this age, which would be expected to be a result of the involvement of new responsibilities for particularly highly educated women who get married after completing university from this age group onwards.

The literature suggests that even though women with younger children still tend to work less than single women and women with older children, financial crises triggered Mexican women's large-scale entry into work, and due to economic difficulties, married women increasingly started to be a major part of the labour market (Parrado and Zenteno, 2001), even when they had small children (Garcia and De Oliveira, 2005) as it was shown earlier in this chapter. However, Garcia and De Oliveira (2005) suggest that this increase took place mainly in low-prestige domestic jobs and low-paid self-employment in small-scale firms. Parrado and Zenteno (2001) indicate that although traditions regarding the uneven sexual division of labour attach women to home, highly educated women have stronger means to overcome this.

Although Mexico and Chile offer strong similarities as well as contrasts, Staab and Gerhard (2010) suggest that women are usually secondary earners and are concentrated in unpaid care work in both countries. It is similar to Turkey in terms of that Turkish women's work is not seen on an equal basis with men and rather than being an emancipation of women, it is considered to be an additional financial contribution in times of economic difficulties (Kuzgun and Sevim, 2004). Staab and Gerhard (2010) add that in Chile, male-dominated work atmospheres exclude women (particularly mothers with pre-school children) and the lack of flexible work opportunities decreases their employment rates; the impact of the positive trigger that comes with educational attainment is muted as

a result of the cultural norms regarding women's work as well as social norms and the decreasing but sustained male breadwinner approach influence women's work negatively. In both countries, women spend more time than men in unpaid care work, which increases with the presence of children, and moves in the opposite direction for men (Staab and Gerhard, 2010), similar to the patterns in Turkey.

Contreras and Plaza (2010) focus on the negative impact of gendered cultural notions on Chilean women's work. In Chile, increasing educational level results in rising female employment, while being married or living with a partner as well as having children are negatively associated with women's work. In other words, Chilean women's increasing educational level is not mirrored in the labour market (Fort et al., 2007). Thus, similar to the case of Turkish women, the positive effect of human capital variables is reduced by cultural factors suggesting women should be dedicated to their domestic duties. This affects Chilean women's employment substantially which could be expected to change through childcare support and increasing education (Contreras and Plaza, 2010). Fort et al. (2007) state that higher education is still not accessible for many people from different backgrounds and the relatively traditional values and attitudes regarding gender roles particularly mothers' role as the sole carer, discontinuous work patterns and limited alternative childcare options that are especially expensive services for poor families make it harder for them to participate in the labour market.

Bourqia (2002) argues that the unequal share of duties within the family are transferred into the workplace in the Moroccan textile industry, patriarchal control mechanisms being used by the factory owners. Joekes (1985) also indicates that in the Moroccan clothing

industry it is a common practice to employ young and unmarried women for short term employment and with lower wages (for subsistence) despite their higher educational level. Amin and Al-Basusi (2003) argue that in most parts of the Egypt, for some women 'preserving' their reputation for marriage means avoiding jobs that require conditions that are incompatible with tradition which involve working with men as aspirations for a better life is most likely to happen through marriage. Sholkamy (2014) also emphasises that the meaning and effects of women's work is determined in the social context of patriarchal relations and women tend to withdraw from the labour market after marriage particularly if they are in the informal sector. The World Bank report (Yamouri, 2010) on Egypt demonstrates that in a very similar trend to that of Turkish women, highly educated women are increasingly vulnerable that between 1980s and 2000s despite the increasing higher educational attainment, their labour market attainment remained stagnant. As seen in the example of Northern African countries, rather than the macro-economic explanations, the blurred line between the private sphere and public sphere are influential in women's work. As the Moroccan example shows that the overall attitudes towards women's secondary status in the family and society is reflected in the paid work, the traditional structure is a great determinant of women's employment in Egypt as well. The similarity with Turkey lies in that the gender segregation at work and at home go hand in hand and this heavy domestic burden in the private sphere is strongly connected to women's work.

The resemblances between the occupational patterns of Turkish women and their counterparts from similar countries say a lot about the potential reasons for women's exclusion/withdrawal from the labour market as well as from male jobs. Despite the

differences between these countries as well as to Turkey in terms of religion, geographical features, economies, fertility rates and labour markets, there are three main themes that are common: 1) traditional cultural notions regarding women's roles and domestic responsibilities; 2) inadequate flexible working opportunities in relatively more prestigious jobs particularly in transition processes such as returning from maternity leave to full-time work; and 3) a lack of proper childcare provisions as well as family benefits related to the welfare regime regulations on women's compensation for childcare provisions. In all these countries including Turkey, women's double burden is combined with lack of childcare opportunities, family benefits and on-site day care.

The similarities with Italy and Greece refer to the common Southern European welfare regime, as Mexico and Chile are similar to Turkey in terms of the domestic burden and lack of adequate external support. It could clearly be seen that the similar patterns are seen among countries of Southern European welfare regime (which will be discussed in detail in the following chapters of the thesis) where family (and thus the woman) is the main caregiver to undertake the role of providing the overall welfare for family itself (Greece, Italy) or countries where traditional social norms burden women with household responsibilities only despite their human capital (Mexico, Chile). In all the countries, increasing educational attainment correlates with increasing employment, yet like in the Turkish case being married and having children are negatively associated with female employment levels. Buğra (2014b) indicates that, regarding women's work in the Mediterranean region as in the examples of Spain, Italy, Greece, Turkey and Egypt, there is no direct relationship between women's work and their emancipation, and while there is an increase in female employment in Spain, Italy and Greece over the years, women's

participation in paid work has been limited in Turkey and Egypt, mostly based on political and cultural conservatism that is highly related to unequal gender roles. Although the traditional approach to women's domestic work as well as paid work is similar in Mexico and Turkey which might be expected to change in 2010s that will be discussed further in Chapter 5, in case of economic hardship low qualified women participate in non-traditional, low-prestige occupations in Mexico unlike Turkey, despite the expectations to fulfil household related responsibilities. As this secondary worker concept is seen in some cases, unlike in Latin America Turkish women's participation in cheap labour, sometimes away from their families, has not been a common practice due to the influence of tradition, for which home-based labour could be an alternative (Gündüz-Hoşgör and Smith, 2008). Also, Buğra and Yakut-Çakar (2010) state that while the de-ruralization process have resulted in the tertiarisation process in industry and services (which could not absorb the previously employed in the agriculture) that limited female employment especially in those sub-sectors that provide decent jobs. Indeed, this argument is supported that jobs with the lowest female attainment are low-prestige service jobs (painters, miners, housekeeping) although informal daily domestic service has been a major economic activity for women migrated from rural to urban areas and despite this jobs' informal nature in general, it has been more traditional as they worked with female of the household. Furthermore, Buğra and Yakut-Çakar (2010) add that the availability of cheap male labour with the presence of marginalised unions made it economically rational for employers to statistically discriminate against women in low-prestige jobs. In other words, as this study argues that women are exposed to traditional discrimination in low-prestige occupations most of the time and to statistical discrimination in top-prestige occupations, there is also the latter kind of discrimination in some cases at low-prestige occupational level.

## 4.7 Discussion and Conclusions

This chapter presented Turkish women's attainment in university subjects, participation in job categories, and their most common reason not to look for a job as well as maternal employment compared to other OECD countries, discussing their similarities to different contexts. Turkish women are well represented in male subjects at university and have a higher success rate in terms of graduation rates compared to their male counterparts. However, they are not represented adequately at the lowest and highest parts of the hierarchy elevator, being instead trapped in the middle-level female occupations. What is most striking, however, is that as we have seen in the first section highly educated women in Turkey are not represented at an expected level in the labour market overall. Women with little education tend to be in agricultural work if they are in rural areas and are mostly unemployed in urban areas as they are not qualified for middle- and high-prestige jobs, and are excluded from low-prestige male jobs due to tradition, although the latter has started to change slightly in recent years. Highly educated women are still excluded from the top male jobs, although they have slightly increased their attainment recently. As low-prestige jobs are not compatible with their education and the domestic burden prevents them from flourishing in competitive and demanding top-level male jobs, they either stay home or work in mid-prestige clerical or professional jobs. Therefore, this research argues that both highly educated women and women with low levels of education face a heavy domestic burden, and thus are not sufficiently present in the labour market regardless of their qualifications, the former being exposed to statistical discrimination and the latter traditional discrimination, both as a result of their expected traditional roles regarding family-related responsibilities. The main paradox is that women tend to finish their higher educational lives and are ready to be employed at just the time their married lives start and

they shortly after become mothers. Dickinson and Oaxaca (2006) highlight the concept of “second-moment” statistical discrimination which refers to employers offering women lower wages as a result of the variance in their productivity due to risk aversion unlike the “first-moment” statistical discrimination that employers remunerate women at a lower level since they expect them to be less productive (and most of the time, less continuous due to family obligations) on average compared to men. The latter is widely discussed in the literature and expected to be more effective in many contexts where the responsibility of care is prescribed to women. Based on this argument, we could speculate that there could be a tendency of employers in Turkey to use second-moment statistical discrimination since women from different backgrounds tend to withdraw from the labour market due to their domestic burden, yet there is more than anticipated highly educated women who are not working despite their attainment in university majors that lead to careers, who might be “victims” of this second type of statistical discrimination rather than their productivity being expected to be lower on average than men. These two types of statistical discrimination, particularly regarding how they affect highly qualified women, need to be further investigated in the Turkish context.

In the second section of this chapter the hierarchy elevator was introduced and explained. This research argues that Turkish women are excluded from the high-prestige jobs based on their discontinuity and from the low-prestige jobs based on traditional norms. They are trapped in the mid-prestige female-dominated occupations and the nature of the hierarchy elevator is thus in tension with Turkish women’s increasing educational attainments. Thus, before presenting their subject-based educational enrolment, success rates and gender-

based occupational concentration, the overall horizontal segregation is presented using the hierarchy elevator pyramid as a visual hypothesis.

The third section of Chapter 4 demonstrated that female students have a higher graduation rate in both traditional and non-traditional subjects compared to men. Also, they have a remarkably high level of attainment in traditionally male subjects when compared to their counterparts in other OECD countries with Mathematics and Natural Sciences majors becoming female-dominated (50% over female student population) in 2008. It is somewhat puzzling that the substantial representation of female students in male subjects is not reflected in the managerial and top-prestige professional job categories. The role of higher education for status attainment and a potential context for educational homogamy (which makes it easier for women who are married to better educated and better providing husbands to withdraw from the job market when the burden of household responsibilities and childcare are too overwhelming) being part of the story, the remarkable success rates of female students in all subjects justifies the assertion that the problems women face in terms of horizontal segregation occur after they graduate from university. In other words, the high rates of female enrolment on traditionally male majors could be explained as education being seen a means of gaining social capital and entering a better marriage market. However, there must be another explanation for the high rates of graduation in all subjects. As the structure of the labour market, lack of available jobs and the opportunity structure as well as the unemployment rates are crucial in explaining women's exclusion from the labour market overall as well as from male jobs, the very low employment rates of highly educated women in fact suggests a 'forced preference' not to work. Considering that in Turkey the most common reason for not looking for a job is "being a housewife"

and maternal employment is lowest among OECD countries, together with the findings that demonstrate that women's mean age of first marriage coincides with their completion of degree for women of all educational levels including highly educated women, it can be argued that domestic responsibilities are the major barrier to women's careers in top-prestige occupations.

The fourth section of this chapter covered the proportion and share of women broken down by job categories. Women do not heavily dominate any of the major occupational units, although their share is highest in agricultural work. However, their proportion in this category has decreased over time, halving between 1988 and 2008. This could be related to increasing internal migration and decreasing agricultural activity. Turkish women's share in professional jobs has doubled and even tripled in regard to the 'other jobs' that are relatively of lower prestige in the same time period. The former is in accordance with the increasing higher educational levels and the latter to economic hardship affecting women with lower levels of education in urban areas. This interpretation is supported by the jobs women do the least (low-prestige service jobs) and do the most (mid-prestige to high-prestige professional jobs by 2000). In short, although there is already a segmented labour market pattern in the OECD overall, Turkey is a stark case, with only three female-dominated jobs in 1985 and four in 2000, yet over 30 heavily male jobs in both years. There is still room for improvement in women's attainment in prestigious professional jobs and this is expected to occur with higher attainment in university education as higher rates of women in managerial and related jobs are not only related to higher education but they also require higher levels of dedication, and as shown there is almost no part-time job opportunities for this occupational category supporting the demanding nature of these jobs.

In the fifth section, the relationship between women's share in the major units of the job categories and the most influential variables regarding women's position in different job categories were examined. The results show that highly educated women are present in professional jobs but, even though there is a positive trend that their share in managerial jobs is increasing, they are still not adequately represented in this category and are increasingly participating in mid-prestige clerical jobs. Married women's attainment in agricultural jobs and professional occupations has slipped and although there is a slight increase in managerial occupations and their share in service and sales jobs, their proportion in the clerical jobs and the 'other jobs' categories also went up over the years. This section demonstrated that economic hardship and incorporation into urban life have started to decrease the severity of traditional barriers restricting women's work slightly in service and sales jobs. There are two sides to this pattern: it encourages women's secondary worker position in low-prestige jobs but also helps them to participate in the labour market and have their economic independence, working in various occupations. However, the negative influence of the differentiated burden on women and its weakening effect on the positive impact of higher education also need to be overcome so that highly educated women are able to realise their career aims in high-prestige male jobs.

In section six, married women's and mothers' struggle to balance their work and family lives was discussed. Women's exclusion from top-ranked jobs in the process of hiring particularly (Palaz, 1999) and the prejudice of the employers in terms of women's discontinuity at work after they have children (Gangle and Ziefle, 2009) are explained via statistical discrimination. This research argues that this discrimination at the institutional

level is strongly connected to the traditional roles attributed to women, as well as that everything comes back to their discontinuous work patterns due to family-related reasons. Family-related explanations stem from social norms as well as the Southern European welfare regime Turkey has implemented that focuses on family as a provider for itself while this responsibility is attributed to women. Even when women are in paid work, they are taking care of the house as if it were a second job (Yıldırım and Doğrul, 2008); when male jobs' competitive and demanding nature is considered, higher qualifications remain only a part of the requirements and having no internal (fathers') and external (social policy) support, women in the end are left to withdraw from the labour market under these circumstances.

The final section presented comparisons to OECD countries that have similarities to Turkish women's employment patterns. Results show that there are two common features these countries share: the Southern welfare regime and traditional social norms regarding women's domestic responsibilities. In Greece and Italy, maternal employment is the main source of barriers for women's work and withdrawal from the labour market is common due to lack of childcare support, which is strongly related to the emphasis of the Southern European welfare system on the family providing for itself, which leaves women with the differentiated burden to struggle with. In Mexico and Chile, gender roles are culturally determined where care work is associated with women's roles, and in Northern African countries women are traditionally expected to focus on their family lives as a result of the conventional social structures. The patriarchal social structure prevents women from accessing the labour market, although, for Mexico, due to financial reasons maternal employment is remarkably high for low-status jobs, which is related to a purely economic

motivation. Another comparison is presented for Japan and South Korea in the second section regarding the lack of labour market participation of highly educated women in both countries. The similarity again lies in the traditional (in Japanese and Korean cultures: Confucian) background that still lingers in the social system and saddles women with the duty to be good wives and mothers, even when they are highly educated. Similar to Turkey, horizontal gender segregation excludes women from top-ranked occupations, and professional jobs are women's predominant area. These comparisons strengthened the arguments related Turkish women position at work and in the family via presenting similarities of different contexts which demonstrated the power of universal gender role segregation over other local determinants.

As a future reference based on the findings of this chapter, it is expected that over time new urban women with lower qualifications would be incorporated more into the formal service sector (which has been accommodating many informal forms of work) and the increasing higher educational attainment of women will reflect in their rising participation levels in professional jobs for which self-employment and flexible working conditions are not common but more likely to be found than managerial and related jobs. The expected scenario is that women's increasing educational level over time results in rising labour market participation, but an unchanging male involvement in the household is still a barrier for these expectations to be actualised. Thus, only a decent support system will help them to protect the positions they achieve in male jobs. The ideal conditions can be provided via positive discrimination towards parents through more flexible work patterns or giving them higher occupational prospects when they return to their jobs (Jaumotte, 2003b). Furthermore, as much as maternal employment needs to be supported,

accentuating paternal involvement in the family via social policies is equally vital as well as it is to promote an equal domestic division of labour. It is crucial to provide women and men with childcare at the workplace and decent rates of child benefits, as well as raising awareness among men to increase their share in the private sphere via social policies. This is because, regarding childcare, having children affects women and men in opposite directions as the separation of roles becomes stronger after having children (OECD, 2012b), widening the gap between women and men in the labour market.

The following chapter will focus on the relationship between women's individual characteristics and their exclusion from male-dominated jobs as well as from the different prestige levels of these jobs. Based on the preliminary results derived from this chapter, the obvious negative impact of marriage and the domestic responsibilities attached to this status together with having children will be taken as a prior reason for the statistical discrimination women face, particularly at the top of the hierarchy elevator. Considering the advantage inherent in the increase of the educational attainments of Turkish women; using logistic regression, ordered logistic regression and Heckman correction models the question will be what is holding their attainment back in the male jobs overall and in the hierarchy elevator at the micro (individual) level.

## **5. Turkish women, male jobs and different prestige levels**

### **5.1 Introduction**

The previous chapter presented the apparent inconsistency between the rising female higher educational attainment in traditionally male university majors and the lack of transition to the labour market in Turkey, comparing the situation with similar patterns in other OECD countries that have different social, cultural and economic backgrounds. Correspondently, Chapter 4 also descriptively reported on women's position in certain job categories (ISCO 68-88) according to various individual-level parameters related to the hierarchy elevator, suggesting that women are trapped in mid-prestige female jobs if they are not excluded from the labour market completely. The results have so far shown that Turkish women's level of attainment in male subjects is not reflected positively in their labour market prospects. Jacobs (1996) states that although women are successful in terms of their access to education, they achieve less in the educational process and are disadvantaged in terms of employment. As the previous chapter demonstrated, in Turkey women increasingly attain higher education in male majority subjects (though still not equalling male proportions) and do very well during higher education compared to their male counterparts, but fail to mirror this success in the labour market overall and even more so in prestigious male jobs. The higher rates of graduation even in traditionally male university majors suggest women's determination for a career in their subject area, and studies do support Turkish women's desire to work (The World Bank, 2009). In such a picture it is obvious that women operate under the restrictions of external circumstances, mainly the expectations regarding their roles in the private sphere as shown in Chapter 4.

The results for Turkey describe a traditional social structure in which women's roles in the family are rigidly determined and the domestic division of labour is unbalanced as a result of the Southern European welfare regime Turkey has been included in, which will be evaluated in detail in Chapter 6. Subsequently, statistical discrimination particularly for higher prestige occupations occurs, and women are excluded from the high-end jobs as a result of their discontinuity based on family-related reasons. So, as described and discussed in the previous chapter, the explanation of women's exclusion from prestigious jobs on the institutional level is the statistical discrimination (considering women are almost systematically concentrated in the mid-section of the hierarchy pyramid) but as statistical discrimination is a consequence, its underlying reason is the discontinuity of women's work. Moreover, it was revealed in Chapter 4 that women's age of first marriage increases with higher education; however, it still coincides with the age group that corresponds to women's expected beginning of work life, which in turn becomes a barrier for their employment in terms of discontinuity.

Bielby and Baron (1986) argue that employers reserve some jobs for men and the rest for women, also statistically discriminate female employees in accordance with their past experiences or expectations of women's skills, adaptation to the job and the subsequent risks of investment in on-the-job training even when women have the necessary pre-job training also higher educational attainment. As revealed in the previous chapter, women's continuity patterns are fractured compared to men and the results reveal women's withdrawal age from the labour market is decreasing while men have a steady work life with not as much extra responsibilities as women, leaving the job market at around retirement age (a situation which would be expected to change only with economic crises

and thus financial instability). The exclusion of women from male jobs is problematic in terms of its trigger for a gendered labour market, the disadvantages caused by the devaluation of female-dominated occupations (England and Li, 2006), and women's exclusion particularly from high-prestige, highly paid jobs that are dominated by men. There is a barrier that makes women's transition from male subjects to male jobs difficult, and in light of the descriptive results so far, this research considers the unchanging housework and childcare responsibilities of Turkish women to be the main explanation for the problem of discontinuity, which fundamentally makes women's work different to men's and is reflective of a public policy choice and related to employers' approach to women's work.

There are undoubtedly positive aspects to Turkish women's careers, such as reasonable levels of attainment in professional occupations (particularly in medical jobs and life sciences by 2000). However, Turkish Census data confirms Turkish women's low attainment rates in male jobs overall. As seen in Table 11a, in 1985 only 12.4% of women in working age are in a male job, which is 23.2% in 2000 that is expected to be a result of the higher educational expansion and the subsequent increase in women's attainment in professional male jobs. Considering women's share in male jobs, they increased their part from 8.2% to 14.5% in 15 years, which is a positive trend. Still, as seen below, more than 75% of women were still excluded from male-dominated occupations in 2000, which shows that it is still rare to find Turkish women in male jobs which is particularly in prestigious male jobs.

**Table 11a: Women's attainment in male jobs (Turkey, (age of 15-64)) (%)**

1985	2000
12.4	23.2

**Table 11b: Share of women in male jobs (Turkey, (age of 15-64)) (%)**

1985	2000
8.2	14.5

*Data Source: Turkish Census data, 1985, 2000 (Turkish Statistical Institute). Author's tabulation.*

Based on Crompton and Sanderson's (1990) conceptualisation of micro, meso and macro level occupational gender segregation, this chapter will investigate the micro (individual) level segregation also women's exclusion from male areas of the labour market to discuss a meso (institutional) level phenomenon also statistical discrimination that women are excluded based on their expected discontinuity (which will be discussed over a pseudo-panel pattern) due to familial reasons (marriage and having children) rather than solely based on their gender. This part of the thesis will focus on the impact of individual characteristics mainly as educational level, marital status and the number of children on women's position in male jobs overall, as well as in different prestige levels of male jobs (the three layers of the hierarchy elevator). The aim will be to analyse what determinants play a role in the lack of women's transition from successful enrolment and graduation in male university subjects to prestigious male jobs.

There are, of course, many reasons why women's higher educational attainment in male areas is not transferred to the Turkish labour market and there are various supporting arguments in the literature that are compatible with the expectations and results of this study. Education is undoubtedly a substantial means for women to be employed and a necessity for many prestigious male jobs. Zella (2010) indicates that the transition from the educational to occupational sphere is significant as education is the most important

parameter for occupational success. Ince and Demir (2006) consider the inadequate level of occupational attainment a result of Turkish women's low educational levels, thus referring to the importance of education for women's work, while Palaz (1999) emphasises the significance of education in relation to their chances in the work force. Cohen and Bianchi (1999) suggest that women's increasing educational level is reflected in improving female employment. However, as stated in an OECD Workshop Report (2006), the Deputy Secretary General also indicates that the number of female students enrolled in the science majors is much higher than the numbers of women employed in related jobs, which is the case for Turkey. Indeed, Turkish women exceed their male counterparts in their graduation rates for nearly all subjects at university level. Thus, this shows that there are other factors that prevent women from attaining male jobs, particularly those at the top of the hierarchy elevator.

The unchanging domestic roles and employer attitudes towards Turkish women's work seem to diminish the expected positive impact of increasing higher educational attainment. The Family Value Survey (2006) results show that women are responsible for almost all household-related and children-centered chores (indeed, 90% and above) regardless of where they are from in terms of their urban or rural origin. As Pillay (2007) puts it, 'motherhood is probably the only job from which one can rarely resign' (p. 1). Thus, being married and having children decreases women's career chances due to the added responsibilities as well as the lack of necessary support from employers due to the expected discontinuity that emerges with these responsibilities and yet unsettled social policies regarding family benefits and childcare provided for mothers and fathers in the Turkish context. Gangle and Ziefle (2009) indicate that motherhood is an exhausting

responsibility and that women with children fail to keep their productivity and dedication levels stable at work. Even when they do manage this, employers' behaviour changes in a negative way towards their performance and they statistically discriminate against women based on their previous and potential discontinuities, particularly in competitive, high-ranked jobs. There is also an agreement on the impact of children on women's career breaks and thus subsequent penalties. Child-related breaks cause decreasing occupational prestige and earnings when women return to the labour market (Arun et al., 2004; Malo and Munoz-Bullon, 2007; Gangle and Ziefle, 2009), even in the most egalitarian countries such as Sweden (Aisenbrey et al., 2009). The penalties are stronger in competitive high-prestige male jobs, and returning to the same position with the same wage would not be expected to occur considering the subsequently affirmed discontinuity and intensified prejudice of employers.

Uşen and Güngör-Delen (2011) argue that women's withdrawal from the labour market is a forced path that is a result of the lack of adequate state and employer support for childcare, also underlining that private childcare expenses are almost as high as women's wages in some cases. They also state that women are the least employed and first discharged based on marriage, pregnancy, maternity leave, child-related breaks and so on, for which the lack of social security in their work is used as an excuse. Ercan et al. also (2010) emphasise the unfair share of domestic responsibilities as a major reason for women not being included in the labour market overall as well as in certain sectors in Turkey. Crompton (2006) indicates that women are still responsible for a 'disproportionate' share of the domestic work, which exacerbates their work-home conflict, particularly in managerial and high-prestige professional jobs in which women

usually have higher career aspirations (as in the case of Turkey). Thus, women, who have to make the ‘often painful and difficult choice’ (Crompton, 2006) to be ideal workers, are considered to be in denial of their domestic side, which is a result of the internalisation of the ‘ideal women’ who are dedicated to their house-related ‘responsibilities’. Yamak et al. (2012) define housewives as ‘unpaid family workers’ and indicate that social pressure associates these responsibilities with women, which prevents them from improving their further education as well as their prospective labour market positions. Even when women are in paid work, they are still responsible for the household as well as children, which they consider almost as another job (Ercan et al., 2010). This is also related to the fact that men’s lack of participation in unpaid work is as problematic as women’s lack of participation in paid work. Scott and Dex (2009) indicate that, even though labour market participation decreases women’s involvement in household-related tasks, the contribution of men in the private sphere has been ‘slight and uneven’ (p.49). In the British case, as shown by Scott and Dex (2009), women’s participation in unpaid work has declined in accordance with their increasing employment, while men’s increase in unpaid work is increasing only slowly. In the Turkish context, it is expected that women’s lack of labour market participation goes alongside their excessively higher share of unpaid work, which will be discussed further in detail in the next chapter.

The social pressure regarding the ‘appropriate’ roles of married women and their differentiated burden force them to choose between two options: leave the job market once and for all or, mostly due to the financial needs in the household, continue working in mid-prestige female jobs, which are not as demanding as the high-prestige occupations and not as unpredictable and irregular as low-prestige jobs. Reskin and Hartmann (1986)

emphasise that it is not unreasonable to indicate that women's domestic work is a barrier to their employment, and as several scholars argue, women make career choices that fit into their current or expected household-related responsibilities despite their aspirations for the labour market and related training, which subsequently exacerbates occupational gender inequalities in terms of horizontal segregation. They further state that family life could also be a potential barrier for women's work ideals in cases when husbands expect them to prioritise domestic work and women's work is considered to be secondary which is needed only when financial need arises. The literature suggests that a reduction in financial needs as in household's/husband's increasing income (Yamak et al., 2012) as well as families' obtainment of ownership of the house (Yıldırım and Doğrul, 2008) potentially trigger women's tendency to withdraw from the labour market presumably when combined with their heavy burden, also considering that their work is seen as secondary rather than career-oriented.

In this chapter, the first aim is to investigate the impact of the individual characteristics that are expected to play a role in women's occupational discontinuity on women's probability of being in jobs where men are the majority population (50% and above in the Turkish context). As the hierarchy elevator suggests, women are excluded from both the top- and low-prestige jobs. Andreotti and Mingione (2014, p. 59) argue that in the example of Italy (that is similar to Turkey), in terms of female employment men predominated normally female-dominated areas in low-prestige jobs as in sales or low skilled jobs in health sector which is related to the lack of a new industrialisation as a result of post-industrial transition, a major expansion of advanced service sector, and also a decline in the domestic burden. For the case of highly qualified women, the major reason of the

exclusion is the jobs that are compatible with their educational level being incompatible with the expectations in the household work.

The ultimate purpose of this chapter is to determine how to increase the female share in these jobs. The motivation to use 'being in a male job' as the dependent variable rather than 'being in a female job' is that it is an uncommon and thus interesting case for women to be in the former compared to the more frequent examples of the latter. As seen in the previous chapter, women are concentrated in jobs in the middle layer of the hierarchy elevator, thus investigating what affects their participation in the areas they are excluded from is vital. Therefore, the circumstances under which Turkish women end up in male-dominated jobs will be investigated in order to understand the absence of these conditions and qualifications. Thus, the first section will discuss the impact of different variables on women's probability of being in jobs dominated by men in 1985 and 2000 with logistic regressions, using Turkish Census data from 1985 and 2000.

The second part descriptively explores how the prestige groups overall, as well as female and male occupations in themselves, are divided in the Turkish labour market among women and men. The three levels of prestige groups are created using Treiman's (1977) Standard International Occupational Prestige Scale (SIOPS) categorisation and the scale is organised based on the low-, middle- and high-prestige positions of the hierarchy elevator as presented in the previous chapter. Descriptive findings will demonstrate a basis on which the overall female and male job participation rates of women and men before continuing to focus on women's position in these groups.

In the third section, initially the Heckman two-step correction model (Stata command: heckman) is implemented. Due to the viability problem in the p value of the analysis, a Heckman probit model (Stata command: heckprob) is presented in this section since the problem with the model is found to be deriving from dependent variable and thus the discrete dependent variable is replaced by a binary dependent variable (in the second step as well) as women's probability of being in most prestigious jobs, the former analysis is added to the Appendices with further discussion.

Fourthly, referring back to the hierarchy elevator, women's positions in more prestigious male jobs are presented. The hierarchy elevator suggests that women are pressed in between highly prestigious and low-prestige male jobs. They are squeezed into the middle part of the elevator and share it with other jobs at this level that are male-dominated. The overrepresentation of men in top male jobs strengthens the occupational gender segregation and women's exclusion from these jobs refers to the limited employment opportunities and their condensed concentration in mid-prestige female-dominated jobs. Thus, as women have a very limited share in the highest (and lowest levels) of the hierarchy pyramid, this part will investigate how components such as age, region, number of children, marital status and education affect their probability of being in the higher echelons of the pyramid, sharing the top jobs with men. The regression results will be presented for Turkey overall since the analyses for male prestige groups are similar for women in urban and rural areas despite their differences at the descriptive level.

## 5.2 Turkish women in male jobs

This section will explore women's positions in male jobs (regardless of prestige level) overall and the parameters by which they are excluded from these jobs, particularly considering those contributing to their discontinuity as in family responsibilities (marriage and children). The analysis will focus on the impact of age, educational level, marital status, and number of children with other related variables on women's likelihood of being in a male job as mentioned in the data and methods chapter in detail. The aim is to examine which components that are expected to influence women's attainment increase their likelihood of being in a male job. The logistic regression results of the 1985 and 2000 Turkish Censuses will be compared to see whether, and if so, how the probability of women being in a male job has changed over the years.

Age is a substantial determinant of women's employment for many reasons. First of all, age refers to women's different life phases in terms of graduation, marital status change and becoming mothers, all of which directly affect their labour market positions. Secondly, as descriptive results show, women in the senior working age group (particularly compared to their male counterparts) tend to be outside the labour market and even if they are working, they tend to be unpaid family workers in the agricultural sector. The first model in Table 12 presents how different life stages in women's lives mirror their chances of being in a male-dominated job overall. As seen, statistically significant results suggest a similar trend in 1985 and 2000 regarding the impact of one's age cohort on the likelihood of women being in a male job. Model 1 shows that, compared to the youngest working age cohort (15-24) the only group of women who are more likely to be in a male job are found to those aged between 25 and 34, as this period is consistent with the mean age of first

marriage for highly educated women and the mean age of childbearing in Turkey overall as presented before. After the age of 35, the probability of being in a male job decreases steadily as seen in the first model, referring to discontinuity at work which is argued to be the basic source of statistical discrimination. As the sample in the analysis includes women who are in the labour market, this result shows that they are most likely to work in male jobs when they are relatively younger. Considering the impact of age cohorts on women's likelihood to be in a male job from a pseudo-panel perspective, it could be said that, as women get older, their chances of being in a male job get lower. In other words, women aged 25 to 34 in 1985 are aged 40 to 49 by 2000 (which could also be seen in between the 35 to 44 and 45 to 54 age cohorts) and it could be observed that the likelihood goes from positive to negative, which implies that we would expect there to be no 'revolving door' impact (Jacobs, 1989) in regard to Turkish women's position in male jobs, presumably due to their limited chances in these occupations in the first place.

Segregation at Work, Segregation at Home: Turkish Women, Gendered Jobs and Prestige

Table 12: Log odds of women being in a male job (50% and over occupational male population), main effects (s.e. in brackets)  
 N=306213(1985) 428886 (2000) (women between the ages of 15-64)

\*p value  $\leq$  0.1 \*\*p value  $\leq$  0.05 \*\*\* p value  $\leq$  0.01 (1985 and 2000)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
	1985	2000	1985	2000	1985	2000	1985	2000	1985	2000	1985	2000
<b>Age cohorts</b>												
<b>15 to 24 (ref)</b>	.34	.02	-.13	-.22	-.19	-.37	.14	-.08	.33	-.01	.30	-.005
<b>25 to 34</b>	(.01)***	(.01)**	(.02)***	(.01)***	(.02)***	(.01)***	(.02)***	(.02)***	(.03)***	(.02)	(.03)***	(.02)
<b>35 to 44</b>	-.21	-.18	-.44	-.25	-.42	-.31	-.06	.06	.30	.26	.28	.26
	(.02)***	(.01)***	(.02)***	(.01)***	(.02)***	(.01)***	(.03)**	(.02)***	(.03)***	(.02)***	(.03)***	(.02)***
<b>45 to 54</b>	-1.01	-1.08	-1.02	-.72	-.93	-.71	-.58	-.34	-.19	-.05	-.21	-.05
	(.02)***	(.01)***	(.03)***	(.02)***	(.03)***	(.02)***	(.03)***	(.02)***	(.04)***	(.02)**	(.04)***	(.02)**
<b>55 to 64</b>	-1.63	-2.49	-1.52	-1.58	-1.41	-1.50	-1.12	-1.15	-.75	-.82	-.77	-.80
	(.03)***	(.03)***	(.04)***	(.03)***	(.04)***	(.03)***	(.05)***	(.04)***	(.05)***	(.04)***	(.05)***	(.04)***
<b>Urban region</b>			4.60	4.08	4.29	3.60	4.25	3.54	4.20	3.49	3.08	2.61
			(.02)***	(.01)***	(.02)***	(.01)***	(.02)***	(.01)***	(.02)***	(.01)***	(.03)***	(.02)***
<b>Education (ref: High educated)</b>												
Medium educated					-1.22	-.71	-1.20	-.72	-1.13	-.66	-1.09	-.62
					(.08)***	(.02)***	(.08)***	(.02)***	(.08)***	(.02)***	(.08)***	(.02)***
Low educated					-1.96	-1.35	-1.89	-1.32	-1.70	-1.17	-1.53	-1.02
					(.08)***	(.02)***	(.08)***	(.02)***	(.08)***	(.02)***	(.08)***	(.02)***
<b>Marital status (ref: Married)</b>												
Single							.60	.59	.33	.44	.33	.48
							(.02)***	(.01)***	(.03)***	(.02)***	(.03)***	(.02)***
Divorced							.89	.64	.67	.53	.64	.51
							(.08)***	(.03)***	(.08)***	(.03)***	(.08)***	(.03)***
Widowed							.47	.24	.47	.26	.45	.24
							(.05)***	(.03)***	(.05)***	(.04)***	(.05)***	(.04)***
<b>Children (ref: No child)</b>												
1 child									-.17	-.07	-.18	-.07
									(.04)***	(.02)***	(.04)***	(.02)***
2 children									-.26	-.12	-.26	-.11
									(.03)***	(.02)***	(.04)***	(.02)***
3 or more children									-.79	-.71	-.77	-.67
									(.03)***	(.02)***	(.03)***	(.02)***
<b>Urban (5 years ago) (ref: Rural (5 years ago))</b>											1.40	1.17
											(.03)**	(.02)***
<b>Pseudo-R2</b>	0.0349	0.0479	0.4675	0.4848	0.4736	0.4975	0.4774	0.5014	0.4807	0.5042	0.4893	0.5126
<b>LR chi-sq</b>	8027.93 (4)	22224.66 (4)	107451.24(5)	225047.97 (5)	108852.48 (7)	230925.63 (7)	109731.84 (10)	232731.50(10)	110340.82(13)	234050.55(13)	112311.25(14)	237929.22 (14)
<b>Log likelihood</b>	-110900.6	-220981.4	-61188.9	-119569.8	-60488.3	-116630.9	-60048.62	-115728.0	-59602.03	-115068.5	-58616.8	-113129.1

Data Source: Turkish Census data, 1985, 2000 (Turkish Statistical Institute). Author's analysis.

Currently residing in an urban area as well as residency in an urban locale five years ago increases the likelihood of a woman being in a male job both in 1985 and 2000. The results are very similar in both years and consistent with the fact that both high- and low-prestige male jobs are more accessible in the urban areas. In rural areas, women and men tend to be in the agricultural sector in an almost homogeneous pattern.

Model 3 brings the educational-level variables into view. The overall higher educational attainment of Turkish women increases in relative terms between 1985 and 2000, and results taken from the Turkish University Examination Center also demonstrate women's increasing educational attainment in previously male-dominated majors. The logistic regression results suggest the significance of education for women's employment, showing that, by 1985, having a low- or mid-prestige educational qualification compared to being highly educated decreased the likelihood of being in a male job by -1.96 (exp .14) and -1.22 (exp .29) and by 2000 with log odds of -1.35 (exp .26) and -.71 (exp .49). However, the negative impact of being less educated has slightly decreased over time which could be a result of migrant women's (yet slow and low) integration into less prestigious male jobs in urban regions.

In Model 4, marital status is added to the model. As seen in the previous chapter, due to the traditional domestic roles attributed to married women in Turkish society, their labour market participation is more restricted than that of single women. In 1985, compared to married women, single women are .60 (exp 1.82), divorced women are .89 (exp 2.43) and widowed women are .47 (exp 1.60) more likely to be in a male job. By 2000, the patterns are almost unchanged; married women are less likely to be in a male-dominated job than

women of other marital statuses. It could be observed that particularly the positive impact of being single compared to being married remains the same. This is predictable given that in 1985, 84.3% of women claim that they are not in paid work due to their housewife status (which is not even asked men as in being stay-home-husbands/fathers) while in 2000 this rate is 73.4% which is still a considerable percentage of women not working only due to fulfilling house-related tasks; one of the reasons of this decrease being the shift to holding a student status (presumably due to slowly increasing higher educational attainment) that rose from 13.0% in 1985 to 19.4% in 2000<sup>10</sup>.

Married women are expected to be excluded from male occupations both for low- and high-prestige jobs (as well as the mid-prestige male jobs) as mentioned, for the former the traditional barriers are effective and the latter outcome happens as a result of the discontinuity of women's work patterns due to life course changes in tandem with the lack of social policy support. While education increases women's chances in the labour market, logistic regression results show that being married decreases the probability of being in a male-dominated job. Thus, to measure their combined effect on women's chances in particularly prestigious male jobs, interaction term analysis results will be discussed further in this chapter.

As women are assigned to be the main caregiver in Turkish society, the descriptive results show that childcare is undertaken by mothers with a rate of above 90% (Family Value

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<sup>10</sup> Turkish Statistical Institute, 1980-2000. Census data in Dynamic Search, available at: [http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?alt\\_id=1047](http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?alt_id=1047).

Survey, 2006) both in Turkey overall, and in urban and rural areas when the data are disaggregated. The results for both 1985 and 2000 present that the likelihood of women being in a male job decreases in accordance with the number of children they have. However, it could be seen that the negative influence of having children on women's position in male jobs decreased over time. In other contexts, this trend is associated with the changing birth control behaviour (Hakim, 2000; Goldin and Katz, 2002; Goldin, 2006). Hakim (2000) argues that contraceptive improvements provided women the freedom to choose when to become mothers, helping them to build their careers in the meantime. Goldin and Katz (2002) and Goldin (2006) argue that the provision of the contraceptive pill to single women improved women's work in terms of the decreased risk of becoming pregnant without planning as well as delaying the age of marriage, helping to shape their careers before family life, being "taken more seriously by employers and advisors". However, these arguments could not be implemented into the Turkish context due to many reasons. First and foremost, pre-marital intimate relations are still not considered appropriate in today's Turkish society, particularly even more strongly in smaller towns. Even when the pill is provided freely in government health centers, women would be taken aback by the fear of social prejudice, also considering the intrusive attitude in the current political atmosphere towards women's private lives. There is a general conservative attitude towards relations outside marriage in Turkey, regardless of gender, individuals consider pre-marital cohabitation inappropriate as Family Value Survey (2006) results have also revealed. In 2006, 68.4% of women and 67.8% of men claim that they would be disturbed to have a cohabiting neighbour (TurkStat, FVS, 2006). Regardless of the way of acquiring the pill (free or paid) or other contraceptive means, the argument related to delaying marriage due to use of the pill by single women is also contradictory with the fact that even by 2006, 58.7% of women and 58.2% of men get married (for first marriage)

between the ages of 18-24 and only 7.7% of women's age of first marriage is between 25-29, which is 1.3% for the ages of 30-34. Regarding the claim that decreasing fertility has positively affected women's employment to a large extent, there is no dramatic change over the years as to influence female employment sharply; the total fertility rates are 2.59 for 1985, 2.65 for 1990 and 2.53 for 2000, as the mean age at childbearing is 28.6 in 1985, 27.7 in 1990 and 28.1 in 2000<sup>11</sup>. In addition, the pronatal discourse and precautions has created a pressure on women especially in more conservative regions of Turkey. Also, Goldin and Katz, in their research in 2010, argue that career costs caused by family is stronger in some high-end occupations than the other and in many of the occupations they consider including medicine, women tend to participate in specialties offering more flexibility, while women have increased their presence in veterinary medicine and pharmacy due to the opportunity to opt out of emergency hours in the former and to remain employees rather than partners, thus have more flexibility in both the former but more so for the latter. This study argues that the slight decrease in the motherhood penalty from 1985 to 2000 is expected to be related to the increasing higher educational attainment and the equally slow entrance of women into more prestigious jobs as will be seen further in the thesis (e.g. two prestigious jobs becoming female-dominated in 2000), thus having wider opportunities (legally and financially for childcare). This argument is also supported in the upcoming ordered logistic regression analysis that one child increases the likelihood of women to be employed in the higher prestige male jobs of three-level hierarchy elevator, meaning that the motherhood penalty especially for one child has started to decrease. Also in this analysis, the strongest decrease could be seen for the impact of

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<sup>11</sup> Turkish Statistical Institute, 1980-2000. Census data in Dynamic Search, available at: [http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?alt\\_id=1047](http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?alt_id=1047).

having one child. Following sections will also show that childcare is a secondary barrier to women's work compared to traditionally female-associated household-related tasks.

This study focuses on the positive impact of education and the negative impact of responsibilities that come with marriage on women's work which is expected to be stronger for prestigious male jobs. Thus, Table 13 examines the combined effect of education and marital status on women's likelihood of being in the highest prestige male jobs.

**Table 13: Turkish women's position in the highest prestige male jobs (women in working age, 15-64), logistic regressions with interactions**

	1985	2000
<b>Education (High educated-ref)</b>		
Low educated	-7.81 (.09)***	-7.79 (.08)***
Medium educated	-1.95 (.06)***	-2.92 (.02)***
<b>Marital status (Married-ref)</b>		
Single	-.20 (.08)**	-.53 (.02)***
Divorced	.45 (.23)*	-.25 (.05)***
Widowed	-.18 (.40)	.03 (.11)
<b>Interaction terms</b>		
Low educated x Single	.16 (.16)	1.19 (.13)***
Low educated x Divorced	1.59 (.37)***	2.29 (.23)***
Low educated x Widowed	.46 (.48)	.37 (.28)
Medium educated x Single	-.63 (.09)***	.13 (.04)***
Medium educated x Divorced	-.63 (.26)**	.54 (.08)***
Medium educated x Widowed	.32 (.44)	.30 (.16)*
<b>Constant</b>		
	.98 (.05)***	.58 (.01)***
LR chi-square	34353.47	115920.29
Pseudo R2	0.5657	0.5561
Log likelihood	-13184.863	-46273.89
Number of obs.	306209	428886

*Data source: Turkish Census data, 1985, 2000 (Turkish Statistical Institute). Author's analysis.*

As the effect of marital status and education on women's probability to be in the highest prestige male jobs is specific to the reference categories of being married and highly educated, in 1985, there is a negative impact of being single rather than married for women who are highly educated on working in the "highest prestige male jobs" category with the log odds of  $-.20$  (exp  $.82$ ), which is  $-.53$  (exp  $.59$ ) for 2000, both being statistically significant. In 1985, there is a negative impact of being low educated rather than highly educated for married women with the log odds of  $-7.81$  and  $-7.79$  in 2000 to be in the highest prestige level of male jobs. As seen, being low educated rather than highly educated has a negative effect for married women both in 1985 and 2000, while this effect is  $-7.85$  and  $-7.13$  for single women in 1985 and 2000 respectively (as the sum of the impact of being single, low educated and the combined effect of being single and low educated). For divorced women, being low educated rather than highly educated has also a negative impact on their chances in the most prestigious male jobs with the log odds of  $-5.77$  in 1985 and  $-5.75$  in 2000 (both for marital status and interactions, results are insignificant for widowed women and since the significance level is relative to the reference category for interaction terms, the insignificance of the result for interactions of widowed women are in comparison to highly educated married women). The findings of the two-step Heckman selection (probit) analysis display a similar positive impact of marriage (in the outcome equation of women's probability to be in the highest prestige occupations regardless of gender) in this chapter and this effect will be discussed further in this section in detail.

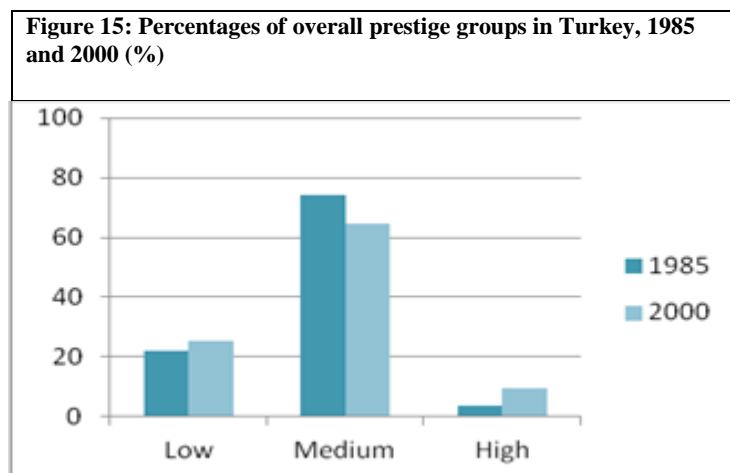
## **5.3 Prestige and women's work**

In the previous chapter, the hierarchy elevator graph suggested that Turkish women are excluded from the low- and high-prestige jobs that are male-dominated, and are allocated in those in the mid-prestige female jobs, sharing this middle part of the hierarchy pyramid with mid-prestige male jobs. As being excluded from the higher-prestige male-dominated jobs refers to the lack of improvement of women's careers, this research is interested which parameters influence this exclusion in the Turkish context. Before women's work patterns in three prestige levels of male jobs are explored in more depth, the representation of women and men in the prestige (male) groups will be descriptively presented.

### **5.3.1 Occupational prestige patterns in the labour market**

The essential idea of the hierarchy elevator is based on the three layers of occupational prestige groups and women's trapped position in the middle-prestige female occupations. Before analysing the impact of various parameters on women's chances of being in a higher-prestige male job, the descriptive picture will be presented so as to provide an insight into the respective shares of prestige groups in Turkey overall and in between women and men. The aim of this section is to provide an introduction to the patterns of prestige groups overall and of the male jobs before analysing the probability of women being in the different levels of the latter in relation to their individual characteristics. The descriptive tables begin by introducing the distribution of occupational prestige groups overall in 1985 and 2000, and continue by presenting women's and men's share in these groups as well as in the prestige groups of female and male jobs.

Figure 15 shows the percentages of overall prestige groups in Turkey. As expected and consistent with the ‘hierarchy elevator’, the mid-prestige group has the highest percentage, although in 2000 the lowest and highest prestige groups increased their share within the prestige scale. As we can see, in accordance with the second wave internal migration in Turkey and increasing higher education (considering that both started in 1980s), the two ends of the figure became moderately stronger over time.



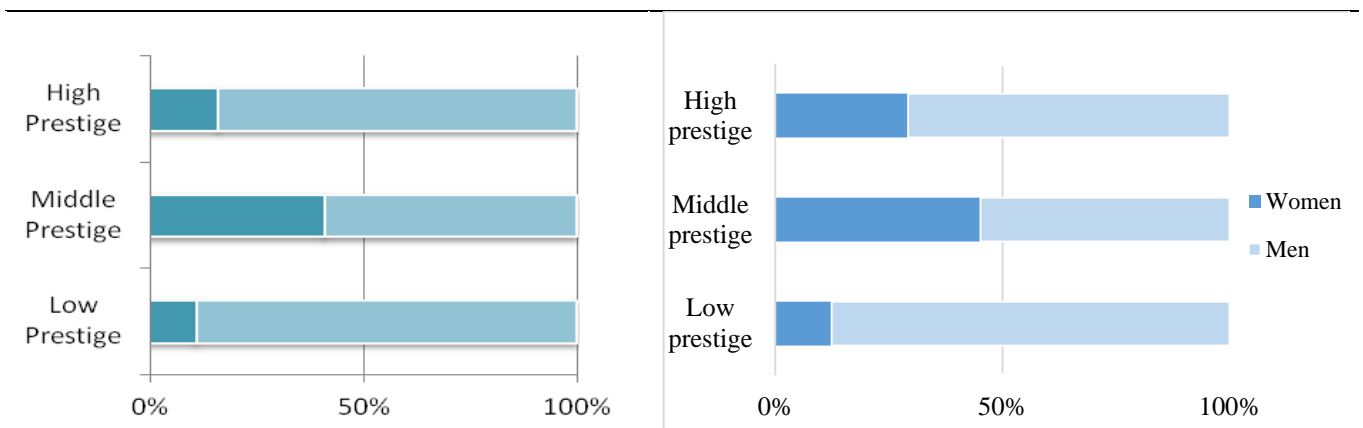
*Data Source: Turkish Census data, 1985, 2000 (Turkish Statistical Institute).  
Author's tabulation.*

Figures 16a and 16b present the share of women and men in the overall prestige groups. As men's share decreased in the highest occupational prestige group by 2000, women have increased their proportion in this section. The explanation for this increase could be that in 1985 there was no female job in the highest prestige group, however, by 2000, with the support of increasing female higher educational attainment, two prestigious professional jobs became female-dominated (medical jobs and life sciences). Only 26.6% of medical jobs (which include doctors and other medical employees) were taken by women by 1985, but the rate rises up to 52.6% in 2000 and for life scientists from 45.4% to 52.3%. As women participate mostly in female jobs, the rise in their share in the highest prestige

group is thus predictable and implies that being in a female job, in which discontinuity is easier to be compensated for, is the strongest channel for Turkish women to be in a prestigious job (mostly via scientific, technical and professional jobs) except for the few women who achieve to be in top-level male jobs, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

**Figure 16a: The share of women and men in occupational prestige groups, 1985 (%)**

**Figure 16b: The share of women and men in occupational prestige groups, 2000 (%)**



*Data Source: Turkish Census data, 1985, 2000 (Turkish Statistical Institute).  
Author's tabulation.*

Table 14 demonstrates the percentages of female and male prestige groups in the Turkish labour market overall in 1985 and 2000. As we can see, female jobs are heavily concentrated in the middle level in accordance with the argument of the hierarchy elevator. However, male jobs are scattered throughout the three levels of prestige, and by 2000 the share of the highest female and male prestige groups are three times (for female) and two times (for male) higher compared to 1985 presumably as a result of expanded labour market opportunities. However, as will be seen in Figure 17b, women have not benefited

from this expansion as far as it would be expected and decreased their share in the highest male prestige group.

**Table 14: Distribution of prestige groups of female and male jobs (%)**

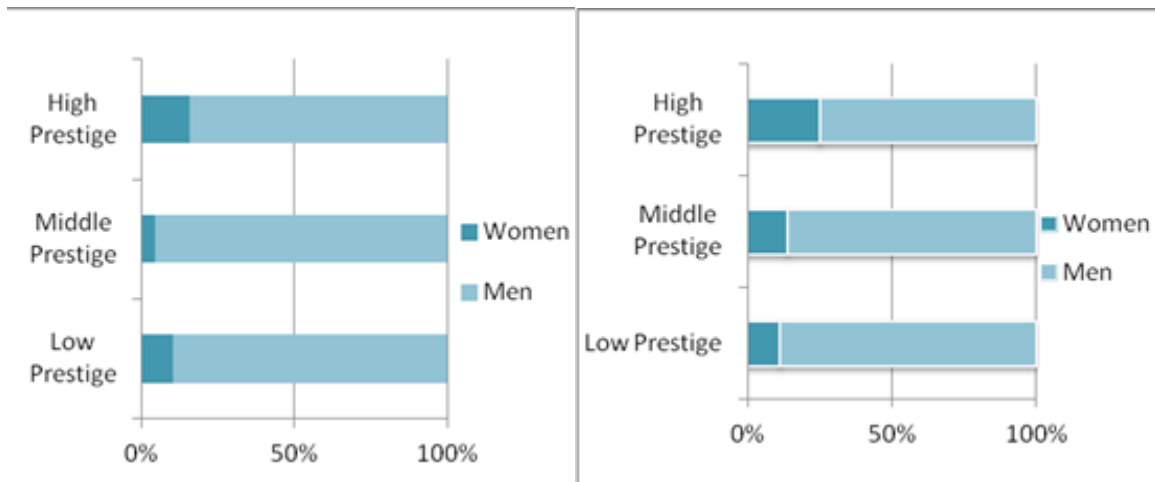
	1985	2000
<b>Female jobs</b>		
Low-prestige	0.0	0.8
Medium-prestige	99.9	96.3
High-prestige	0.0	3.0
<b>Male jobs</b>		
Low-prestige	48.5	48.7
Medium-prestige	43.0	34.8
High-prestige	8.5	16.5

*Data Source: Turkish Census data, 1985, 2000  
(Turkish Statistical Institute).  
Author's tabulation.*

Figures 17a and 17b present the share of women and men in the prestige categories of male-dominated jobs. In 1985, women's share in low-, medium- and high-prestige male jobs are 10.2%, 4.5% and 15.8% respectively, which are 11.4%, 13.9% and 25.1% in 2012. As a result of the slightly increasing higher educational level of Turkish women and the expansion of higher-prestige occupations, more women participate in the highest prestige group of male jobs by 2000, yet it is still not at a satisfying level.

**Figure 17a: The share of women and men in occupational prestige groups in male jobs, 1985 (%)**

**Figure 17b: The share of women and men in occupational prestige groups in male jobs, 2000 (%)**



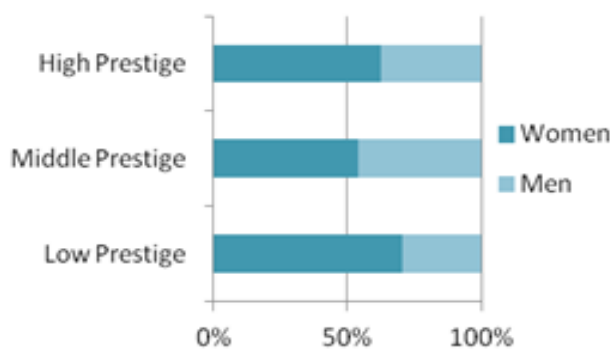
Data Source: Turkish Census data, 1985, 2000 (Turkish Statistical Institute). Author's tabulation.

Figures 18a and 18b present the share of women and men in the prestige groups of female occupations in 1985 and 2000. Women's participation in the lowest and highest prestige groups of female-dominated jobs slightly decreased over time unlike their share in medium-prestige female jobs, meaning that men have a higher share in these categories in 2000 compared to 1985. It should also be pointed out that although it might be expected that low-prestige female jobs represent traditional jobs done by women under the supervision of family such as agricultural work, by 2000 the lowest prestige group of female jobs mostly composed of 'maids and related housekeeping service workers'. Female workers in this occupational group could be referred to a *buffer mechanism*<sup>12</sup> (Kıray, 2000) for highly educated, working women's domestic responsibilities with the

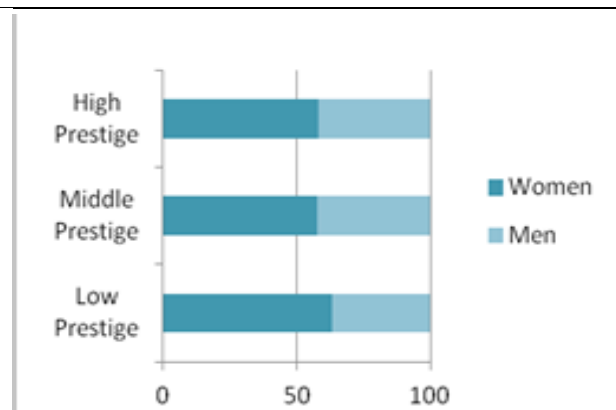
<sup>12</sup> Originally, this concept is used for the mechanisms that temporarily compensate for social change/transformation as a 'bridge' between 'old' and 'upcoming' social patterns in a Turkish seaside town (Ereğli) by Mübeccel B. Kıray (2000).

role being performed by rural migrants compensating for working women’s double burden until a decent level of female participation in the labour market (particularly in prestigious male-dominated jobs) and egalitarian domestic division of labour are achieved. In Turkey, maids and cleaners usually work under “proper” traditional conditions, working closely with the female of the house, thus it is commonly preferred a low-prestige, traditionally female job category in the Turkish context. Erdoğan and Toksöz (2013) indicate that household work is attached a low value as a female job and while daily paid domestic work become common after the 1950s as a result of the internal migration and previously working in agricultural jobs, now unqualified new urban residents, they work as daily workers on a regular or irregular basis with families living in regular apartment buildings which is the common form of paid domestic work in Turkey as maids and cleaners stay in the households work mostly with middle-upper class families. Erdoğan and Toksöz (2013) also indicate that live-in services delivered to the sick and elderly family members are undertaken by foreign migrants rather than Turkish migrant women.

**Figure 18a: The share of women and men in occupational prestige groups in female jobs, 1985 (%)**



**Figure 18b: The share of women and men in occupational prestige groups in female jobs, 2000 (%)**



*Data Source: Turkish Census data, 1985, 2000 (Turkish Statistical Institute). Author’s tabulation.*

England (2010) states that there is little change in the devaluation of female activities and jobs, and as a result women have been more encouraged to move to male jobs than men being willing to participate in jobs predominated by women in the US. In Turkey, the opposite has occurred as seen from the tables above. Although it is a slight change, men's increasing dominance in the high-prestige female jobs is not a positive trend, and does not refer to men's embracement of female jobs as well. As stated above, in 1985 there is no female job in the highest prestige group; however, by 2000, two of the most prestigious jobs are female-dominated in Turkey as stated above. Men in both of the newly prestigious female jobs account for 47%, which is very close to women's share, showing that they are starting to expand their participation rate in these high-prestige jobs and share them with female employees.

Table 15 shows the proportion of women in the ten lowest and ten highest prestige jobs in 1985 and 2000. It is significant to evaluate women's position in these jobs as they are expected to refer to areas that allow women to be a part of the job market and those that have an opposite impact. As was seen in this section previously, although the distribution of female workers among the top- and low-prestige jobs is particularly low, women did increase their proportion at both extremes of the prestige scale, despite still being concentrated in mid-prestige jobs. The results show that, in 2000, two of the jobs in the top-ten most prestigious occupations were female jobs (50% and over female population in the Turkish case), namely medical occupations and life sciences. However, jobs that require long hours of work (managerial and related jobs), strictly non-flexible working conditions and working in male environments (aircraft and ships' officers) and a continuous work pattern (legislative and governmental occupations) still remained heavily

male in 2000. It should be noted that alongside with the two prestigious jobs becoming female jobs in 2000, the considerable increase in women's attainment in the labour market as economists, accountants and jurists refer to the importance of Turkish women's increasing higher educational attainment as these occupations are associated with certain university majors. This picture also shows that there is a shift of less skilled women previously living in rural areas towards low-prestige jobs and that highly educated women are represented in well paid professional jobs at a decent level, however, there is still a remarkable lack of women's representation in managerial and related jobs. As the distinctive feature of this job category is higher expectation of continuity and longer working hours, this implies that the major problem women encounter at work is their heavy burden and employers' views on the risk brought by this burden. This is specifically problematic in terms of the extent of traditional structure prescribing women with the role of care being even higher (considering the limited access of women to these jobs) than the traditional structure that considers women's work inappropriate in jobs with irregular hours and high contact with the public (taking less skilled women's noticeable increase in attaining these jobs).

**Table 15: Common jobs with highest and lowest prestige in 1985 and 2000 (%)**

Women's proportion in the ten most prestigious jobs			Women's proportion in the ten least prestigious jobs		
	1985	2000		1985	2000
Medical, dental, veterinary and related workers	26.6	52.6	Sales workers	4.2	23.8
Economists	20.8	33.1	Maids and related housekeeping service workers not elsewhere classified	13.5	41.8
Life Scientists	45.4	52.3	Building caretakers, charworkers, cleaners and related workers	6.5	14.6
Teachers	32.3	36.8	Launderers, dry-cleaners and pressers	21.3	20.7
Accountants	18.2	25.9	Agriculture and animal husbandry	38.1	34.0
Managers	4.9	7.9	Tanners, fellmongers and pelt dressers	9.3	13.0
Legislative officials and government administrators	6.7	13.7	Material-handling and related equipment operators, dockers and freight handlers	0.3	2.2
Physical scientists	24.3	28.3	Forestry workers	14.4	8.9
Jurists	18.5	27.4	Cooks, waiters, bartenders and related workers	4.1	12.7
Aircraft and ships' officers	0.0	6.5	Shoemakers and leather goods makers	3.3	5.1

*Data Source: Turkish Census data, 1985, 2000 (Turkish Statistical Institute). Author's tabulation.*

As the proportion of women decreased in agriculture and forestry jobs due to internal migration from rural to urban areas that have been intense during the 1980s, the same pattern is reflected in the dramatic increase in the numbers of women working as maids and in related positions. The fact that migrant women who previously worked in agriculture and who are mostly unqualified started to work to compensate for working urban women's domestic responsibilities is a win-win case for both, as migrant women gain work in more traditional occupations (considering there is social as well as job security) and working urban women's double burden is decreased by the former.

Cooking (with other food and beverage related services) as a service job with unpredictable working hours remains a heavily male job despite its traditionally female attachment in the private sphere showing that men are perfectly capable of undertaking this duty as a paid work. This is at least partly because this category also includes waiting staff and bartenders, which are not traditional occupations for women. Furthermore, as women show a tendency not to attain positions that require continuity mainly as managers, legislative and government officials, and aircraft officers; low-prestige jobs that are attached to masculinity (material-handling), positions traditionally referred to as male manual jobs (shoemakers and tanners) and unconventional working conditions in heavily male environments (building caretakers) were still overwhelmingly predominated by men in 2000.

### **5.3.2 Two-step Heckman (probit) correction model**

This part will present the maximum-likelihood probit model with sample selection also Heckman selection model with binary dependent variables. By measuring the mechanisms in which firstly women's entrance into the labour market and then their participation in top-prestige occupations (regardless of gender) occur, the relationship between these two processes will also be seen. Therefore, we will be able to observe whether it is the same mechanisms that affect women's entry into paid work and the highest level of the hierarchy elevator.

In the Turkish literature, the Heckman model is mainly used in the economy and econometrics literature, yet there are also few studies using Heckman correction for the purpose of analysing returns of women (and men) to education (Tansel, 2008) and female employment based on wage measures (Sarı, 2002). Also in the international literature, as

Olivetti and Petrongolo (2008) indicate Heckman correction model is used extensively to measure selection bias in female wage differentials (Petreski et al., 2014; Wright and Ermisch, 1991) as well as it is implemented to measure discriminatory and non-discriminatory employment practices of women and men (Baldwin and Johnson, 1992) and to analyse job type and work-life balance in a two-step selection method (Barbulescu and Bidwell, 2012).

In this study, there has been attempts to use Heckman selection model in various ways. Firstly, all of the prestige scores in the Treiman scale as adapted to the Turkish Census data of 1985 and 2000 were used as the continuous dependent variable (Stata command: heckman), yet the model did not work properly (rho value being -1 instead of between 0 and 1) which was interpreted as a result of the dependent variable being more of the discrete type rather than fitting the definition of a continuous variable in its full terms. Secondly, Heckman probit analysis (Stata command: heckprob) was used only for highly educated women as the sample, and this caused convergence to be not achieved presumably due to the restricted number of highly educated women who are not in the labour market overall at a high rate combined with women's lack of representation in the top of the hierarchy elevator in the first place. Thus, eventually Heckman probit model is used to measure variables affecting women's (all women of working age) entry to labour market, and their participation in the highest prestige occupations. The first step of the two-step selection model will present women's likelihood to whether to be in the labour market or not based on different parameters. In the second part, also in the outcome equation (the prestige equation), working women's probability to be in the highest prestige job category (compared to jobs of other prestige levels) according to Treiman scale,

regardless of gender composition will be investigated. In both steps, we could observe that the pseudo-panel perspective shows us a decreasing likelihood of women entering the labour market as well as the highest prestige job category (regardless of gender composition).

**Table 16: Two-step Heckman (probit) selection model, 1985 and 2000 (for women in working age, 15-64).**

Occupational prestige	1985	2000
Selection equation: women's entry into the labour market		
a25to34	.24 (.22)	-.001 (.04)
a35to44	.19 (.28)	.02 (.07)
a45to54	.26 (.21)	.01 (.06)
a55to64	.24 (.24)	-.11 (.08)
low educated	-.62 (1.25)	-.92 (.61)
medium educated	.17 (.44)	-.34 (.27)
single	.01 (.06)	-.03 (.03)
divorced	-.12 (.10)	.00 (.04)
widowed	-.27 (.17)	.11 (.07)
1 child	.06 (.07)	-.01 (.03)
2 children	.00 (.06)	.01 (.03)
3 or more children	-.10 (.23)	-.02 (.06)
Constant	-.67 (.40)	-.02 (.16)
Outcome equation: women's participation in the highest prestige job category compared to jobs of other prestige levels		
a25to34	.65 (.03)***	.22 (.01)***
a35to44	.80 (.03)***	.41 (.02)***
a45to54	.53 (.05)***	.35 (.02)***
a55to64	.38 (.08)***	.05 (.04)
low educated	-3.33 (.04)***	-3.41 (.02)***
medium educated	-1.27 (.03)***	-1.69 (.01)***
single	-.05 (.03)	-.12 (.02)***
divorced	-.05 (.06)	-.09 (.02)***
1 child	.09 (.03)**	.13 (.02)***
2 children	-.00 (.04)	.08 (.02)***
3 or more children	-.56 (.04)***	-.30 (.02)***
Constant	-.10 (.04)*	.27 (.02)***
Athrho	.39 (.53)	.32 (.25)
Rho	.37 (.45)	.31 (.22)
Number of observations	303868	418831
Number of censored observations	299500	390795
Number of uncensored observations	4368	28036
Wald chi2 (12)	105.62	22.81
Ch2 (1)	.47	1.62
Prob>chi2	0.4935	0.0294
Log likelihood	-12893.3	-61692.65

Data Source: Turkish Census data, 1985, 2000 (Turkish Statistical Institute). Author's analysis.

When the first step of the model is interpreted, although the results for the selection equation are not statistically significant for both 1985 and 2000; compared to highly educated women, medium educated women are more likely to be in the labour market in 1985, and low- and medium-level educated women are less likely to be working in 2000. While in 1985, single women are more likely to be employed compared to married women, in 2000 married women have a higher chance of working compared to single women. Married women are expected to be affected by the economic pressure more than single and divorced women, which could particularly result in their slow but increasing attainment in the labour market overall as well as in low-prestige male jobs for low educated women who are expected to be more affected by financial problems. However, the results still support the argument that marriage has a statistically significantly negative impact for women being in top-prestige jobs. Having children has a positive impact on women's likelihood of being in the labour market overall for two children both in 1985 and 2000 (and also for one child in the former) compared to having no children, which could be related to the secondary position of women at work considering there would be more economic difficulties, and thus a need for extra income for the household with the increasing number of children.

As could be seen in the second step, as expected, more educated women have a higher chance of being in the highest prestige occupational category both in 1985 and 2000.

Single and divorced women<sup>13</sup> are less likely to be in the highest prestige jobs compared to

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<sup>13</sup> The category of widowed women as one of the independent variables is not added in the second step of the analysis since the selection equation must contain at least one variable that is not included in the outcome equation (Stata, <http://www.stata.com/manuals13/rheckprobit.pdf>). It is significant to have exclusion

married women in 1985 and 2000. Having one child makes women more likely to be at the top of the hierarchy elevator compared to having no children or more than one child in 1985 (the result for two children being not statistically significant), as in 2000 having one or two children has a positive influence on women's careers in higher prestige occupations (regardless of genderedness).

The rho value being positive, it could be said that there is a positive correlation between the selection and outcome equations, and the barriers influencing women's paid work overall play a role in the process of being in the top-prestige occupations. In other words, the mechanisms that are effective in women's entry to labour market overall is parallel to those that are effective in women's participation in high-end jobs as the unobservables that increase the probability of being in the labour market are positively associated with women's likelihood to be in the top-prestige jobs.

As stated, the probability of women to be in the highest prestige jobs regardless of gender composition is measured in the second step of the model. As we will discuss further in Chapter 6, while women's employment and increasing wages do not change their heavy burden regarding traditionally female housework greatly, there is a drastic decrease in women's childcare responsibility for working women and women with higher wages as there is a wider spectrum of strategies to cope with childcare as will be presented further in

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restrictions e.g. to include a variable in the selection equation that is not in the outcome equation as the lack of this is one of the sources of collinearity problems (Puhani, 2000).

the next chapter. Considering that the medical and life science jobs which are in the highest prestige category became female-dominated in 2000 and even by 2012, only 3% of working women are in managerial jobs (TurkStat, HLFS (Dynamic Search), 2012), it could be predicted that women enter prestigious jobs via professional, scientific and technical occupations. Combined with these facts, Heckman probit selection model shows that having two children positively affects women's position in high-prestige jobs (despite marriage still having a negative influence) in 2000, thus it is highly likely that by 2000 women with one child or two children could attend higher prestige jobs via the mentioned highly prestigious female (professional) jobs which involve less career-break penalties than in male jobs which could result in the positive impact of having children on women's chances in top-prestige jobs. Moreover, as few women make it to the top of the hierarchy elevator in managerial and legislative jobs, they are expected to be the ones who have strategies to cope with household responsibilities and childcare (mostly via paid help due to their higher financial capabilities) by having the necessary means and support. It should also be added that the finding which shows a correlation between the mechanisms that affect women's entry into the labour market and their participation in highest prestige jobs doubled with the finding which demonstrates highly educated women's inadequate attainment levels in the labour market implies that many women whose educational level corresponds to the jobs at the highest prestige job category "get stuck" at the entrance of the labour market in the first place and those who achieve to enter the labour market remain in middle-prestige jobs as a result of the similar mechanisms in process. This is why only few married women who could cope with the domestic burden participate in the highest prestige jobs, having children reflecting a different pattern as mentioned above. On a related note, starting from 2010 following the global financial crisis in 2009, female employment rates started to slightly increase in Turkey and as the above mentioned rising

attainment of women in low-prestige jobs could be interpreted as a result of subsequent financial necessities, the lack of the reflection of almost the simultaneous rise (that started in 2011) of highly educated women’s employment rates in managerial positions also support the prediction that professional jobs are a major channel for highly educated women to be in relatively more prestigious jobs that correspond to their educational backgrounds. Still even by 2014, despite this (yet modest) increase, the overall female employment rate in Turkey is only 30.3%, 28.7% of highly educated women not being employed (for women aged 15 and over)<sup>14</sup> in spite of the positive influence of increasing educational level on women’s likelihood to be in the labour market overall, male jobs and prestigious male jobs as presented in previous empirical sections.

To discuss the connection between these findings and highly educated women’s work trajectories that is a focal point in this study, Table 17a shows that in 1985, highly educated women increased their share in top-prestige jobs presumably with the help of their increasing attainment in traditionally male subjects in university and the above mentioned change in gender composition of prestigious medical and life science jobs. However, highly educated women’s participation in top-prestige jobs remained the same from 1985 to 2000. In 1985, 74.2% of highly educated women were in top-prestige jobs and in 2000 it was 74.7%.

**Table 17a: Highly educated women’s share in the highest prestige jobs regardless of gender composition (%)**

1985	2000
14.5	33.2

**Table 17b: Highly educated women’s attainment in the highest prestige jobs regardless of gender composition (%)**

1985	2000
74.2	74.7

*Data Source: Turkish Census data, 1985, 2000 (Turkish Statistical Institute). Author’s tabulation.*

<sup>14</sup> TurkStat website, Dynamic search for HLFS of 2009 to 2014: [www.tuik.gov.tr](http://www.tuik.gov.tr).

The unchanging attainment level of highly qualified women in top-prestige occupations, alongside with the nearly unchanging overall female employment, support the finding that the parameters affecting women's entry into the labour market influence their position in the top of the hierarchy elevator. Further qualitative and quantitative research in this area is needed to evaluate highly educated women's trajectories in the top of the hierarchy elevator overall, and in female and male areas of this prestige level.

### **5.3.3 Turkish women in the hierarchy elevator**

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the hierarchy elevator proposes that women are concentrated in the middle section of the hierarchy ladder (mostly in female areas), of which the lower prestige and higher prestige occupations are dominated by men. Women in the former are expected to be mainly in the agricultural work particularly before the second wave internal migration started and in the latter they are mostly represented in relatively higher prestige professional jobs rather than managerial positions. As it is argued in Chapter 4, traditional discrimination results in women's exclusion from the low-prestige jobs and this research explains women's underrepresentation in the top-prestige male jobs with statistical discrimination based on women's discontinuity. This section will refer to this argument and investigate Turkish women's position in the higher-prestige level of male-dominated jobs using ordered logistic regression analysis with Turkish Census data from 1985 and 2000, and independent variables that could affect women's continuity such as age, marital status and number of children.

Previously in this chapter, women's position in overall male jobs was presented with similar individual factors to interrogate their lack of participation in the male-dominated occupational sphere. The aim of this section is to take this analysis a step further by investigating their likelihood of being in the top-level prestige groups of male jobs in order to be able to analyse the hierarchy elevator effect on Turkish women's employment. As stated before, this research assumes that being underrepresented in the high-end male occupations stems from women's forced discontinuity in the labour market due to their differentiated burden, which could also be seen from the previous analyses in the chapter. Thus, elaborating their position in prestigious male jobs, which refer to the anticipation of continuity and no career breaks, will present how different parameters impact their position in these jobs they are mostly excluded from using ordered logistic regression analysis with the dependent variable of 'being in a prestigious male job' (being in a high-prestige male job=1) for women in working age (15-64).

As seen in Table 18 in both 1985 and 2000 (TurkStat, Census data, 1985 and 2000) women in the oldest working age group are more likely to be in a more prestigious male job. In other words, regarding the cohort impact, considering the 15-year gap between the data sets could suggest that women in the same cohort are less likely to be in a more prestigious male job as they get older. This result is compatible with the fact that prestigious male jobs require longer years of commitment and experience. The likelihood of women being in a higher-prestige group of a male job is highest between the ages of 55 and 64 both in 1985 and 2000. Compared to men, few women are in the highest section of the hierarchy pyramid, and as being in these high-end jobs requires extreme competition and higher levels of dedication from women, this result is consistent with the argument

that women are more likely to be in prestigious male jobs when they have a work-life-long dedication to their jobs. In other words, women in the prestigious male jobs are expected to be continuous at work and are provided on-the-job training as women who are discontinuous would be anticipated to be eliminated at a younger age than 55 to 64. While only women aged 25-34 are more likely to be in a male job (overall) compared to 15-24, when prestige is added to the picture, women are expected to hold on to their jobs and continue up to a certain age to be able to work in a prestigious job. By 2000, although the patterns still resemble that of 1985, the probability of women aged between 25 and 34 being in a more prestigious male job decreases from .64 to .11. This might be because women's unchanging roles at home have resulted in their withdrawal from male jobs in the life-stage when they tend to get married and have children.

**Table 18: Turkish women's position in male jobs' prestige groups (women in working age, 15-64), Ordered Logistic Regressions**

Male job: prestige groups	1985	2000
<b>Age cohorts (15 to 24-ref)</b>		
25 to 34	.64(.03)***	.11 (.02)***
35 to 44	.78(.05)***	.41(.03)***
45 to 54	.51(.07)***	.45(.04)***
55 to 64	.82(.10)***	.55(.07)***
<b>Urban (Rural-ref)</b>	.80(.04)***	.45(.02)***
<b>Education (High educated-ref)</b>		
Low educated	-4.91(.06)***	-5.00(.02)***
Medium educated	-2.07(.05)***	-2.82(.02)***
<b>Marital status (Married-ref)</b>		
Single	.12(.04)***	.02(.02)
Divorced	-.05(.07)	-.17(.03)***
Widowed	-.03(.08)	-.19(.06)***
<b>Number of children (No children-ref)</b>		
1 child	.24(.05)***	.15(.03)***
2 children	.02(.05)	-.02(.03)
3 or more children	-.61(.06)***	-.51(.04)***
Cut 1	-2.26(.07)	-3.18(.03)
Cut 2	.01(.07)	-.49(.03)
LR chi-square	0.3438	0.3408
Pseudo R2	24622.96 (13)	73870.94(13)
Log likelihood	-23497.845	-71452.711
Number of obs.	37996	99313

*Data Source: Turkish Census data, 1985, 2000 (Turkish Statistical Institute), Author's analysis.*

As expected, being in an urban area makes it more likely for women to be in more prestigious male jobs, with the log odds being .80 (exp 2.22) in 1985 and .45 (exp 1.57) in 2000. The positive impact of being in an urban area is weaker by 2000 compared to 1985, which could be a result of the slight and slow industrialisation of rural areas. Also, rural areas accommodate almost solely agricultural occupations, which offer unpaid family work for women, placing them in the low-prestige section of the hierarchy elevator.

Results so far show that education is a key indicator in terms of women's position in the labour market and a substantial determinant of women's labour market prestige as well. Table 18 presents that having a medium level of education compared to being highly educated decreases the likelihood of women being in a more prestigious male job both in 1985 and 2000. The impact of being educated to a low level is more than twice as negative as being educated to a medium level when compared to the highly educated women in terms of their likelihood of being in a more prestigious male job. As can be seen and is also based on common sense, higher educational qualifications are a necessity for the top-level male jobs and the negative impact of being less educated gets slightly stronger over time, presumably due to the increasing competition in the labour market.

Logistic regression results revealed that married women are less likely to be in a male-dominated job compared to single, divorced and widowed women. When male jobs are investigated in detail regarding prestige levels, the statistically significant results show that in 1985 single women are more likely to be in a higher prestige male job compared to married women when other variables in the model are held constant, with the log odds of .12 (exp 1.13). In 2000, compared to married women, divorced and widowed women's

probability of being in a more prestigious male job is lower, with the log odds of  $-.17$  (exp  $.84$ ) and  $-.19$  (exp  $.83$ ).

Overall, as the number of children increases, the probability of women being in a male-dominated job decreases. However, when the prestige groups of male jobs are investigated, the results differ. In 1985, having three and more children decreases women's likelihood of being in a higher prestige job but for two children the positive coefficient is not statistically significant. That said, statistically significant results show that both in 1985 and 2000 having one child compared to having no children makes it more likely for a woman to end up in a more prestigious male job (yet in a decreasing pattern). As having one child could be a source of motivation and not as much of a burden to aspire for a 'career', it is also a responsibility that is easier to be compensated for women in prestigious occupations assuming that they have higher levels of income to receive professional help, which is still very rare in Turkey as it is for women to be in top-prestige jobs. Also, considering that older women are more likely to be in higher prestige male jobs and who are expected to already have their child/children by that time, it could be speculated that women in the top-prestige male jobs might be choosing to have one child considering the nature of their occupational positions. Surely, this argument needs further investigation to evaluate the fertility decisions of women at the top of the hierarchy elevator.

As previously indicated throughout the research, in 2000, two of the highly prestigious jobs became female, which are life sciences and medical jobs. An additional analysis sheds light on the changing dynamics of women's position based on different parameters in these two jobs from 1985 to 2000. As these occupations are male-dominated in 1985 and

female-dominated in 2000, the mechanisms that affect women's participation in both are expected to change. Logistic regression analysis is applied to 1985 and 2000 Census data to analyse the likelihood of women to be in these jobs in both years based on the same parameters that are so far used as independent variables. An alteration in mechanisms could be observed, although in 1985, results are mostly not statistically significant as there are only few women in these jobs. For the impact of education, as expected there is no change occurred, as in both years medical and life science occupations are prestigious and they are anticipated to require higher qualifications regardless of their gender composition. In 2000, the positive impact of being in an urban area on women's probability to be in these jobs decreases compared to 1985, when life sciences and medical occupations are male jobs. Although not statistically significant for 1985, being single rather than married increases the likelihood of women to be in a medical or life science job, while in 2000, when they became female jobs; being single, divorced and widowed statistically significantly lowers women's chances in these jobs compared to married women. The impact of children on women's probability to be in life sciences or medical jobs is rather ambiguous. In 1985, when these are male-dominated occupations; the negative impact of having three or more children rather than no children is 5 times higher compared to 2000, even though the result for 1985 is not statistically significant. Having one or two children increases the likelihood to be in one of these jobs, although in 2000, this impact weakens by half when more women are in these occupations, now competing in high-prestige level. The positive impact of one or two children could practically be linked to the fact that there is a high rate of fertility, thus women who are already in the labour market are those with the resources that could help them to cope with the childcare problem. As findings reveal, changing gender composition of an occupation directly affects the mechanisms women use to cope with their responsibilities at home. Considering that only still 2.2% of working

women are in medical jobs and 0.03% of them are life scientists, this case is exceptional as it could be expected.

#### **5.4 What is happening to women at work today?**

After the detailed analysis of women's probability to be in male jobs and prestigious male jobs is presented, to be able to understand the outcomes of women's success in traditionally male subjects in university (for which descriptive data from 2000, 2004 and 2008 were presented) as well as the elaborate the discussion on current social policy regulations (as will be seen in Chapter 6), employment patterns of women in 2010s need to be investigated. While micro data is acquired for 1980s to 2000s in this study, information obtained from Turkish Statistical Institute website (HLFS: Dynamic Search) for 2012 will be presented to discuss recent female employment trends in Turkey.

Table 19 presents women's participation rates in major job categories in 2012. It could be seen that the percentage of women in managerial jobs remained identical in 2012 as in 2008 with a rate of 3% while women increased their participation in professional jobs from 16.4% in 2008 to 18% in 2012. The latter trend is in accordance with the increasing attainment and success of women both overall and in traditionally male university subjects as professional jobs are directly associated with their corresponding area in higher education (mostly) as in e.g. lawyers studying law, doctors majoring in medicine, teachers attending educational sciences. There is a slight increase in the rates of women as clerks, and service and sales employees from 9.2% in 2008 to 10.6% in 2012 for the former and from 9.5% in 2008 to 11.9% in 2012 for the latter. The impact of the diminishing number of agricultural work opportunities is reflected in women's participation in this category

which declines from 35.4% (2008) to 28.7% (2012). Women’s attainment in “other jobs” category increased from 26.5% (2008) to 27.8% (2012). In 2012 (the data for 2012 incorporates ISCO 88 instead of ISCO 08, thus categorisations remain the same as 2000 in 2012), 2.9% of single working women are in managerial and related jobs which is also 2.9% for married women, 25.2% of single women and 15.7% of married working women are in professional jobs that is 10.2% for married women and 14.7% for single women in service and sales jobs.

**Table 19: Turkish women’s (working age, 15-64) overall participation in the job categories (%)**

	Scientific, technical and professional employees	Managerial, legislative jobs and senior officials	Clerks	Service and sales workers	Agricultural workers	Other	Total
2012	18.0	3.0	10.6	11.9	28.7	27.8	100.0

*Data Source: Household Labour Force Survey, 2012, (Turkish Statistical Institute website, Dynamic Search). Author’s table.*

Women’s concentration in the major job categories has changed from 2008 to 2012 particularly in sales and service jobs. Women’s share in professional jobs has risen from 34.7% in 2008 to 37.5% in 2012, and in managerial jobs from 9.2% to 11.5% which changed from 38.9% to 44.6% in clerical jobs. The most dramatic change occurred in women’s concentration in sales and service jobs that from 2008 to 2012, women’s share in this category increased from 12.5% to 27.7% while there has been a decrease in their share in agricultural and related work from 45.2% to 43.2%, and a slight increase in “other jobs” category from 10.1% to 21.1%.

As seen from the table above, the decrease in women’s attainment in agricultural and related jobs is accompanied by an increase in their participation in less prestigious jobs

that are mostly available in urban areas. In 2012, still only 60.4% of highly educated women are in paid work and among working women 22% are highly educated while less educated women have shifted to lower prestige occupations presumably with the trigger of the global economic crisis occurred in 2008 that highly affected Turkey, creating a need for secondary workers. Meanwhile, highly educated women are still not adequately represented in the labour market as mentioned and the economic crisis is expected to have also exacerbated the statistical discrimination that men would be preferred over women particularly in more competitive occupations when available positions are scarce. Considering the gap between the working hours of women and men in top-prestige jobs, the risk averse mentality of employers (particularly in jobs where they invest in on-the-job-training and require longer hours of work) is expected to result in statistical discrimination towards women even when they are highly qualified.

Iversen and McCall Rosenbluth (2011) argue that although working longer is not the perfect indicator of productivity, in countries where there is “hours regulation”, women could overcome the source of statistical discrimination in higher prestige occupations that is the unregulated and extended working hours as an imperfect determinant of being more productive for the employers. In other words, hours regulation is a strategy to overcome the stigma associated with women’s work’s discontinuity. Thus, the statistical discrimination argument is in line with the descriptive indicators shown below regarding women’s and men’s working hours in top-prestige occupations in the Turkish context considering men work more than women quantitatively, which strengthens the stigmas questioning women’s occupational dedication. Table 20 presents women’s and men’s

working hours for particularly above the standard 40 hours a week, in 2000 and 2012 for managerial and related occupations.

**Table 20: Working hours (weekly) of women and men (aged 15 and above) in managerial, legislative and senior official positions**

<b>2000</b>					
	<b>40 hours or less</b>	<b>41-49</b>	<b>50-59</b>	<b>60-71</b>	<b>72+</b>
Women	52.7	24.9	11.1	8.9	2.4
Men	46.9	19.3	12.5	15.2	6.1
<b>2012</b>					
Women	40.8	20.7	13.1	17.4	8.0
Men	19.1	14.4	16.2	30.4	19.8

*Data Source: Household Labour Force Survey, 2000 and 2012<sup>15</sup>, (Turkish Statistical Institute website, Dynamic Search). Author's table.*

As can be seen from the table above, the percentage of women working 40 hours or less in the prestigious occupational category of legislators, senior officials and managers is slightly higher than men in 2000, and in 2012 there is a remarkably greater gap between women's and men's working hours in the category of standard hours of work in a week and below, implying that men are more drawn into the competitive nature of this occupational category. In 2000, a majority of women work 40 hours or less in managerial jobs and although this rate has decreased in 2012, men still have a much lower rate of working less hours than the widely recognised standard requirement for a full-time job. While women only exceed men in their share of working 40 hours or less and 41-49 hours, the gap between women and men with the increasing number of time spent at paid work over this point widens. Not only that but also it could clearly be observed that these jobs became dramatically more demanding in terms of working hours. This table showcases that despite the increasing working hours of women in highly competitive prestigious jobs, men's excessive working hours (for 50 or more hours of work a week in particular) as a

<sup>15</sup> Turkish Statistical Institute, 2012. HLFS in Dynamic Search, available at: [http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?alt\\_id=1007](http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?alt_id=1007).

positive signal of productivity is more visible to employers by which they tend to statistically discriminate women despite their qualifications as a result of their profit-oriented perspective that targets risk aversion.

## **5.5 Discussion and Conclusions**

Education is a significant determinant of women's overall work patterns as well as their position in male jobs and higher positions in the hierarchy elevator. However, the anticipated positive impact of women's attainment in traditionally male subjects is not reflected in female employment in male jobs as a result of the negative wave created by family formation as seen so far. The traditional notions attributed to married women take a toll on women's work alongside with the domestic responsibilities expected of them, and they strengthen the barriers restricting women's work particularly in the highly prestigious male-dominated jobs from which Turkish women are systematically and statistically excluded despite their high levels of human capital particularly in terms of being highly educated. Indeed, this chapter presented that increasing education has a positive impact on women's work in male jobs and prestigious male jobs, however when marriage is included in the picture women are less likely to be a part of the top of hierarchy elevator as well as in male jobs overall. The fact that single women have the highest chance of being in more prestigious male jobs also speaks of the advantage of being free from domestic responsibilities. As seen previously, women's age of first marriage coincides with the completion of their studies, and thus with their potential entry into the labour market for all educational levels. As a result, although women's position in prestigious jobs are increased slightly in 2000 compared to 1985 as two of the female occupations became prestigious jobs by 2000, female jobs are still gathered in the mid-prestige level of the hierarchy

elevator despite the expansion at the two ends of the pyramid, and women are heavily concentrated in this part of the job market.

The impact of having children on women's work is somewhat more complicated: while having children negatively affects women's work in male jobs overall, in the most prestigious jobs there is a (statistically significant) positive impact of having one child compared to having no children. Also, between 1985 and 2000, the mentioned motherhood penalty decreases in male jobs overall which is expected to be a result of women's slow entrance into certain prestigious jobs in which they have more financial opportunities to receive paid help for childcare. This will also be seen in Chapter 6 that working women and women with higher wages undertake less childcare while it does not make a great difference in terms of household-related tasks which come along with marriage. Despite the decreasing motherhood penalty by 2000, it is problematic that there is a low attainment of women in the male-dominated sphere of employment when domestic responsibilities and other household chores that come along with having children are involved.

The finding presented earlier in this study that women who achieved to be in managerial jobs work visibly less hours than men in the same positions also refers to women's time being split between home and work even when they are in top-prestige jobs which creates a negative signal in terms of employers' prospective hiring patterns. This is on a related note with Bielby and Baron's (1986) argument regarding statistical discrimination that women only attain certain jobs that are reserved for them by employers, which mostly do not require investment in on-the-job training in relation to women's expected career breaks in comparison to men's continuous work patterns. There is also a high rate of highly

educated women who are not working, thus the two-step Heckman analysis is used to measure the potential selection bias. As in the traditional Heckman analysis the  $\rho$  value (rho) is not between 0 and 1, the reliability of this model was considered questionable despite the statistically significant results, and therefore a binary dependent variable was used to model probit Heckman selection analysis. The findings implied that there is a lost potential of highly qualified women in Turkey considering that high-prestige occupations require high qualifications as a randomly selected woman has a higher chance of being in higher prestige jobs compared to a woman selected into employment. This is compatible with the result that Turkish women have one of the lowest employment rates for highly educated women among their counterparts in other OECD countries (Figure 10, Chapter 4). The finding that there is a positive correlation between mechanisms that prevent women from entering the labour market and the top-prestige jobs strengthens the argument that highly qualified women who have the necessary human capital to enter the top-prestige jobs are lodged in pre-employment process due to the same determinants that would exclude them from the top of the hierarchy elevator. Also, when they overcome the difficulties and enter the labour market, these mechanisms create greater barriers that hold them back from attaining the top of the job market. This is an even more visible factor for highly educated women because the jobs associated with their education are more demanding, less flexible and less tolerant of family-related breaks. Thus, women's potential, prospective or current risk of withdrawal causes employers to choose male employees even when women are highly qualified. Results show that the impact of marriage and children is not as negative for (a low rate of) women who achieve to be in the highest prestige jobs (regardless of gender composition) as it is for those who are in male jobs overall and male jobs' highly prestigious positions (as seen in the outcome equation of Heckman probit selection model). This could be as a result of two prestigious jobs

becoming female jobs in 2000 as well as that few women in these positions are individuals that already accomplished to find support and reconciliation mechanisms to reach this point.

For high-prestige male occupations, the number of children does not have a particularly negative impact, which could be that women in these jobs are expected to afford paid childcare more than women in lower paid and less demanding jobs. This could also be why marriage affects women's likelihood of attaining these jobs negatively while, unlike in male jobs, the effect of the number of children is buffered with other mechanisms.

Furthermore, it is likely that women who are able to go beyond the barrier of marriage and the burden that comes with being married cope better with the impact of having children, having already built a career in a high-prestige position. That being said, it should be noted that this is still a rare pattern for Turkish women, except as regards the female prestigious jobs that emerged by 2000.

The subsequent analysis of women's likelihood of being in a male job showed that only women aged between 25 and 34 are more likely to be in a male job overall compared to the age cohort of 15-24. However, the results for women's probability to be in higher-prestige male jobs suggested that, regarding women's age cohort, as women get older their likelihood of being in a prestigious male job increases. When prestige is in question, it could be seen that these top-level jobs require an almost life-long dedication and continuity for women to access this "almost male only" territory of the hierarchy elevator. As mentioned in the literature review, Jacobs (1989) argues that women's employment is shaped according to their life stages, processes such as motherhood affect women's work

lives for a certain period of time, and that there is a revolving door effect in the labour market for women who must repeat the entering and exiting of male-dominated jobs according to their circumstances. However, while scholars argue that there are penalties as a result of giving career-breaks (see Arun et al., 2004; Malo and Munoz-Bullon, 2007) and Jacobs (1999) finds an increasing negative impact of discontinuity and part-time work on female employment in Britain, in the Turkish case it is a rare occasion for women to be in a prestigious male job in the first place. As a result, few women are in high-prestige male jobs but when they are in these jobs, they are expected to adapt to the environment.

The results presented so far refer to three main prospective issues regarding women's career improvements in Turkey. Firstly, the higher educational attainment of women needs to continue to increase, with the subsequent life plans directed towards employment during the educational process as results refer to the positive impact of higher education. Secondly, women's additional/secondary worker status should be transformed into a focus on women's 'careers'. Results so far indicate that women are trapped into the middle section of the hierarchy elevator, excluded particularly from high-end jobs that offer higher career mobility. In addition, childcare opportunities as well as childcare benefits need to be provided to women in urban and rural areas and from all age groups irrespective of their educational level, as this is a common barrier for the labour market participation of women from all backgrounds. Thirdly, as the results show a small change in women's positions in male and prestigious male jobs based on different parameters between 1985 and 2000, supportive social policies need to be introduced. The rigid domestic division of labour can only be overcome by adequate imposition of male support in the household using campaigns and public education, as well as changes to regulations regarding paternity

leave. This is a significant aspect of encouraging men's involvement in the family and household-related tasks, as Scott and Alwin (1989) indicate differences in parental approaches in terms of higher levels of demand and responsibilities expected of mothers are more strongly related to gender roles than parental roles as women are more directed towards undertaking tasks in family life throughout the socialisation process that is shaped by the expectations of society.

Building on this micro level analysis of women's lack of attainment in the labour market, the next chapter will focus on the macro aspect of the puzzle by investigating the social and socio-political issues regarding women's labour market participation. Firstly, the Family Value Survey (2006) will be descriptively analysed in order to elaborate Turkish women's position within society and family, and to see how society considers women's work at home and the labour market, examining questions on attitudes and behaviour of respondents so as to understand women's and men's understanding of female employment. Secondly, the Family Value Survey (2006) will be analysed to discuss a) the parameters that affect women's domestic burden, b) whether women and men find female employment appropriate and if not, the reasoning of why men argue that it is not appropriate for women to work, and c) how men's gender ideology is structured in terms of their attitudes and behaviour regarding women's work. As indicated so far in this research, Turkey has been positioned within the Southern European welfare regimes, in which families (also women) are the main provider of their own welfare that causes women to be outside the labour market overall as well as in the competitive top-ranked occupations in particular. Thus, finally a comparison between Northern and Mediterranean welfare regimes in terms of women's roles at home and at work will be presented by

focusing particularly on Turkey, providing examples from regulations, laws and social policies. As findings refer to women's domestic roles in the private sphere as the source of their exclusion from male jobs as a result of the associated discontinuity and the subsequent statistical discrimination in the high-ranked jobs, the aim will be to investigate the source of this pressure by analysing how these elements affect society's way of seeing women and their public identity, mainly as employees.

## **6. Women at home and in the context of social welfare**

### **6.1 Introduction**

The findings presented so far have shown that Turkish women's disadvantaged position in the labour market stems from the disproportionate domestic division of labour (including childcare) even when women work in demanding and prestigious jobs. Turkish women are statistically discriminated against by employers in the hiring process after they have successfully complete their degrees in traditionally male subjects (and even have exceeded their male counterparts). Also, women are not entitled to jobs with higher pay and prestige due to their potential employment discontinuity resulting from family responsibilities; and even when they are entitled to such jobs, these duties can cause women to eventually give up their jobs. There are many closely related factors connected to the impact of the unbalanced share of the domestic burden, the main factors being the traditional structure of the society (which shapes individuals' attitudes) and the family regulations of the Southern European welfare regime operated by Turkey. This chapter investigates the main theories in the literature in relation to the unequal share of, in particular, the time-consuming, demanding traditionally "feminine" domestic chores in the Turkish context. Subsequently, I argue that altering the gender ideology of men particularly in the private sphere should be one of the main focuses for social policy actions regarding female employment. Secondly, the overall impact of social policies on Turkish women's position in the labour market and family are discussed, so as to be able to elaborate the wider context in which women's disadvantaged positioning in the society emerges.

Women are traditionally given the ‘carer’ role that is prescribed by society which is reinforced by the welfare regime while men opt out of domestic work and compete for prestigious positions in the labour market. To evaluate the main barriers to women’s careers, in this chapter I will focus on the roots of the problem: the domestic division of labour in Turkish households that has been presented in the previous chapters, the gender ideology of men (particularly regarding women’s work), and related social policies. Thus, the aim of this chapter will be to present the overall and gendered domestic division of labour patterns in Turkish households in relation to men’s attitudes (their approach in theory) towards female employment and their participation in traditional household responsibilities also their behaviour (which represents their approach in practice) to investigate what lies beneath the main problem, in order to be able to suggest prospective solutions in terms of policy-related arrangements.

Deutsch et al. (1993) emphasise that as fathers’ involvement in childcare is best explained by mothers' work hours and fathers' feminism, their contribution to housework seems to be best explained by variation in income between spouses, wives' occupational prestige, and the dynamics in the marriage. This chapter argues that women’s employment status and their economic power as well as their time spent in paid work, and the resources they have to bargain for an equal share of labour do not make the anticipated impact on improving their burden in the private sphere as long as the gender ideology of men regarding their contribution at home remains still. However, for childcare (even though Turkey has the lowest maternal employment among OECD countries (OECD, 2009a)) there are more of various coping mechanisms compared to housework. The lack of men’s involvement in domestic work reflects their mentality regarding gender roles and this gender ideology

mirrored in their behaviour is a major means to explain the burden placed on women, which prevents them attaining more demanding and prestigious jobs. While men's lack of help at home affects women's work in a semi-direct way, not considering women's work as appropriate is a more direct influence on female employment as it could potentially cause husbands to prevent their wives' labour market participation. However, the problem lies in the absolute expectations of women at home rather than being against women's work, thus in the Turkish context it could be argued that the semi-direct way of preventing women's career development in the family is stronger than the direct intervention to women's work. Women's and men's gender ideologies determine how 'fair' or normal they perceive the unbalanced domestic division of labour to be (Spain and Bianchi, 1996), thus it is a crucial concept to underline.

Women's double burden and the unbalanced domestic division of labour in relation to female employment have been discussed in the literature extensively. However, this area has been understudied in the Turkish context particularly in terms of the gendered housework and its relation to women's position in prestigious/career-oriented jobs and related social policies. Thus, this chapter and this research on a larger scale aims to make a contribution to research in this area. Among the strategies used by couples to balance work and family life that are presented in the literature include limiting work hours and demanding work situations, one spouse's choice to undertake a job rather than a career (mostly women) and trading off the job and the career depending on the spouses' life stages as stated by Becker and Moen (1999). The literature and the results of this research support the fact that all these strategies are mostly taken on by women, in the form of sacrificing a career over family life. There are different approaches to why women are

undertaking this significantly higher share of unpaid household labour, preventing them from being active members of the labour market by burdening them with a double shift. The relative resources/resource bargaining perspective underscores the differences in women's and men's resources and how the lack or inadequacy of women's input into the negotiation regarding sharing the household chores causes them to do most of the work (Greenstein, 2000). While men's input, e.g. earnings, is expected to be higher due to the gender pay gap, this approach would presume that when women's wages increase, their share in the household work would be lower. Ross (1987) indicates that as well-educated and less traditional husbands tend to take on more household responsibilities, a smaller wage gap increases men's contribution in the household as well. Lennon and Rosenfield (1994) also note that women with fewer alternatives to marriage or less economic resources have the propensity to perceive the existing domestic division of labour as fair compared to women with a higher income, which would potentially leave them with a continuous heavy domestic burden. A similar approach namely the dependency model also states that there is an exchange of household labour and economic support (Brines, 1994) but even when the dynamic between traditional breadwinner and dependent is abolished, it is mostly still women who undertake these chores in many contexts. Indeed, Brines (1994) finds that (in an economic exchange perspective) women, whose husbands are the provider of the household, do more housework whereas the more husbands are economically dependent on their wives, the less they do housework (therefore, the more they do gender) while Greenstein (2000) argues that in terms of the distributional measure of housework, this pattern is more of a result of deviance neutralisation than gender display.

Another viewpoint that focuses on the unequal patterns of domestic division of labour is the time availability perspective. This focuses on how time is allocated between the labour market and household labour, referring back to human capital theory (Greenstein, 2000), implying that the hours women work outside of the home (also the visible part of their investment in the job) determine their time allocated to housework yet Greenstein (2000) argues that this approach makes a small difference to women's domestic burden. The literature suggests that the overlapping hours and employment schedules are significant in men's share of domestic work, particularly in traditionally female housework (Presser, 1994). Telsiz (1995) points out that Turkish women expect their prospective husbands to be responsible for sharing neutral/male housework and themselves to undertake most of the (female) chores and indeed, after getting married men's contribution remains limited to irregular and thus less time consuming domestic responsibilities (which changes only minimally with increasing educational level). On a similar note, Treas and Drobnic (2010) indicate that women in traditional societies tend to have difficulties to consider the burden of female housework as unfair. In the Turkish context, as women's gender ideologies regarding their roles in the household and their perception of fairness of the domestic division of labour need to be challenged further, the lack of men's support (as husbands and fathers) in practice remains a primary problem. Alvarez and Miles (2003) argue that the increase in (the time doing) male housework does not affect women's paid work positively and that realistic measures need to be taken to reduce women's burden at home such as reinforcing paid domestic services via tax reductions when these services are used. Hersch (2007) emphasises that time spent on typically female housework affects women's wages significantly as a result of the limitation to time and effort in paid work. Balkin (2002) points out that undertaking the female housework in a voluntarily manner, associated with being a househusband, is seen as a threat to traditionally patriarchal male

roles. Grunow and Baur (2014) point out that the historical change in women's paid work do not lead to change in men's share of domestic work by default; positive attitudes towards male contribution to housework are key predictors in their involvement. Spain and Bianchi (1996, p. 170) suggest that the more paid work women do, the less they also do domestic work as their bargaining power increases. Cunningham (2007) also advocates for the time availability hypothesis, arguing that women's employment hours are strongly related to the allocation of routine housework. In the case of France and the UK, even though the change in fathers' involvement in childcare has been slow, the introduction of work-life balance measures has opened up opportunities to negotiate for change in the household in relation to the domestic division of labour (Gregory and Milner, 2009).

Coverman (1985) indicates that neither educational level nor gender ideology change the domestic division of labour patterns, and that the main explanation for this inequality in unpaid household labour is the demand/response capability hypothesis. Brayfield (1995) also emphasises that a fathers' response capability to demands of childcare is related to their daily work schedules and that fathers are more likely to care for their children when they work different hours than their wives as well as the scheduling of employment time has significant repercussions for how individuals organise and coordinate family life. Bianchi et al. (2006) indicate that time availability and relative resources account for the variance in household labour share more than gender ideology perspective do. They suggest that this could, however, be because the elements of gender perspective are harder to capture, also husbands' time in unpaid work is much less responsive to time availability or relative resources than wives. Bianchi et al. (2006) indicate that mothers are responsible, and do not have the luxury to engage in entertainment and to have fun in the

context of families in the USA. In return, mothers try to maximise time with children by working part-time or leaving a job for a couple of years when fathers are employed, which causes them to disconnect from the labour market (Bianchi et al., 2006).

Mennino and Brayfield (2002) indicate that the social organisation of occupations, as in their gender composition, is crucial in determining the division of household labour. Their findings show that women and men who are in more demanding male-type occupations with characteristics that are less accommodating to job-family balance, make more of a job-family trade off than their counterparts in integrated or female jobs. People with more demanding families make more employment trade-offs than people with less demanding families, so it is difficult for people to keep family and job separate, depending on the time allocated to both. Regarding a father's lack of involvement in family matters (Esping-Andersen, 1996, p. 11), it is indicated that when a wife is employed, her husband's relative contribution to the housework increases (Ross, 1987). There are still differences in how men are involved in housework and childcare as they usually perform tasks of which they can control the timing such as making household repairs, while women perform the necessary chores as they feel more responsible for the home and children as could be observed in various contexts (Hochschild, 1989).

Lennon and Rosenfield (1994) point out that unlike their finding of a social exchange explanation regarding fairness and domestic division of labour, a cultural perspective suggests that ideology rather than power explanations (also the relative resources and time availability perspectives) underlie the evaluation of fairness while to the latter it could be added that power and values interact in gender-specific ways to sustain the division of

labour as underlined by Ferree (1991). Greenstein (2000) indicates that not only do married women perform more household labour than men, the kinds of household tasks they perform also differ in terms of genderedness. Baxter (2000) highlights the importance of the quality of men's support at home rather than the quantity by indicating that women value the task distribution rather than the time spent on the task. Blair and Lichter (1991) also indicate that hours and tasks are conceptually different dimensions of household labour, and thus only focusing on husbands' hours is misleading as female employment is highly dependent on a decrease in the level of sex segregation in housework as well as men's absolute and proportionate housework contribution. Drawing upon Hochschild's theory of an economy of gratitude (2003), Greenstein (1996) argues that when a wife and a husband work full-time, and if the husband has a traditional gender ideology he will consider women's housework to be consistent with what he expected of women, and if he is egalitarian he will consider it to be a gift to which he is not entitled to. Greenstein (1996) refers to the significance of couples' gender ideologies both individually and in combination, and states that gender ideology acts as a moderator for the perception of fairness of housework performance. As the share of the gendered tasks at home is a major determinant of couples' gender ideologies, Cunningham (2007) states that husbands of women who have accumulated more years of full-time employment perform a relatively greater amount of stereotypically female housework than those of women with less years, referring to the relationship between time availability and gender ideology. Becker (1985) argues that as housework requires more effort than leisure and other household related activities, married women spend less energy (that is available after taking care of housework) on each paid work hour than married men even when they have the same human capital as well as working hours, and in return they are paid less, thus persisting traditional gender roles not only result in wage differences but also in occupational

segregation, causing women to focus on less demanding jobs in which lower wages decrease the investment they make in their jobs in return.

Although it has been argued that interventions such as paternity leave have some success in terms of men's participation in household tasks, female and maternal employment behaviour are said to have shaped the changes in policy, and even public opinion, rather than the other way around (Treas and Drobnic, 2010). However, there are many supporting arguments in the literature that refer to the importance of policies on women's position at home and at work. Chang (2000) argues that equality of access policies increase the value of women while Fuwa and Cohen (2007) indicate that countries without prohibitions against certain types of employment for women and those with longer parental leave policies exhibit a more egalitarian gender division of housework, with a higher rate of full-time employment and a higher income for women. Geist (2005) supports these arguments by pointing out that micro level explanations, such as relative resources, time availability and gender ideology, are important when we discuss unpaid labour at home, however, differences that can be seen across welfare regimes cannot be observed on an individual level. Geist (2005) gives the example of couples in conservative countries, where egalitarian share is not common despite of contradicting micro patterns, and suggests that negotiations between couples are not only an individual matter but are highly contextual. Taylor et al. (2010) emphasise that, particularly for the case of couples on low to moderate incomes who may not have the necessary resources to contract out childcare and housework, policies are vital.

This research argues that the vicious circle of expectations and penalties for Turkish women, and for women in countries with similar social policies regarding women's position in the family and at work is very significant, as shown in the previous chapter. So far, I have argued that the uneven domestic share of tasks is the main hindrance for women's work, particularly in prestigious male-dominated jobs. The previous chapter demonstrated that having children has a negative impact on women's probability of holding a male job, a prestigious job, and a prestigious male job (having one child has a positive impact compared to having no children for this category). However, this chapter shows that there is a higher variety of coping mechanisms for childcare as a barrier to women's work and that resource bargaining and time availability have more of a changing force on childcare than on housework. In other words, when women are in paid work and have relatively higher wages, the responsibility for childcare (at least during the day) shifts from mothers to other family members or to paid service, the latter being more likely for higher paid employees. While having children could potentially reinforce women, who are already in the labour market, to progress in their career for providing better for their children, it is also easier to use the above mentioned mechanisms for one child.

Considering that two or more children of different ages will require different kinds of paid and unpaid support, it is expected to be more difficult for women to work in demanding prestigious jobs with more than one child. Although women's work and increasing wages is expected to reduce women's share in childcare responsibilities, the literature also shows that even childcare can be gendered (Hochschild, 1989).

Regarding traditionally female-dominated housework, the responsibility of fulfilling the household tasks lies on the shoulders of women, and there is only a small change when

women work and are paid relatively well as a result of the gender ideology men hold regarding their own roles. In addition, 32.4% of non-working highly educated women state their reason not to work as being a housewife in 2000 (TurkStat, HLFS: Dynamic Search, 2000), which is 31.8% in 2012 (TurkStat, HLFS: Dynamic Search, 2012) which shows that the heavy burden at home affects highly qualified women remarkably as well. This is firstly due to the nature of housework (such as cleaning or washing the dishes), since this work cannot be transferred to a family member or a relative, and can only be done by the wife or husband, and the only other option would be receiving paid help as in paying for daily cleaning service or hiring a full-time housekeeper. However, while Turkey has the lowest maternal employment among OECD countries (OECD, 2009a), there are more coping strategies for childcare compared to female household chores for women at work: not only can children be taken care of by a nanny or relative/grandmother, but also there are kindergartens and day care centers/nurseries for this purpose. Although it is not always as straightforward as this in practice, it could be said that repetitive traditional female housework involves fewer strategies for compensation of the task, even when women are in paid work. As mentioned throughout this study, the traditional, routine and repetitive housework and errands that come with marriage prevent women from working towards a career, generally limiting female employment to working when financially needed. Thus, this chapter concludes the research by arguing that the core of the problem is men's incompetence and lack of support at home, even when they seem to be supportive of female employment.

There is a two-step support system that men could perform as female employment is not independent from men's attitudes and behaviour as a result of the nature of family life. The

first step lies in the direct gender ideology regarding how female employment is viewed by men, and the second is the indirect gender ideology regarding supporting women at home by undertaking a certain amount of female domestic work. As gender ideology is how a person identifies oneself in marital and family roles, gender identity is self-definition as male or female, thus where two men describe themselves as 'male', one may think being male means not doing any housework, while the other may think housework should be equally shared (Greenstein, 2000). The latter perspective needs to be enhanced in Turkish society. This research argues that the indirect gender ideology regarding women's work that is formed during the socialisation process, and which is maintained by the prevailing social attitude and by social policies, is the main negative element in women's career forming processes. The results show that explanations regarding women's work outside the home (time availability) and increasing wages (resource bargaining) are not as effective in the Turkish context unless the rigid gender ideology regarding men's lack of participation in traditionally female housework is overcome.

The aim of the first part of this chapter is to investigate the position of women in the household and to present the share of domestic responsibilities as well as individuals' perspectives of women's work, based on various personal characteristics by providing descriptive results. In the second part of this chapter the impact of variables (that are associated with gender ideology) on women's and men's attainment in traditionally female domestic work and the relationship between men's attitudes and behaviour towards female employment are assessed. Finally, the third section investigates the social policies and regulations regarding Turkish women's employment in the light of the family-centered Mediterranean welfare regime. In this part of the chapter, I underscore the importance of

gender ideology and its close relationship to social policies regarding gender, and I investigate the problem of the domestic burden in the context of family life, together with attitudes towards women's work and how they are all related to social policies. In other words, as the concept of 'doing gender' (a concept developed by West and Zimmerman, 1987) is at the core of women's employment problems, this part of the chapter evaluates how this phenomenon emerges both in terms of men's constructive attitudes towards female employment (positive direct gender ideology) and their lack of support in the household (negative indirect gender ideology) to investigate the puzzle of women's difficulties in obtaining careers and to reach the conclusion of this research.

## **6.2 Women's position in the private sphere in relation to their employment**

Neither women's individual circumstances nor social constraints affect women's work per se. The double pressure from society that sees women as the main carer, and from employers who believe women as carers are not the most suitable candidates for careers, creates a vicious circle that emerges from men 'doing gender' (West and Zimmerman, 1987) at home, and from social policies that support this phenomenon by not providing adequate public support for women's work and assistance in the private sphere, thus burdening women with the role of being the homemaker. In terms of multitasking, while men more often do two things at a time (partially taking care of children and undertaking paid work), working women juggle three jobs simultaneously: housework, children and paid work (Baxter, 2000). The main problem, however, is what men do when they participate in the household work: they prefer tasks that can be controlled in terms of timing, and that are done from time to time (such as carrying out repairs and paying bills). When childcare is in question, Hochschild (1989) state that men do gender and undertake

leisure activities, such as bringing children to the zoo/park or playing with them, while mothers worry about the fundamental care issues as (usually being) the head of care, Hochschild's findings in 1980s being applicable to the contemporary Turkey. Thus, I argue that neither the time availability nor the resource bargaining approaches apply to the Turkish context since even when the gender ideologies of men are expected to be more egalitarian and they are supportive of female employment by arguing that it is appropriate for women to be in paid work, there is a rigid division of gendered household labour.

The main concern of this section is to present society's view of female employment in terms of whether and why it is appropriate or not for women to be in paid work, and the gendered share of family-related responsibilities. The aim is to demonstrate how the gender ideology of men (in terms of gender roles) overrules the positive impact of the increasing higher educational attainment of women and their potential career prospects that is generally not positively influenced by their employment status or increasing wage. It has been frequently emphasised that Turkish women have been excluded from top male jobs as a result of their expected discontinuity at work rather than only because of their gender in relation to the above-mentioned factors referring back to the statistical discrimination argument. As the top-level decision-makers are mostly male e.g. in managerial positions, men's understanding of women's work both in theory and practice, and the reasons of why female employment is not supported will partially shed a light on women's exclusion from these jobs as well.

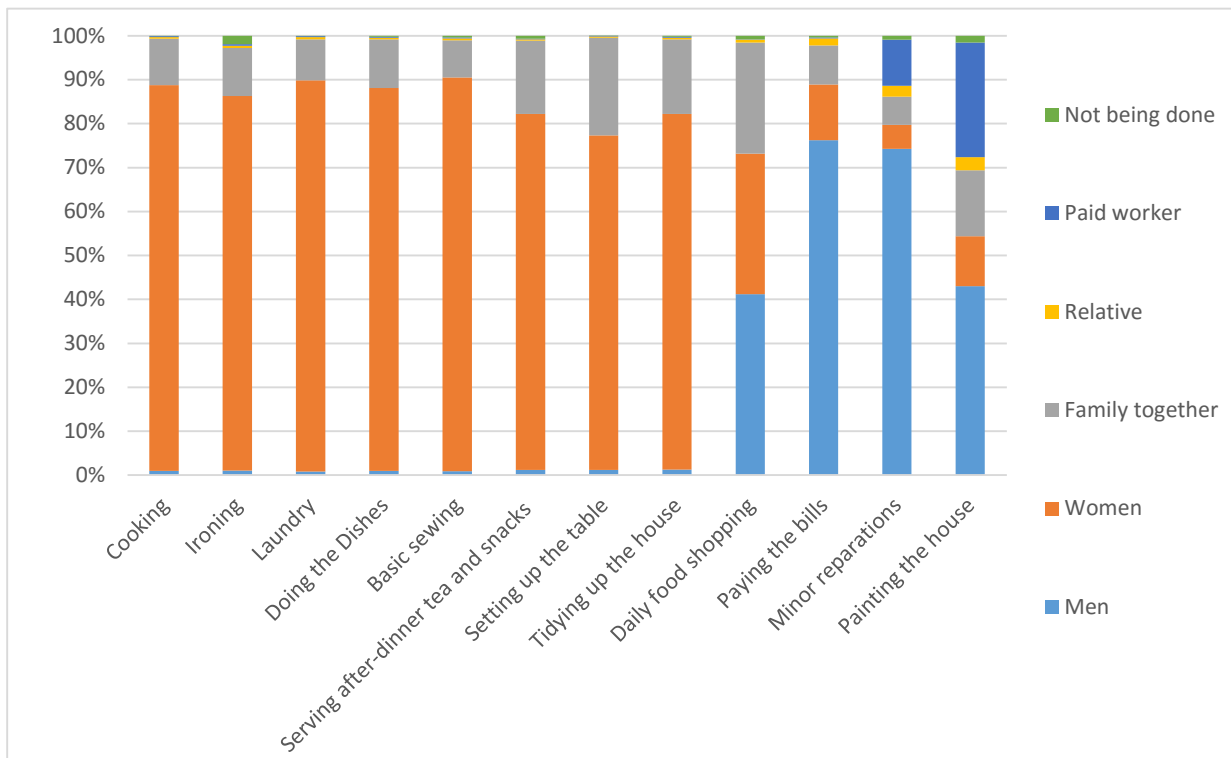
In Turkey, there is a strict separation of domination in private and public spheres between women and men. This observation is supported by the results: women are dominant in

decision-making processes regarding the household. 15.6% of decisions regarding household issues are made by men, 43% by women, and 41.4% together. As women have the highest say in the household, this 'dominance' does not refer to an egalitarian context but rather is a disadvantage as women are thus the responsible persons in the private sphere, as will be seen in the following tables.

As seen in Figure 19, there is an unbalanced and clearly gendered division of labour at home, which is broadly similar to the case in the labour market, partially reflecting the gender ideology of women and men; as women do more housework, they are also concentrated on routine, female household tasks. The traditionally female domestic tasks refer to women's nurturing roles reflected in the household in a gendered pattern, and women are mainly responsible for cooking, ironing, laundry, doing the dishes, basic sewing, serving tea, setting the table and tidying up the house.

There is very much a separation rather than a sharing of roles and women are responsible almost completely for the daily routine as men undertake chores that take much less time and effort. These include the traditionally male tasks of paying the bills (as in the model of the male breadwinner), making small repairs, and painting the house (the latter is largely done by professionals and daily shopping is shared between men and women or done together). The 'family together' option is not represented adequately in any task, showing a lack of sharing of the responsibilities in the household. In a picture like this, it could be argued that women may hardly be able to find the time to be in paid work when childcare is added to their daily schedules, and it is not very likely that they could take on highly prestigious, demanding male jobs alongside such a daily task list.

**Figure 19: The share of household-related responsibilities (2006) (%)**



*Data Source: Family Value Survey, 2006 (Turkish Statistical Institute). Author's tabulation.*

When household chores are in question, age group is a significant reference point for explaining the share of domestic responsibilities, as young couples are expected to be more egalitarian. However, results show that women's share does not differ much from the overall patterns when age groups are in the picture. Female domestic work is undertaken by women in all age groups at a remarkably higher percentage than by men. There is only a slight increase in men's share after the age of 65, presumably due to physical restrictions in respect of both women and men as also close relatives are found to be helping this age group more. Regarding the traditionally "masculine" domestic work, responsibilities are undertaken mostly by men but not in such a dramatically higher percentage as women's share of female domestic work. For chores like painting the house or making small repairs, paid help is also common for all ages. A relatively high level of common sharing of daily

tasks is seen among 18-24 and 45-54 year olds (Family Value Survey, 2006). Women and men with higher educational levels are also anticipated to be relatively equal in terms of domestic division of labour. However, the share according to educational level resembles that of the overall patterns: female housework is done mostly by women even when they are highly educated (particularly cooking). For male domestic chores, highly educated individuals tend to get more paid help, which could be related to higher economic as well as socio-economic status. Looking at the percentages even highly educated men, who are more likely to argue in favour of women's work, 'do gender' in terms of acting in accordance with their conventional gender roles at home. Therefore, it could be argued that the rigid gender ideology regarding women's roles overrules the expected impact of time availability and resource bargaining. Unless the current order is not considered as a 'natural' process, women's increasing time and income will not have the anticipated impact. This will continue to cause their paid work to be an additional responsibility to that of the stable domestic responsibilities, preventing any potential career prospects.

This study argues that the unbalanced domestic division of labour is the main source of statistical discrimination, particularly in highly prestigious, highly paid jobs as mentioned throughout the study. Men fare better in the highest layer of the hierarchy elevator since they leave all home-related responsibilities to women to undertake. When there are no other mechanisms, such as state support (as seen predominantly in the Northern European regimes), women are forced to be the ones bearing the burden of an informal social security net by being the homemakers. Thus, there should be a mechanism by which women can transfer this accumulated burden. One-career families in which women work in prestigious jobs and men hold back by taking more responsibility at home as husbands

and fathers are not currently an easy target as a sharp transformation, thus other institutions need to relieve the pressure of the heavy burden at home that is not contributed by men. Bielby and Baron (1986) indicate that women are reserved for jobs that do not offer further career options as it is considered a risk to invest in female employees due to the expectation they have a tendency to have career breaks. This factor of risk, as considered by employers, could be diminished by forcing an egalitarian domestic division of labour. However, the example of Scandinavian countries shows that women respond better to the pressure to work outside when necessary conditions are provided, unlike in the case of men at home which resembles the case of Turkey where women respond well to increasing education in terms of improving gender ideology, while for men the impact is almost stable.

Therefore, an evaluation of the share of working women in household-related responsibilities is crucial in order to examine this argument. When women are in the labour market, the differentiated burden is expected to diminish and shared chores are anticipated to be more common. However, an analysis of the FVS data (2006) demonstrates that women's employment makes even less of a difference to women's heavy burden at home than does age and educational level. As we have seen, the domestic division of labour patterns are very much gendered, reflecting the gender ideology approach that suggests that the organisation of routine and non-routine tasks is a determinant of a couple's ideology regarding how domestic work is shared. Baxter (2000) suggests that what matters most for women in terms of the share of domestic responsibilities is men's participation in traditional female (household) work.

Regarding female housework (cooking, ironing, laundry, doing the dishes, basic sewing), the percentages are almost identical for working women undertaking such chores as they are for non-working women. As seen below, for working women there is only a symbolic decrease in their share of these tasks, which is reflected in a small increase in men's share, an even smaller impact on their remarkably high share of household chores than the impact of age and educational level. Subsequently, even when women start to gain access to previously male jobs, they tend to remain in traditionally female sub-categories of these jobs, as in the example of female doctors in Turkey (Gediz-Gelegen, 2009) and it is widely observed that highly educated women, who are expected to be in high-prestige male jobs, cite domestic duties as the reason they leave the labour market and withdrawal from paid work is also common as a result of marriage in Turkey (Uraz et al., 2010).

As seen, a detailed display of the domestic share of responsibilities also strengthens the argument that Turkish women operate under a differentiated burden of domestic responsibilities regardless of their age, educational level and -most importantly- employment status. Although there is no detailed information on the exact share of time expended by women and men in the public and private spheres in the data set used for this particular analysis (FVS, 2006), Table 21 demonstrates how domestic chores are shared when women spend time in paid work, and as housewives. These percentages imply that on the surface the time availability approach is not supported in the Turkish context. In other words, even when Turkish women are in paid work and invest in paid labour time, this does not change men's attainment level in the household. West and Zimmerman (1987, p. 137) state that the act of 'doing gender' is in its ultimate form in the domestic division of labour in households with a traditional gender display, creating differences

between women and men that are not natural or biological, and once these differences are settled, defining them as essentials of genders, which could be observed in the Turkish households.

**Table 21: Turkish women’s share in traditionally female household chores based on women’s employment status (%)**

Household chore	Working	Not working
Cooking	86.6	88.2
Ironing	83.3	84.2
Laundry	87.8	88.0
Doing the Dishes	85.8	88.4
Tidying up	79.2	82.6

*Data Source: Family Value Survey, 2006 (Turkish Statistical Institute). Author’s tabulation.*

The resource bargaining approach indicates that what women and men bring to the marriage and the household increases the bargaining power of women in terms of the share of domestic responsibilities. In other words, this approach indicates that increasing wages help women to negotiate for more equal share of chores with their increasing economic power. However, Table 22 shows that women’s increasing wages do not make a decent difference regarding women’s and men’s gendered share in the domestic division of labour and that there is only a symbolically low decrease in both women’s and men’s participation in gender-specific housework when women have higher incomes. In other words, even when they are expected to have more bargaining power in terms of the domestic division of labour, women still continue to do most of the female housework and men continue to “do gender”. To elaborate how the wage groups are formed, in the Family Value Survey (2006) monthly net income rates are categorised into six sections: (TL - Turkish Lira- was YTL, “Yeni Türk Lirası”, also New Turkish Lira at the time) a) 400

YTL or less (since the net minimum wage was 380.46 YTL<sup>16</sup> at the time which is 1000,54 TL<sup>17</sup> today), b) 401-600 YTL c) 601-800 YTL d) 801-1200 YTL e) 1201-2500 YTL and f) 2501 YTL or more. To create the wage groups, low wage is categorised as 0-600 TL (as the highest wage for low income category is slightly above the net minimum wage of the time, it is because the amount of the latter is very low and the aim is also to keep an equal interval for the groups), medium wage is from 601 TL to 1200 TL and high wage is 1201 YTL and above.

**Table 22: Turkish women and men's share in in traditionally female household chores based on women's wages (%)**

	Women doing female housework	Men doing male housework
Low female wage	93.4	97.2
Medium female wage	91.6	96.6
High female wage	91.4	96.4

*Data Source: Family Value Survey, 2006 (Turkish Statistical Institute). Author's tabulation.*

According to the results derived from the FVS (2006), only 3.7% of women obtain a high income while the figure is 7.7% for men. 63.7% of women with a high income are highly educated, while 43% of men making more money are highly educated, showing that the potential of women with higher qualifications is going to waste to a large extent. 92.9% of women undertake female household chores, while this is only 3.7% for men. When men are low educated and low paid 6.2% of them do female housework. The figure is 10.2% for highly educated and highly paid men. 92.9% of women do the female housework if men are low educated, and the figure is 92.8% and 91.7% for medium and highly educated men. Although an increasing educational level and wage seem to be slightly more influential on men's behaviour in the private sphere, women do the female housework at a

<sup>16</sup> Published in The Official Gazette of the Republic of Turkey no. 26032 on 23.12.2005 to be effective from 01.01.2006 until 31.12.2006.

<sup>17</sup> Published in The Official Gazette of the Republic of Turkey no. 29222 on 31.12.2014 to be effective from 01.07.2015 to 31.12.2015.

rate of 89.8% when men are highly educated and highly paid, and there is a small difference when men are low educated and low paid with the percentage of 90.7. Highly educated and highly paid women do female household tasks with a percentage of 93.5 while this is 91.3% when they are low educated and have lower wages.

Regarding the attitudes towards women's work, it should be remembered that the question of the appropriateness of women's work is directed as how men consider women's work overall rather than their personal view on how they exclusively regard their wives' work<sup>18</sup>. This is an important point as respondents' attitudes could change depending on whether it is a general or personal question that is posed. For example, in their research, Taylor et al. (2010) indicate that respondents offered an egalitarian discourse but many of them did not actually make use of this egalitarianism in practice. Considering that female employment in Turkey is utterly inadequate, one might suspect that there is a gap between the arguments made by women and men in terms of female employment. For that matter, Taylor et al. (2010) add that it might be necessary to go beyond respondents' accounts to explain the division of labour patterns, as adaptive preferences, moral rationalities, latent or invisible power and cognitive dissonance are all helpful in trying to close the gap between beliefs and attitudes regarding female employment. Keeping these anecdotes in mind, 76.5% of men and 89.1% of women in total argue that it is appropriate for women to work. Men who do not participate in female housework argue in favour of female employment at a percentage of 76.0, while it is 83.9% for those who do female housework. Men who are in favour of women's work perform female housework at a rate of 6.5%,

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<sup>18</sup> The English translation of this question of "Sizce kadınların ücretli/maaşlı olarak çalışması uygun mudur?" is "Do you think it is appropriate for women to be in paid work?".

while it is 4.1% for those who are not supportive of women's work. These percentages demonstrate that even when men are liberal about women's right to work, they do not give the necessary support in the private sphere, reflecting an incomplete positive gender ideology.

Ferree (1991) points out that while some explanations can be found in gender-neutral factors of time availability and relative resources, even when such factors are explicitly considered and controlled, gender beliefs about housework have a relation to variations in who actually performs tasks. The division of labour shared by couples highly depends on husbands' values and a change in the division of labour at home starts by women taking jobs outside the home but is completed by a change in men's values (Ross, 1987). This change is a significant part of the puzzle. Thus, the following tables will investigate both men's attitudes and behaviour towards women's paid work by focusing on domestic responsibilities and various determinants.

Educational level is expected to influence the attitudes towards female employment positively. Table 23 supports this expectation. As almost all highly educated women argue that it is appropriate for women to work, it is ironic that Turkey is among the countries with the lowest level of employment for highly educated women (but at the same time it implies that external circumstances are more determining than individuals' decisions), and this refers to a lost potential of individuals who would be otherwise active in the job market which is an issue both within and beyond gender issues. As seen in Table 23, 91.1% of highly educated men support women's work (which is 80.7% for medium

educated men). As a matter of fact, even among low educated men, over 70% support women's work which shows that men are not particularly traditional in terms of female employment. However, it should also be noted that men are more conservative towards female employment in comparison to women at all educational levels. Greenstein (1996) indicates that the interactions between husbands' and wives' gender ideologies are crucial to elaborate how division of labour emerges, in terms of that husbands married to traditional wives are expected to do less housework, when wives are egalitarian it depends on husbands whether household chores are equally shared, and if wives are traditional there is not much of an effect of husbands' gender ideology. In the Turkish context, particularly for highly educated women and men there is an obvious liberal view regarding women's work, however, as this study considers gender ideology as a combination of attitudes (the overall understanding of female employment in terms of arguing in favour of women's work) and behaviour (active contribution to particularly traditionally female housework and other barriers that challenge women's work to complete the circle of support), Turkish men seem to act on their traditional gender ideology in terms of their behaviour considering women's heavy burden in the domestic sphere.

**Table 23: Turkish women and men who argue that it is appropriate for women to work based on educational level (%)**

	Women	Men
Low educated	86.4	71.6
Medium educated	96.2	80.7
Highly educated	99.0	91.1

*Data Source: Family Value Survey, 2006 (Turkish Statistical Institute). Author's tabulation.*

Considering that women's work is largely affected by domestic responsibilities, married women and men are expected to regard women's work as less appropriate than individuals with other marital statuses. Table 24 shows the percentages of women and men of all

marital statuses who argue that women’s work is appropriate. Widowed women and men have the lowest percentages for having a positive attitude towards women’s work which is presumably related to the fact that older people tend more to be in this marital status category who also tend to be more traditional. Divorced women have the highest rate for considering women’s work as appropriate and married men have the second lowest percentage.

**Table 24: Turkish women and men who argue that it is appropriate for women to work based on marital status (%)**

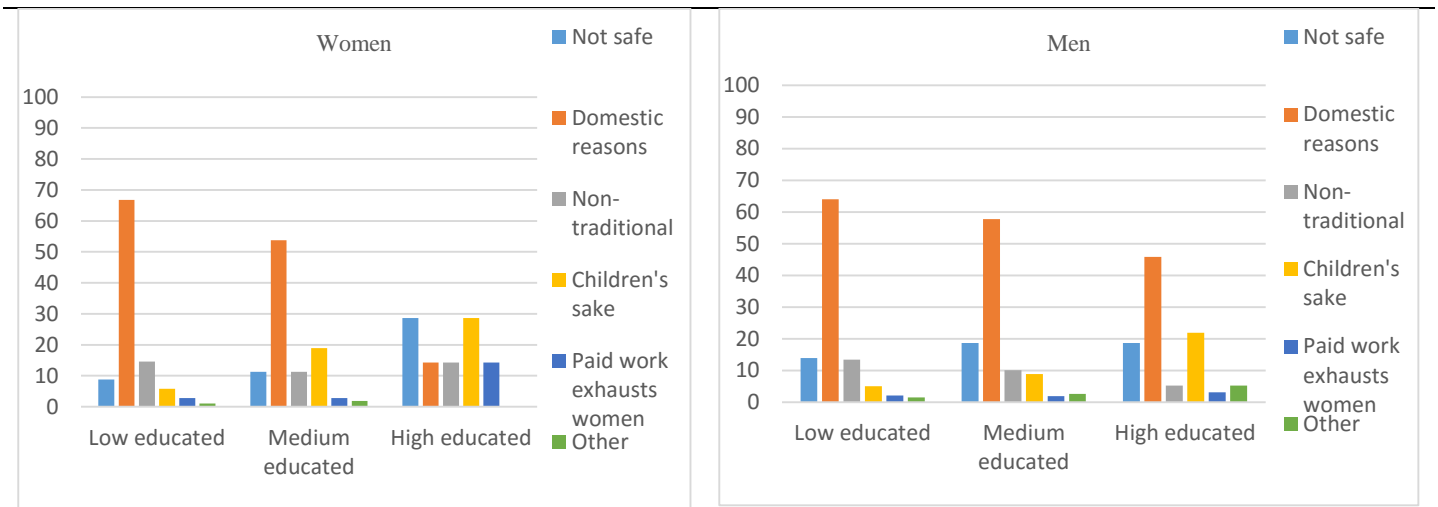
	Women	Men
Single	93.4	81.1
Married	88.3	75.5
Divorced	95.1	83.5
Widowed	86.5	73.1

*Data Source: Family Value Survey, 2006 (Turkish Statistical Institute). Author’s tabulation.*

As mentioned earlier, in the Turkish literature it is frequently argued that husband’s/household’s increasing income (Yamak et al., 2012), families’ obtainment of ownership of the house (Yıldırım and Doğrul, 2008), or a reduction in financial need potentially trigger women’s tendency to withdraw from the labour market presumably when combined with their heavy burden, also considering that their work is seen as secondary rather than career-oriented. However, results demonstrate that 79.1% of individuals with a low income argue that women’s work is appropriate, while the figure is 83.4% for individuals with medium level of income, and 88.9% for people with a high income, showing that increasing income do not negatively affect individuals’ perspective on women’s employment in particular.

As much as it is important to discuss whether women and men consider women's work as appropriate or not for comprehending their gender ideology, the reasons behind why people do not support female employment is also crucial to understand. While for both women and men the reasons are similar in urban and rural areas despite the differences in the nature of women's work in these regions, educational level yields different outcomes for women and men. As seen in Figure 20, for highly educated women, arguing that it is not appropriate for women to work due to domestic responsibilities (it should be added that the number of highly educated women arguing against female employment is extremely limited in the first place) is among the lowest rated, yet nearly half of the highly educated men with a negative attitude towards female employment agree with this response, underlining the fact that men's expectations of women in the household extend to a point where women's work is considered as a threat to family-related tasks which shows that these are seen as primary duties of women. In addition, while for a minority of highly educated women who argue against female employment the highest rated reasons are "for children's sake" and "it is not safe", for low educated women the response of "domestic responsibilities" stands out significantly which implies the importance of women's higher educational attainment also for improving their gender ideology.

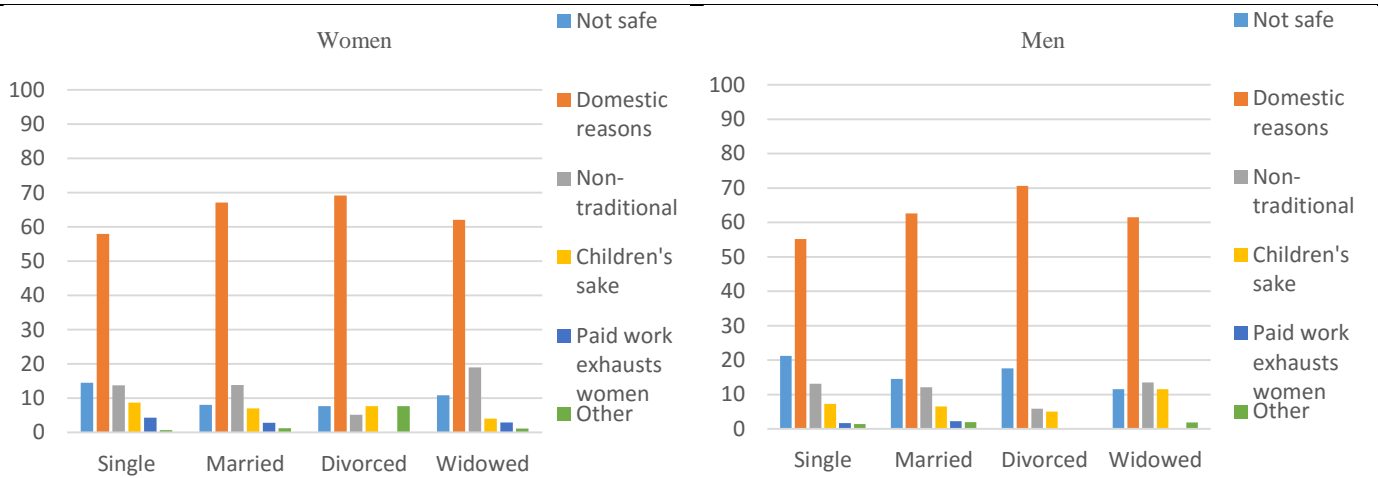
**Figure 20: Women’s and men’s reasons for arguing that women’s work is not appropriate, based on educational level (2006) (%)**



*Data Source: Family Value Survey, 2006 (Turkish Statistical Institute). Author’s tabulation.*

For women and men of different marital statuses, the category of “domestic reasons” (also the household-related responsibilities) is the most popular reason for arguing against women’s work as can be seen from Figure 21, and the second highest rated reason for both married women and men is that female employment is not traditional which is strongly connected to the former. While single women and men are the most likely to argue women should not work since it is not safe, it is interesting that for both married women and men childcare is among the least stated reasons for why women should not be in the labour market, yet it supports the argument that household responsibilities are even more influential than childcare on women’s work trajectories, due to availability of a higher range of coping strategies as argued throughout this study.

**Figure 21: Reasons for arguing that women should not work, based on marital status (2006) (%)**



*Data Source: Family Value Survey, 2006 (Turkish Statistical Institute). Author's tabulation.*

As it has been discussed earlier, a majority of childcare is undertaken by women in Turkey, both in rural and urban areas (TurkStat, FVS, 2006). The previous chapters have shown that although having children has a negative impact for women as regards holding male-dominated jobs, its effect is not as negative for women in prestigious male jobs, yet being married (presumably related to the responsibilities that come with being married) negatively influences women's chances of participating in male occupations and their prestige levels. The results seen in the Table 25 and Table 26 are compatible with all the results shown so far that women cope better with childcare than with housework.

Regarding household chores, individuals may either hire someone to do the work or undertake these tasks themselves but there are more alternative support mechanisms for childcare as seen below. In other words, as Table 25 demonstrates, working women have found strategies to compensate for childcare even though women are responsible for household-related responsibilities almost at an identical rate regardless of whether they

work or not. As seen in the table below, there is a sharp decline (from 94% to 67.7%) in women undertaking the childcare duties when they are in the labour market. As paternal childcare remains extremely low; grandmothers, kindergartens and nannies come into play for mothers to cope with childcare when they are in paid work.

**Table 25: Childcare (children aged 0-5) according to women’s employment status (%)**

	Mother	Father	Older sister	Grandmother (Mother’s mother)	Grandmother (Father’s mother)	Close relative	Nanny	Day care or kindergarten	Other
Women not in the labour market	94.0	0.5	0.4	0.9	1.5	0.4	0.7	0.4	1.0
Women in the labour market	67.7	0.6	1.3	8.1	6.8	2.9	6.1	3.2	3.2

*Data Source: Family Value Survey, 2006 (Turkish Statistical Institute). Author’s tabulation.*

Families with a higher income are expected to be able to afford paid childcare and the table below supports this anticipation. Table 26 presents how childcare responsibility is shared according to women’s income, in order to understand whether a higher income helps women to pass on their responsibilities to professionals, such as day care centers or nannies, or to share that responsibility with fathers so as to enable themselves to focus on their careers. This table demonstrates that although mothers are visibly the main actors in childcare at all income levels, their role in childcare decreases remarkably as their income level becomes higher, particularly from mid-level income and above. While women with a low income undertake childcare with a percentage of 96.4, for women with high income this rate is 77.8%. This decrease represents a shift towards paid help (particularly hiring a nanny) and family members are involved more when a woman’s wage increases presumably due to the more demanding nature of higher paid jobs, and thus the expanding need of support. It is, however, interesting that the highest economic group tends to leave childcare to relatives rather than nannies.

**Table 26: Childcare (children aged 0-5) according to women's income (%)**

	Mother	Father	Older sister	Grandmother (Mother's mother)	Grandmother (Father's mother)	Close relative	Nanny	Day care or kindergarten	Other
Female low wage	96.4	0.5	0.3	0.5	1.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	1.1
Female medium wage	86.6	0.8	0.3	2.4	3.2	1.3	1.9	1.6	1.8
Female high wage	77.8	0.0	0.0	5.6	1.1	0.0	13.3	2.2	0.0

*Data Source: Family Value Survey, 2006 (Turkish Statistical Institute). Author's tabulation.*

As seen, the results regarding the performance of housework support neither time availability nor resource bargaining perspectives. In terms of childcare, both working outside the house and increasing wages relieve women's burden. This result is compatible with the previous findings that having one child does not affect women's position in the top-prestige male occupations negatively. Although the impact of women's wages is not as strong, the time availability approach is supported by the fact that mothers' responsibility as the sole caretakers dramatically decreases when they are in paid work.

### **6.3 Gender ideology, domestic work and the labour market**

As indicated in the previous sections of this chapter, this study considers domestic responsibilities as the main barrier to women's work overall and to their work in positions that are of a higher rank. This study argues that the unequal division of household labour derives from the gender ideology of women and men (as a micro level explanation) and from family-related welfare regime regulations at the macro level. Gender ideology is expected to be strongly related to women's and men's behaviour in the household,

particularly regarding the routine performance or non-performance of traditionally female housework, as previously indicated.

Table 27 presents the relationship between women’s traditional burden at home (traditionally female housework as the dependent variable) and the main components that exacerbate this burden namely having children, being married and whether to work or not. In other words, this logistic regression analysis investigates how time availability (whether women work outside the home or not), women’s wages (resource bargaining approach) and having children (extra responsibilities added to housework) affect the probability of women undertaking the female household tasks. Before the following bivariate probit analysis on men’s gender ideology regarding women’s work and their roles at home, I will discuss how time availability and resource bargaining affect women’s status in paid work. The results show that women who are in paid work are less likely to perform female household tasks with the log odds of  $-.17$ , while women with lower incomes are more likely to be responsible for traditionally female housework.

**Table 27: Logistic regression results of women’s probability of carrying out female housework**

Working women	$-.17 (.06)^{**}$
Women with low income	$.22(.05)^{***}$
Have children	$.91(.09)^{***}$
Constant	$2.33 (.04)^{***}$
N	24319
Lr chi2 (3)	166.30
Log likelihood	-6235.7822
Pseudo R2	0.0132

*Data Source: Family Value Survey, 2006 (Turkish Statistical Institute). Author’s analysis.*

The results also indicate that women with children statistically significantly tend to undertake the female tasks at home, presumably as a result of the female housework that

childcare requires such as cooking toddler food and doing laundry separately as well as more frequently, and assuming that they tend to stay home more considering the low rates of maternal employment in Turkey as shown in the previous chapters. These results indicate that the more time women are expected to spend at home, the more likely they are to do the traditional routine daily tasks which are considered as the main reason for their lack of attainment in high ranked jobs. Also, increasing wages which are attributed to higher prestige jobs decrease their share of traditional gender roles in the household. It is surely expected that only who do less at home can afford to be more dedicated to demanding prestigious jobs. However, men's contribution at home is also a key indicator for women's dilemma in terms of the reconciliation of family and work life. As these results imply, paid work and increasing wages may improve women's burdens at home, but nevertheless the vast majority of women undertake female household chores even when they work as the descriptive findings demonstrated (the direction of the logistic regression results are expected to be a result of the small decrease in women's share of female housework when in paid work) and the division of labour is majorly shaped by men's gender ideology regarding their roles in the household.

Table 28 presents the bivariate probit model of the combination of men's probability of arguing that it is appropriate for women to work (attitude) and their likelihood of doing the traditionally female housework (behaviour) as a measure of gender ideology. Jones (2007) indicates that allowing the measurement of a correlation between the error terms of two binary models highlights the fact that there might be unobservable features of individuals that affect both binary models. The aim of using the Stata command "biprobit" is to evaluate the impact of various determinants on the probability of men's attitudes and

behaviour regarding women’s work to be positive (separately yet simultaneously), and to analyse the correlation between these two dependent variables since the descriptive results demonstrate one of these gender ideology determinants to be in a positive direction (attitudes) while men’s behaviour is not as constructive. In other words, this method provides an opportunity to analyse two binary probit models with separate dependent variables simultaneously while measuring the correlation between the error terms of the two equations (Jones, 2007). P value in this analysis “measures roughly the correlation between the outcomes after the influence of the included factors is accounted for” as stated by Greene (2002, p. 717). The result for the estimate (p value/rho) is .11 and the critical value from the chi-square test is 12.04, so this estimate is different from zero, meaning the hypothesis cannot be rejected. In other words, men’s tendency to argue that it is appropriate for women to work is positively related to men doing the female housework. Thus, the initial observation is that this result suggests men’s positive behaviour regarding housework being coherent with their positive attitudes towards female employment.

**Table 28: Bivariate probit analysis of men’s positive attitude towards women’s work and men undertaking female housework, TurkStat, FVS (2006).**

	Supportive of female employment	Undertaking female housework
Urban	-.07(.03)**	.03(.04)
Middle age group (35-64)	.23(.04)***	.11(.06)
Elderly (65+)	.37(.05)***	.46(.08)***
Low educated	-.55(.06)***	-.31(.07)***
Medium educated	-.30(.06)***	-.30(.07)***
Single	.15(.05)**	.54(.07)***
Divorced	.13(.16)	1.72(.13)***
Widowed	-.07(.11)	1.40(.10)***
Have children	-.12(.04)**	.00(.07)
Men with medium level of income	.17(.03)***	-.01(.05)
Men with high income	.31(.09)***	-.17(.12)
Factor (religion)	-.34(.02)***	-.06(.02)**
Constant	.96(.07)***	-1.66(.10)***
Athro	.11(.03)***	
Rho	.11(.03)	
Rho test	12.04	
Log likelihood -7136.4046		
N=10214		
Wald chi2 (24) 1307.05		

Data Source: Family Value Survey, 2006 (Turkish Statistical Institute). Author’s analysis.

The first section presents the impact of the selected independent variables on men's probability of arguing that it is appropriate for women to work, depending on different factors. As seen, the log odds for men in urban areas to approach female employment with a positive attitude is less likely compared to men in rural areas. This could be a result of the working conditions in rural areas, where women are mostly unpaid family workers, as in urban areas low-prestige occupations are considered to be untraditional while careers are attributed the reputation of being a barrier to women's domestic responsibilities. The impact of being in an urban area compared to a rural area has a positive effect on men's probability of undertaking female housework. The result for men supporting women's work is statistically significant: men in urban areas are expected to be less strictly traditional in "doing gender" (West and Zimmerman, 1987) compared to men in (generally) more culturally rigid rural regions.

Men in middle age group and older men are statistically significantly more likely to argue positively regarding female employment compared to younger men aged 18-34 and (although the result for men in the middle age group is not statistically significant for undertaking female chores) they are also more likely to do female housework. Younger men are expected to be more modern in their attitudes and behaviour regarding women's position in the household and the labour market. However, findings show otherwise in the Turkish context. This could also be a result of the fact that younger men are expected to work towards their careers so that women are expected to be the homemaker, undertake the household chores and stay home to enable men to achieve this.

More educated men are also expected to be more open-minded regarding female employment. The results support this anticipation. Highly educated men are more likely to argue in favour of women's work and are more likely to do the female household chores. The log odds for low educated men's probability of having a positive attitude towards women's work is -.55 and for medium educated men it is -.30. At the same time, it is -.31 for low educated men and -.30 for medium educated men to 'not to' do gender at home.

While the coefficients for variables used to measure the impact of marital status on men's likelihood to argue positively regarding female employment are not all statistically significant, in comparison to married men, single men are more likely to argue in favour of women's work, followed by divorced men. The only less likely men to do so are those who are widowed. In terms of undertaking female domestic responsibilities, single, divorced and widowed men are more likely to do so, statistically significantly. This result could be anticipated considering that adult men with non-married status tend to live alone or with their parents and thus do all the housework themselves or let their mothers do the chores, unless they or their families hire someone to undertake them.

Men with children are less likely to argue that women's work is appropriate (with the log odds of -.12) since they presumably expect women to stay home. Although the result is not statistically significant, men with children are more likely to undertake female household tasks which could represent the small amount of support they provide when they have children.

As stated before, it is frequently emphasised in the literature that as household income gets higher, Turkish women have a higher tendency to leave the labour market as a result of their secondary employment status, also when the additional financial need for their work ends. The findings show that as men's incomes get higher, they become more open-minded regarding women's work. Men with medium and high levels of income are more likely to argue in favour of women's paid work, with the log odds of .17 and .31 respectively, yet men with medium and high levels of income are less likely to perform traditionally female housework, with the log odds of -.01 and -.17 (presumably due to their more demanding jobs and/or conventional gender ideology).

The variable 'religion' stands for the factor analysis coefficient of how effective religion is on individuals' choices in the private and public spheres (see Appendix 6.1). It can be seen that religion decreases the likelihood of men's positive attitudes towards women's work, due to an expected conservative perception of women's and men's positions in the family and society when religiousness comes into the picture. Religion also has a negative impact on men doing the female housework, which could be expected considering the strong relationship between religion and traditionalism in the Turkish context. In other words, it is important to note that religion and tradition are strongly related in the Turkish context as shown previously in this study and as a secular country, Turkish women's educational and occupational trajectories are not directly and purely influenced by religion. The findings of Kuzgun and Sevim's (2004) research is supportive of this study's results; they find that in the context of religiousness men argue in favour of women's work if domestic responsibilities are fulfilled. It also needs to be remembered that answers to questions regarding religion should be very carefully analysed not only because it is a sensitive issue

that could be biased but also it is utterly subjective and could be partially kept private depending on the context (as in the example of someone relatively less religious in a highly conservative area). Despite the conservative political atmosphere in the last decade, Turkey is a secular country with a traditional gender discourse regarding women's and men's roles and it could be argued this is what prevents traditional discrimination towards women but not a statistical discrimination in the job market. Also while religion is inherent in the traditional structure of the society, considering the similarities with countries mentioned throughout this study that are of different religious backgrounds also demonstrate that religion is not the dominant factor which creates the current state of women in terms of labour market attainment in gendered jobs.

As seen in the below table, the marginal effects after bivariate probit analysis show that the predicted probability of men both arguing that women's work is appropriate and performing female housework (simultaneously), which is a barrier for women to participating in the labour market, is .04. Naming this combination 'being egalitarian', as the result for being in an urban area is not statistically significant, middle aged and older men are more likely to be egalitarian compared to younger men with predicted probabilities of .01 and .06. Medium educated men's probability of undertaking traditional chores at home and to support women's employment concomitantly is lower than that of highly educated men and it is even lower for low educated men. Men of unmarried statuses are all more likely to act egalitarian compared to married men while men with children are less likely to do so in comparison to men with no children. The likelihood of men with a middle level income being egalitarian is higher than that of men with a low income while it is less for men with a high income (yet the latter is not statistically significant). The

impact of religion on men’s simultaneous positive attitudes towards women’s work and doing traditional housework is negative.

**Table 29: Marginal effects after bivariate probit analysis of men’s positive attitude towards women’s work and men doing female housework**

Urban	-.00(.00)
Middle age group (35-64)	.01(.00)*
Elderly (65+)	.06(.01)***
Low educated	-.03(.01)***
Medium educated	-.03(.00)***
Single	.06(.01)***
Divorced	.39(.05)***
Widowed	.27(.03)***
Have children	-.00(.01)
Men with medium level of income	.00(.00)***
Men with high income	-.01(.01)
Factor 1 (religion)	-.01(.00)***

*Data Source: Family Value Survey, 2006 (Turkish Statistical Institute). Author’s analysis.*

An additional multinomial regression analysis is applied, taking the question of why men argue that women to be in paid work is not appropriate as the dependent variable and using the most common answer (64%) of ‘due to domestic responsibilities and childcare being women’s primary responsibility’ as the reference category as seen below. The multinomial regression analysis model is found to be not contributing further to this study, however, the marginal effects after this analysis are particularly significant when only the reference category (domestic responsibilities and childcare) is interpreted, as presented below.

**Table 30: The marginal effect after multinomial logit for “women’s primary responsibility is housework and childcare” (as a reason for women’s work not to be appropriate)**

Urban	-.08(.02)***
Young age group (18-34) <sup>19</sup>	-.05 (.02)*
Highly educated	-.13(.05)**
Married	.04 (.03)
Have children	.04 (.03)
Men doing female housework	.03 (.05)
Men with high income	.13 (.06)*

*Data Source: Family Value Survey, 2006 (Turkish Statistical Institute). Author’s analysis.*

<sup>19</sup> In the Family Value Survey, age groups are pre-organised in the data and start with the category of 0-17 years, thus the youngest age group used for the analyses in this chapter starts with the age of 18.

As seen, men in urban areas are less likely to argue that women's paid work is not appropriate due to household and childcare related responsibilities. Although the results for marginal effects after multinomial regression analysis are mostly not statistically significant, it still reflects a certain perspective of men's approaches towards women's work. Young men are less likely to address household and childcare responsibilities as the reason why they have a negative attitude towards women's employment compared to older men, with a predicted probability of -.05. Highly educated men also tend to give this reason less than men with lower educational levels, and married men are more likely to make this argument compared to men with unmarried marital statuses. Men who do female housework are more likely to argue that women should not work due to domestic responsibilities, while the probability that men with a higher income will make this argument is higher than that for those with lower earnings.

These results show that, since the main barrier to women's careers is household responsibilities, the fact that men have a positive attitude towards female employment is not adequate unless those men have a higher share in the household work. As gender ideology in terms of men's participation in the household work explains the unbalanced domestic division of labour at the micro level to a certain extent, the picture is only complete in the context of adequately supportive social policies. Thus, in terms of women's closely-related positions in the family and in the labour market, the following section will discuss where Turkey as a part of the Mediterranean welfare regime countries stands social policy-wise regarding female employment and participation in household activities compared to countries implementing Northern European welfare regime.

## **6.4 Social policy and women in the Turkish family**

Particularly in countries where a traditional gender ideology is prevalent, social policies are expected to take the lead to trigger change in women's disadvantaged position in the labour market and in the private sphere. Orloff (1993) underlines the importance of the relationship between state support and women's status, and indicates that social provisions influence women's economic situation and political participation as well as gender relations and identities in society. As much as micro level explanations such as power-based and gender ideology approaches are crucial to explain the division of labour in the household, it is difficult to see the complete picture without presenting the wider context in which these relations are built. In a way, social policies express the prominent gender ideology of a country. As statistical discrimination is a major issue particularly as regards highly educated women being in top jobs and competing with men, women's increasing attainment in careers could only be realised via recognising their potential in top-prestige jobs and providing them the opportunity to compete for these demanding jobs that are compatible with their training. In other words, even putting aside the issue of providing women certain rights, the overall agenda and discourse on gender is a major determinant of women's roles. In this way, a government can prevent the aggravation of women's tendency to opt solely for a family life by diminishing the burden deriving from women's caring roles.

In the literature it is frequently emphasised that social policies are highly effective in changing men's attitudes (and thus women's burden) regarding their share in the private sphere in terms of altering the national orientation towards female employment (Hook, 2006), defining gender roles in the family (Fuwa and Cohen, 2007) as well as removing

discriminatory policies and implementing parental leave policies (Chang, 2000). Geist (2005) points out that welfare states can create a framework that is a medium for arrangements regarding domestic labour, e.g. while barriers to female employment mean more women remain as homemakers, an educational curriculum with an emphasis on gender equality may result in more egalitarian gender relations. As this suggests, social policies have an indirect yet strong impact on regulating the division of labour at home. This is not a negative but a natural process, which will also be discussed further in the example of Northern European regimes further in this chapter. The fact that in one social policy typology women and men are more egalitarian than in other countries suggests a significant link between welfare regimes and the household. Social policies can trigger men's involvement in the private sphere as well as women's participation in paid work via taxation, leave policies and care regulations, and because over time when these changes become the norm, they are transferred to younger generations via the socialisation process.

The support given to women in the labour market is an intriguing issue. There is a significant difference between encouraging women's work by reducing their responsibilities at home while helping them to be in paid work, and indirectly discouraging women by strictly protecting their roles at home while allowing them to be a part of the labour market in a limited number of jobs which can be fit into their domestic responsibilities. While the former approach transforms women's roles in society and diminishes the domestic burden by shifting a part of the share towards external support systems as well as men as husbands and fathers which is the case in social democratic welfare regimes, the latter approach does not tend to improve men's gender ideology in terms of participating in home-related activities, and leaves the so-called support at a

superficial level with only temporary solutions. As will be discussed throughout this section, it can be observed that there is a strong tendency to try to keep women's roles stable in the Turkish social policy realm, while supporting their employment within a restricted circle of circumstances and conditions where women's domestic roles remain stable and 'safe'.

This section will focus on the overall gender discourse and social policy implementations regarding Turkish women's work and family life. The fundamental aim is to present the status of women's work and family policy-wise, by discussing women's status in the public and private spheres in two contrasting contexts. Firstly, Northern European welfare regimes will be given as an example of a context where women are active in the labour market while the family formation patterns are preserved. Sweden is an ideal context within this category as it satisfies the necessities of providing an egalitarian gender ideology at home and at work by positively reinforcing women in the public sphere and men in the private sphere. Secondly, based on welfare regime typologies in the literature, I will discuss Mediterranean welfare regime and how Turkey fits this model, as being a context which still needs improvement in its gender discourse and policy implementations particularly in comparison to the example of Sweden. Finally, previous and current social policy regulations in terms of the maternity leave, paternity leave and day care in Turkey will be presented. Geist (2005) points out that grouping countries into these three welfare state models, macro level differences in the division of labour across regimes can be elaborated that cannot be explained by differences in levels of individual characteristics. Geist (2005) gives the example that it is rare that spouses share responsibilities equally in conservative countries, regardless of their relative resources or time availability: division

of labour is not only negotiated by two partners, it is also shaped by contextual factors. Thus, it is crucial to look beyond the individual steps taken by governments to support women's work.

As indicated previously in this study, Esping-Andersen (1990) describes three different welfare regime typologies in his work: social democratic (Nordic), liberal and conservative regimes. A fourth regime has been added to the literature in addition to these three main typologies: Southern European (Mediterranean) welfare regimes (Ferrera, 1996). As mentioned throughout this study, in the literature Turkey has increasingly been included in this category mainly as a result of the resembling family-related policies and the informal role women play in the social security system. Kyonne et al. (2014) include Turkey in the Asian welfare regimes (which they also define as Oriental regimes) and state that Korea, Thailand and Turkey could be categorised into a collectivist welfare culture unlike social democratic and liberal regimes that are more individualistic; also, they consider Asian welfare regimes to be positive towards private wealth together with liberal welfare regimes unlike social democratic and corporatist democratic regimes. Turkey has also been introduced as a 'hybrid' welfare regime (Aybars and Tsarouhas, 2010), and thus it could be argued that there is no complete homogeneity even among the countries within the same welfare regime category. However, particularly considering the burden being shifted to families in terms of social security, alongside an emphasis on women's domestic roles, Turkey's welfare regime strongly resembles that of other Southern European countries. Grütjen (2008) states that there is a significant amount of similarities between Turkey and other Mediterranean countries regarding the role of the family in providing social services, often as the only safety net. Southern European welfare regimes are often defined by their

lack of formal social security provision. Turkey closely fits the Mediterranean model in terms of family being the main and often the only safety net and social service provider, as well as because wives and unmarried daughters are dependent on the husbands/fathers unless they work, causing marriage to be perceived as the real social security mechanism for women as stated by Grütjen (2008).

Geist (2005) indicates that the distinction between countries in terms of women's status in the labour market and family is not derived from the high or low levels of governmental involvement but from the welfare regime regulations which support traditional gender relations compared to those which provide active or rather passive support for gender equality. Finch (2008) argues that there are two incentives of the contemporary social welfare states as increasing flexible work, and increasing the number of day care facilities and children's overall education. Northern regimes are the best example of where women's paid work is reinforced while families are supported through policy implementations, which also include supporting men's domestic roles. In the Nordic model, family policies are regarded as the main means to achieve gender equality. This is also affected by other policy areas, such as changing labour market, income and care policies (Björnberg and Ottosen, 2013). Esping-Andersen (1990) indicates that in social democratic regimes of Northern European countries, governments take the direct responsibility for children and those in need by directly transferring grants to children, not only to service family needs but also to allow women to choose work rather than the household. There are very few women who have never worked in Scandinavia unlike in Southern European countries where the opposite is true as stated by Esping-Andersen (2002). However, Northern

European countries have not always enjoyed this egalitarian state in terms of family and work.

As important as it is to see the common features of countries in the same welfare regime cluster, each country has its individual social policy implementations. Since welfare regime typologies are not strictly homogenous, it is significant to discuss the most important policy implementations and implications regarding women's status in the family and labour market for individual countries as well, mainly in the form of female employment, and maternity and paternity leaves. In Sweden, female employment rates were lower than any other western European country in the 1950s and 1960s; it was only in the late 1960s and early 1970s that the government started to take conscious steps to bring all adult women into the work force, making the two breadwinner model a norm by turning women's status from dependent wife into worker (Lewis, 1992). During the same time period, when the labour unions were strong, gender equality at work was not one of the priorities in Turkey as emphasised by Buğra (2014a, p. 25). In Sweden, Lewis (1992) indicates that firstly the separate taxation together with high marginal tax rates in 1971 meant that it was favourable for a family if women worked, rather than men working longer. Secondly, Lewis (1992) adds that the increase in the number of children (under school age) in day care has risen from 10% in 1968 to 47% in 1987, and thirdly, in 1974 parental insurance was introduced under which women were offered compensation for loss of market earnings and men were also offered the same 90% replacement of earnings if they chose to care for children. Olah et al. (2002) state that in Sweden the cost of childcare has been reduced through four major programmes; parents can be absent from work with cash benefits for a decent amount of time, there is a universal system of child allowances

and household allowances, and a subsidised public childcare system. In addition, in the Netherlands, as stated by Hein (2005, p. 111) by 2001 the government had introduced a fully-paid emergency leave for unforeseen emergencies and a short-term carers leave (a maximum of ten days per year) to care for sick children or a spouse (paid at the minimum wage or 70% of income, whichever was higher).

In 1980, a twelve-month parental leave and a sixty-day sick leave (to take care for children) were introduced in Sweden: Swedish women's participation in paid work had increased dramatically but it is stated that they were forced into the labour market, while still retaining their care work, and it is claimed that men's behaviour remained the same (Lewis, 1992). In Sweden, as pointed out by Bergman and Hobson (2002), the term "men-friendly" refers to father-friendly in terms of the reinforcement of men as fathers in dual-earner families. Thomas and Hildingsson (2009) state that there is a generous formal support for equal share of work in the home and paid work in Sweden, however, men share household responsibilities equally if their partner goes back to full-time work, making leave policies necessary but not sufficient tools to encourage gender equality at home. Kitterød and Rønsen (2013) indicate that in Norway most children now attend day care centers mostly full-time, and fathers with young children have become more involved in childcare while women work even though men as fathers constitute only a small percentage of full-time homemakers.

Although time availability (women's time spent in paid work) is one of the determinants of fathers' involvement (Lamb et al., 1987), it is clearly seen that men were strongly reinforced to be a part of the domestic responsibilities after the 1974 legislation was

introduced, as much as women were reinforced to be a part of paid work. Men's share of parental leave days increased not dramatically but consistently from 1974 to 2007 (to 20% of leave days in total), as shown in Duvander and Jans's study (2008). Duvander and Jans (2008) emphasise that as a result of a political concern regarding men's use of leave time, in 1995 one month of parental leave was reserved for each parent to which an additional month was added in 2002 which are "use-or-lose daddy months" for men. Last but not least, it is crucial to include the argument that the second generation discourse in Sweden is stronger, as the generation after 1974 legislation accommodates more naturally caring fathers who claim their fathers to be their role models (Chronholm, 2007).

When there is no consistent and adequate social assistance scheme, the welfare system relies on family ties in risky circumstances (Buğra and Keyder, 2006), depending on women as mothers and wives (Dedeoğlu, 2012, p. 129), particularly in terms of the low service cluster for children in Mediterranean welfare regimes (Keck, 2008, p. 154) in the form of a rudimentary level of assistance which is particularly true for Turkey, Italy and Greece (Gough, 1996); depending on the familiastic structure, patronage, and the residual nature of social assistance (Goerres and Vanhuysse, 2011). In Turkey, Kılıç (2008) indicates that recent initiatives have changed from seeing women as weaker and in need of special protection based on dependency to independent participants of society, although women are not ready for this status at work or at home. This has underlined women's difficulties, rather than transforming them, creating a second class citizen status for women when combined with the realities of work and the private sphere (Kılıç, 2008). Mann (1986, p. 55) indicates that neo-patriarchy is still present, as it is the extension of concepts like domesticity and femininity in the public sphere, labour market and the welfare state.

Thus, contemporary nation states are still under the influence of patriarchal values and practices. Dedeoğlu (2009) emphasises that equality policies are far from being supportive of women's work and even reward women's roles as wives and mothers, and mostly do not create any transformation; rather, they remain as abstract regulations without a convenient macro-economic structure and entitling men with new roles.

Grütjen (2008) argues that Turkey is included in the Family Kinship Model, in which marriage is a form of informal social security system, leaving care roles to women by causing wives/unmarried girls to depend on husbands/fathers. Although the dependency notion is similar in the Male Breadwinner Model (which is predominantly seen in continental Europe) the former differs in terms of the pressure on women to continue fulfilling domestic responsibilities full-time while attending paid work, unlike the latter where part-time work is a frequently offered option (Grütjen, 2008). However, the former has the advantage that potentially a woman can share care responsibilities with other female family members beyond the nuclear family. Gal (2010, p. 169) points out that traditionally, social protection has been highly familiastic in Turkey and the family has provided both an informal mechanism and a formal formation framework for welfare provision. However, it is also emphasised that families tend to fail to extend this protection beyond the nuclear household in the Turkish context (Iguarán, 2011).

Maternity leave is one of the most significant policy issues regarding the reconciliation of paid work and family life. In an ILO report (2004a), it is indicated that very long periods of maternity leave particularly with no job protection could damage women's attachment to the labour market as well as improvements in their jobs. When the leave is too short,

women may not feel ready to go back to work and may withdraw from the labour market. To add to these remarks in the context of this research, longer leave could also damage career formation and cause stronger statistical discrimination, causing employers to justify the exclusion of women from top-level positions in prestigious jobs due to the longer breaks (as a result of restricted circumstances instead of a voluntary action) to employment. In Turkey, there has been a clear separation between civil servants and employees working under an employment contract when it comes to their rights regarding family-related provisions including maternity and paternity leaves. For public and civil servants, in 1982 paid maternity leave was three weeks before and six weeks after giving birth with no unpaid leave option (The Official Gazette of the Republic of Turkey, 1982, no. 17606). For men, while leave for one's marriage was five days, only three days were provided for paternity leave. For six months after the maternity leave ends, women were provided 1,5 hours of breastfeeding break a day. In 1995, a maximum of twelve-month long unpaid maternity leave was introduced (The Official Gazette of the Republic of Turkey, 1995, no. 22354). By 2004, paid maternity leave was sixteen weeks (eight weeks before and eight weeks after delivery) and unpaid maternity leave was twelve months, after the former ends women were entitled to 1.5 hours of breastfeeding break for a year at a time the mother chooses (and three days of paid leave was granted to fathers) (The Official Gazette of the Republic of Turkey, 2004, no. 25529). In 2011, the provision of the sixteen weeks of paid leave remained stable, and a twenty-four months of unpaid leave for both women and men was introduced (as well as ten days of paid leave for men), permission for breastfeeding was 3 hours for the first six months and 1.5 hours for the second six months after the leave ends (The Official Gazette of the Republic of Turkey, 2011, no. 27857).

Looking into the recent trends in female employment (particularly in white collar occupations) as descriptively presented earlier in this thesis, it could be seen that there is a considerable increase in women's attainment in professional jobs which could be considered as a success of the slight yet steady rise in women's higher educational attainment overall and in traditionally more prestigious subjects. In other words, we have seen that the increasing enrolment rates of women in higher education alongside with their success in graduation rates is reflected in their remarkable increase in professional jobs by 2012. However, the persistence in women's lack of a considerable representation in managerial jobs is observed which has remained stable from 2008 to 2012. Considering that these top-prestige occupations require long working hours and continuation in addition to proper training and experience, the unchanging lack of married women's participation in top-prestige jobs accompanied by a majority of women being still not in paid work due to being housewives with a percentage of 61.2 in 2012 shows us that improving women's careers in top-prestige jobs do not only requires maternity leave and day care but also a change in overall social and economic prejudice towards women as leaders by also changing men's behaviour at home as husbands and fathers.

For employees working under an employment contract, in 1987 it was forbidden to let women work six weeks before delivery and six weeks after giving birth (a total of twelve weeks of unpaid leave), with an optional (also unpaid) six months of leave after the post-delivery leave of six weeks ends, breastfeeding leave was provided for women with children aged one and younger (The Official Gazette of the Republic of Turkey, 1987, no. 19427) (that was two times a day for forty-five minutes, yet these fragmented and restricted breaks might be considered slightly inconvenient for the mother); there was no

paid or unpaid leave for men. In 2003, the (unpaid) maternity leave was determined as sixteen weeks (plus a daily 1.5 hours breastfeeding break for mothers with children under the age of one at any time of the day, at the mother's discretion) with six months of unpaid leave while there was again no leave for fathers (The Official Gazette of the Republic of Turkey, 2003, no. 25134). The workplace does not pay for the time the mother is on leave yet there is a payment as temporary disability for service provided to mothers (also called maternity insurance): for the 16 weeks (8 weeks before birth and 8 weeks after birth) the Social Security Institution pays 2/3 of women's wage, if the employer provides the salary for the 16 weeks of leave voluntarily, they could ask for the fee SSI pays (some of the workplaces do not demand it) (Turkish Labour Law, 2015).

Regarding the day care opportunities at work, in 1987 (The Official Gazette of the Republic of Turkey, 1987, no. 19658) the law (no. 657) for public and civil servants stated that a facility providing day care (in exchange for a monthly fee) for children between the ages of nought and six for 50 or more workers could be established in the premises with the approval of the associated Minister. In 2004 (The Official Gazette of the Republic of Turkey, 2004, no. 25522), according to the law (no. 4857) for employees working under an employment contract workplaces were accountable for providing a room if there were 100 to 150 female workers, regardless of their age and marital status for breastfeeding purposes where also children aged one or under are looked after (for mothers and for men with custody) (it was also stated that nursing women cannot work on nightshifts for 6 months after delivery in this edition). For workplaces with 150 or more female employees, employers had to provide a day care facility including a kindergarten where children between the ages of nought and six were taken care of, and a room for breastfeeding

purposes separate from the workplace. If the day care facility was further than 250 meters from the establishment, transportation must have been provided. In 2008 (The Official Gazette of the Republic of Turkey, 2008, no. 26887), with the 6<sup>th</sup> article of law number 5763 the possibility to receive care services from outside centers was introduced (in the law no. 4857) as an alternative to the necessity of providing a day care center within the institution that created a certain sense of flexibility to employers by ‘letting them fulfil this responsibility via other resources’.<sup>20</sup> It should also be added that as underlined by İnan and Aşık (2015), workplaces are mostly small and medium size in Turkey and not many employers hire 150 or more women; also, the attempts to determine the frame of day care provision based on the number of women workers has also been reinforcing the idea that only mothers are responsible for childcare.

In the previous chapter, Turkey was compared with countries showing similar female employment patterns. Japan and Korea are found to resemble Turkey as a result of conventional gender associations where a high rate of highly educated women are also not in the labour market, and while the main commonality with Turkey is the rigid gender role separation in Mexico and Chile; Italy and Greece have common female employment patterns with that of Turkish women via Mediterranean social policies, and Egypt and Morocco are similar to Turkey due to overall traditional social structure that strongly affects the perception of women’s work as a temporary act when needed. Besides employment patterns, it is crucial to see how similar countries fare with social policies regarding women’s work. ILO data (1997b) reveals that in 1998, unpaid maternity leave

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<sup>20</sup> Türk-İş (The Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions), 2010. Available at: <http://www.turkis.org.tr/dosya/R9u5NtHtxPP3.pdf>.

was twelve weeks for Mexican women, eighteen weeks for Chilean women, fourteen weeks for Japanese women, sixty days for Korean women, sixteen weeks for Greek women, five months for Italian women, fifty days in Egypt and twelve weeks in Morocco. As indicated above, maternity leave was twelve weeks at this time in Turkey. Except Japan (60%), Turkey (66.7%), Greece (75%) and Italy (80%), all these countries provided 100% of wages during the maternity leave at the time. Considering the minimum standard of ILO (ILO, 1997b) is twelve weeks (although a fourteen-week leave is recommended), by 1998 only Chile, Japan, Greece and Italy fulfilled the minimum requirement.

As maternity leave is a significant determinant of women's work after family formation, paternity leave has different aspects of significance. There were three days of paternity leave upon request by 2004, shorter than the leave for one's marriage or of the marriage of one's children (which was five days). In policy terms, we could see that this implies marriage to be more valued than the birth of a man's child which accentuates women's role as the main carer. Also, coupled with the severance pay exclusive to women in their first year of marriage (which implies women's place to be home) and the lack of stable day care opportunities refer to a general concern of the social policy agenda to protect the traditional family built within marriage and accounting women with the care duty in the private sphere in accordance with the implementations of Southern Europe policy regime. The ILO Viet Nam Director Gyorgy Sziraczki acknowledges<sup>21</sup> that recognition of men's right to parenthood as well as their responsibilities to share unpaid care and household work will help to break down traditional social attitudes resulting in greater equality of

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<sup>21</sup> In the press release of "Maternity and paternity at work: Law and practice across the world" by Addati et al. (2014)  
[http://www.ilo.org/hanoi/Informationresources/Publicinformation/Pressreleases/WCMS\\_243007/lang--en/index.htm](http://www.ilo.org/hanoi/Informationresources/Publicinformation/Pressreleases/WCMS_243007/lang--en/index.htm).

women and men, at home and at work. The most recent gender social policies started to provide women with very long leave, including the option of an equal unpaid paternity leave. Considering non-funded simultaneous leave for both parents is not possible in terms of affordability, the details of the current situation will be presented and discussed in the next chapter to come to conclusion regarding future prospects regarding women's work.

Surely there is more to a country's overall gender discourse than the social policies that it implements. Section 14 of (Labour) Law no. 1457 (The Official Gazette of the Republic of Turkey, 1971, no. 13943) entitles (only) women to severance pay of thirty days' worth for each year worked in case they annihilate their work contract within the first year of their marriage (for the first marriage). As this entitlement is the only article reserved from the older Labour Law (Law no. 4857), two members of the constitutional court, Kantarcıoğlu and Perktaş, demanded for cancellation by emphasising that this statement is not consistent with the changing social and legal circumstances including the dissolution of the obligation to have the husband's approval to work in 1990 and they state that a woman's exclusive right to receive this payment harms gender equality. Their statement in the Official Gazette no. 27066 (2008) states that "false practices should not shape law but law should direct society to be able to overcome faults and deficiencies". As a result, this demand has been rejected on the grounds that this article is not against the constitution considering the dimension and importance of the obligations within family that are created by certain social facts and the duties within marriage, also to protect women who decide to leave the labour market after marriage as well as to protect the family union (The Official Gazette of the Republic of Turkey, 2008, no. 27066). In addition, a recent legal decision was introduced that a contribution to the marriage portion (dowry) accounts (an optional

bank account that saves for the wedding preparations, new household and marriage-related needs) by the state is provided on the condition that the first marriage occurs before the age of 27 (The Official Gazette of the Republic of Turkey, 2015, no. 29564; legal decision no. 2015/8302), which implies reinforcement for family formation at an earlier age.

Giving women almost a ‘pseudo leave’ only because they are married and legally implying that the paid work of women is a barrier to having a family and vice versa refers to the existence of a highly patriarchal system which strongly contradicts any other support that may be given to women by law. It is a necessity to provide women a certain time off from work when they have children. However, these regulations guide women towards being a homemaker and consider women’s work as a threat to marital life. This study has shown that housework is as problematic as (and even more in certain cases) childcare in terms of women’s employment particularly in demanding and prestigious jobs, and these legal judgements support this argument.

So far, it can be seen that there is an obvious effort to secure Turkish women’s primary roles as homemakers, both formally and informally. This context makes it utterly difficult to create a space where women are a substantial part of the labour market who compete with men for higher prestige jobs, as women are being forced to be homemakers not only in terms of childcare but also as wives. The example of Northern European welfare regimes has shown that it is possible to achieve to take the burden off women’s shoulders and making an effort to involve men in the household. Supporting women’s work does not mean diminishing the family structure, it is rather involving fathers in family life that

would actually bring families closer together. This needs to be a basis for future discourse and social policy formation in Turkey.

## **6.5 Discussion and Conclusions**

This chapter elaborated the phenomenon that the results show to be the main barrier to women's careers: the domestic burden also women's share in the family-related tasks, together with how their work is viewed in this context. The findings of this chapter have highlighted a significant result that has been understated in the Turkish social policy realm: the importance of a change in men's gender ideology at home regarding their role in time-consuming, repetitive and regular tasks. This is the missing piece of the puzzle in terms of the path towards women's increasing career chances and decreasing traditional household responsibilities as a barrier. It can clearly be indicated that promoting women's work and even careers is necessary but not adequate, since even if a vast majority of men seem to support female employment, the results have so far shown that men do not make the necessary contribution at home to help women to attain demanding prestigious occupations.

As much as women should be aware of their rights in the labour market and need to be supported, change will not be complete without an equal share of the responsibilities that bind them to the household, even when they are entitled to certain rights at work including day care for children at work. This should be treated as a family support rather than women's issue, in order that a coherent approach, regarding the overall idea of addressing family-related responsibilities as a problem for both parents rather than only women, is provided. There are many arguments in the literature that focus on men's unchanging level of involvement in the household over time (England and Li, 2006; Scott and Dex, 2009),

which burdens women with a higher share in the domestic division of labour. Spain and Bianchi (1996) also emphasise that until household responsibilities are recognised a family affair rather a natural female task, women will have to suffer the consequences of the double burden of work and family, and until then they will pay a higher price for negotiating the transitions necessary to combine family and paid work. However, they add (Spain and Bianchi, 1996, pp. 198-199) that there is no sign that the majority of women or men desire or can afford to have women abandon motherhood responsibilities or paid work yet.

The results of this chapter have demonstrated that women's wages or time spent in paid work do not have the expected impact on their share of female household tasks and there is a strong gender ideology taking women's work load at home for granted. Also, there is a paradox in terms of men supporting women's work 'theoretically' and the fact that a majority of them do almost no female housework or provide support 'practically'. It was found that there is a positive correlation between men's supportive attitudes towards women's work and them doing any of the female housework, also a consistency in terms of men's attitudes and behaviour based on gender ideology. However, the absolute numbers of men doing female housework is extremely inadequate and the joint probability of men's gender ideology in theory and in practice being positive is also low. Thus, men should be the target for the social policy realm in terms of gender equality as they are at the core of the problem, as employers at work and as husbands/fathers at home. Since the main barrier to Turkish women and women from similar countries is domestic work (even compared to childcare where women have found other coping strategies), women make *choices* based on men's contribution, other circumstances being stable. When we get to the

kernel of the problem, it is not on solely women's attitudes but men's that we need to focus.

In the first part, women's share in the domestic division of labour was presented overall, based on their employment status and their wages. The results demonstrated that there is an obvious gendering in the domestic division of labour, imitating the horizontal segregation patterns in the labour market. This first finding refers to a traditional gender ideology where roles are based on an artificial division that becomes the norm in the household, as an indicator of "doing gender". Also, beyond the individual patterns of "doing gender", family members "do home" by undertaking female and male tasks that are prescribed to their social identities, making households gendered entities (Bowlby et al., 1997).

To investigate the time availability and resource bargaining approaches, women's share in female domestic tasks were measured in the context of whether they work outside the home (there is no information on how many hours they spend on paid and unpaid work in FVS, 2006) and their wages. It is seen that although men's share in domestic responsibilities increases when women work outside the home and when their wages are higher, the difference is not as much as it should be to a point that it is almost insignificant. This implies that gender ideology is a more relevant explanation in the Turkish case than the time availability and resource bargaining approaches. On the contrary, results for childcare showed that when women are in paid work and as their wages increase, other coping mechanisms come into play: paid help or grandmothers compensate for care of the child/children. This result is compatible with the previous chapter's findings that while

marriage affects women's position in both overall and prestigious male jobs dramatically, in terms of the responsibilities and expectations that come with marriage, childcare is a secondary problem for women's careers although it still negatively affects women's work except for one child in the highest prestige jobs (also considering childcare brings extra household responsibilities, such as preparing baby/toddler food, necessity of more cleaning).

To discuss the more recent domestic division of labour patterns in Turkey briefly, descriptive results taken from the Directorate for Family and Social Services who conducted the Family Value Survey in 2011 demonstrated that the majority of female housework was still undertaken by women. It was seen that cooking continued to be a highly female chore with a percentage of 95.1 which was 94.3% for laundry and 93.5% for dishwashing; these were nearly identical for women from urban and rural areas (the rates for urban regions in the same order of chores were: 95.2%, 94.5%, 93.6%, the rates for rural regions in the same order of chores were: 94.8%, 93.6%, 93.1%), while socio-economic status makes a small difference (the rates for the lowest SES in the same order of chores were: 94.6%, 93.5%, 92.5%, the rates for the highest SES in the same order of chores were: 94.8%, 93.9%, 94.1%). However, there was a strong difference between women from different backgrounds regarding childcare responsibilities. Mothers were the caretakers of the young child(ren) with a percentage of 86.9 in the urban areas and 92.4 in the rural areas, while this rate was 44.7% in the highest socio-economic status category and in the lowest SES it was 96.9% (these rates were 13.0% for nannies and 18.1% for kindergarten in the highest SES group respectively and both were 0.0% in the lowest

SES).<sup>22</sup> As seen there was still an insistently divided role allocation in the private sphere by 2011 and a dramatic gap between women from different socio-economic backgrounds regarding childcare responsibilities which was reflected in the reduced motherhood penalty over time for women in high-prestige and highly paid occupations.

In the first section, it was observed that being highly educated improves women's and men's approaches towards female employment while -unexpectedly- young men, and men with higher income are not as supportive as men of other age groups and financial states in terms of sharing responsibilities at home. It could be argued that young men are expected to be improving their careers and thus the need for women's support and 'sacrifice' is imposed. For men with higher incomes, it has been frequently mentioned that Turkish women tend to leave the job market when financial difficulties are overcome as it is difficult to maintain the double shift, which refers to the secondary position of women in the labour market and the fact that their work is needed when it is necessary, rather than being career-oriented. This section also showed that among those who argue that women should stay home, the most common response is 'due to domestic responsibilities and childcare', which is in accordance with the general findings of this research. The only group among whom the response 'domestic and childcare responsibilities' does not get the highest percentage is highly educated women, reflecting the improving impact of educational level on women's domestic gender ideology as well.

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<sup>22</sup> TurkStat, FVS, 2011. Available at:  
<http://ailetoplum.aile.gov.tr/data/544f6ddd369dc328a057d01c/taya2011.pdf>.

In the second section of this chapter, firstly, women's likelihood to undertake traditionally female household tasks based on different parameters was analysed. The results showed that women's employment status (when they are not working) is a determinant for them to be responsible for the tasks that tie them to the private sphere and functions in a vicious circle pattern. While working women are less likely to do female housework, lower wages create a higher probability of being responsible for traditional housework, implying that a higher income improves women's bargaining power as regards the division of labour at home. Although the direction of the findings refers to the time availability and resource bargaining explanations, it is related to the highly limited improving effect of women's working status and higher wages on their share in female housework. Descriptively it is seen that there is a prevailing traditional gender ideology and that a majority of women do the female household tasks regardless of their employment status and wages. To strengthen this pattern also helping women to have higher bargaining power in domestic division of labour, women's work needs to be recognised as careers and valued as much as men's work alongside with other support mechanisms.

Further in this chapter, two gender ideology components namely men's approach towards women's work in theory and their involvement in female housework in practice were investigated to evaluate the relationship between the extent to which men support female employment and do gender at home. The importance of this correlation lies in the complementary nature of men being in favour women's work and helping at home, as the former strongly depends on the latter to complete the cycle of support. The positive correlation between them showed that these two dependent variables move in the same direction, thus there is a coherent traditionalism. However, compatible with the descriptive

findings, the marginal effects after the bivariate probit estimation demonstrated that there is a highly limited chance of men supporting women's work and men undertaking the female household tasks simultaneously, presumably due to the lack of the latter. In other words, the bivariate probit analysis results showed that although there is a positive correlation between men supporting women's work (attitude) and men's involvement in the female chores (behaviour), there is a low probability that these two gender ideology components do co-exist. In this part, the marginal effects after the additional analysis of multinomial logistic regressions of the likelihood of men arguing that women should not work due to their domestic responsibilities and childcare showed that men who are married, have children and have a relatively higher income and who do female housework are more likely to make this argument. We could therefore argue that even relatively more egalitarian men, who support women at home by sharing chores and who are paid higher in the labour market (it would be expected that they were more open to receiving paid help), have rather conventional gender ideologies.

Thirdly, and finally, women's positions at home and in the labour market were evaluated on a macro level also in terms of social policy formation since individual-level explanations of gender ideology are only meaningful when they are considered in the given context where they emerge. Taking the example of Northern European welfare regimes, we have seen that it is not as straightforward as might be anticipated to change men's attitudes in terms of supporting women at home. This is where governments should step in and 'force' women and men into opposite directions from their current almost-default roles. Traditional discrimination, also excluding a certain group based on their characteristics (gender in this case), is a more deep-seated sociological puzzle while

statistical discrimination can be resisted. The most reasonable way to overcome statistical discrimination against highly educated women, who are equally affected by the unchanging domestic responsibilities as women with different levels of qualifications, is to diminish the source of this discrimination considering that women are forced to leave their jobs as a result of not being able to compete with their male counterparts due to their responsibilities at home, and thus not being considered 'worthy' of being invested in for higher ranked jobs/positions. In Turkey, the social policy agenda is largely based upon supporting women's work while preserving their family responsibilities. However, the dramatic importance of focusing on men's lack of support at home is overlooked. Chang (2000) indicates that although parental leave policies are beneficial, to reduce the unequal division of labour regardless of women's characteristics, they can weaken the housework bargaining power women get from full-time work, by protecting women's primary role as mothers and homemakers which is very likely to be case in the recent social policy regulation that provide women twenty-four months of unpaid leave (for public and civil servants) which is simultaneously provided to men although it is not possible for both parents to not work for two years.

In Turkey, although the maternity leave policies between the 1980s and 2000s were relatively weaker, the agenda included how women as mothers could be included in the labour force and there was no emphasis, and still is none, on men as fathers in terms of supporting their roles in the household and providing childcare benefits such as being entitled to day care at work. This section showed that the social policy regulations Turkey has been applying fit the context of the Mediterranean welfare as women's roles as primary homemakers is accentuated in various ways. Even though there are also arguments

stating that change could provide a shift in social policies rather than social policies forcing change, it is an observable fact that family policies are significantly influential on women's positions in the family, which is seen particularly when Northern European policy regimes are evaluated.

A change in gender ideology inherent in a household is not only important in terms of the current state of women in the labour market and family but its influence is much extended because it is built on many generations of performed gendered roles that are located in the values, attitudes and preferences of couples as stated by Treas and Drobnic (2010) in the form of accumulated norms, and positive changes will therefore affect new generations over time, and the fact that some tasks are defined as women's work and others as men's work is likely to reinforce traditional gender roles among children in the home (Blair and Lichter, 1991). As introduced earlier in this chapter, a strictly defined share of gender roles represents an artificial structure. Therefore, this structure can be redefined, with the help of social policies and changes that come from within the society with increasing education and awareness among men as well as women. As long as the core of the problem in the private sphere is not solved, external support to women's paid work will remain a bandage on an open wound, and considering women's work has been legally judged as being a barrier to their marriage, there is a long way to go to support women's careers where some of their responsibilities at home should be retained. Thus, the current state of protecting women's current domestic responsibilities even when supporting their employment, making paid work an additional part of their lives needs to be replaced by taking some of the burden off women's shoulders in the private sphere and concomitantly reinforcing their career development.

## **7. Discussion and Conclusions**

### **7.1 Introduction**

Starting from the 1980s, there has been an incompatibility between Turkish women's increasing higher educational attainment and decreasing (while already low) labour market participation until late 2000s. This study firstly raised the question of how women fare in the gender-specific higher education subjects to elaborate whether their attainment is equally reflected in all areas of the labour market. The question was: Why are highly qualified women not represented in jobs that correspond to their qualifications? The observable human capital is present for highly qualified women as in higher education. The unobservable means that affect employers' understanding of female employment were discovered as I moved forward with the research: severance pay available only to married women, the primary reason for not looking for a job being housework, women's representation in male jobs peaking between the ages of 25-34 followed by a decreasing trend, the negative impact of being married on women's position in male and prestigious male jobs, and men's behaviour towards women's work in terms of their lack of support at home despite their positive attitude.

Initially, it was observed that female students are enrolled in most of the traditionally male subjects and their graduation rates are mostly higher compared to their male counterparts. However, this trend is not reflected in the labour market. Although the impact of internal migration, which peaked in the 1980s, resulted in lower overall female employment as women migrated to urban areas became the new unemployed, this explanation was explicitly related to women who were in agricultural work and mostly low educated.

Women are not represented in many male-dominated jobs, and there is a particularly unequal pattern in highly prestigious, career-driven occupations. There is a blockage in the process of transferring from higher education to the labour market, in the form of a 'glass door' (Smith et al., 2012), and this study addressed this door as being the barriers brought by (particularly) marriage and children for women from different backgrounds. Based on micro and macro level explanations, this study examined the puzzle regarding this position of women in the job market, firstly by presenting Turkish women's positions in different segments of the labour market, providing a context for further analysis. Secondly, I examined the relationship between women's probability of holding male jobs and prestigious male jobs, and the anticipated barriers of marriage, children and other components to be the source of statistical discrimination. Finally, based on the results, the perceptions regarding women's work and share of domestic responsibilities were investigated, focusing on the argument of sustained traditional gender ideology, and I discussed where social policies and the general discourse on women's status stand in this picture.

As mentioned, this study started off with the question of why Turkish women's representation and success in male higher education subjects are not reflected in the labour market. I expected that the domestic responsibilities are creating a barrier to women's work regardless of their qualifications and circumstances, also that the tradition still overpowers women's aspirations and qualifications. The hierarchy elevator was presented with the anticipation that women are trapped into the middle-prestige female occupations which the preliminary descriptive results also verified that the structuring the hierarchy elevator exists in Turkey and Turkish women's exclusion from traditionally male jobs and

prestigious jobs in terms of major job groups was clearly seen. In addition, the selection bias was tested to comprehend highly qualified women's trajectory in prestigious, career-based jobs that are corresponding to these women's educational level and it was seen that there is a remarkable lost potential of highly educated women in the labour market who would potentially be in high-prestige occupations. I also tested the relationship between women's position in male jobs overall as well as in their three prestige levels and variables related to their demographic and family-related traits and educational qualifications. The findings demonstrated that as expected, education had a major improving impact on women's chances in male and prestigious male jobs, while marriage and the increasing number of children affected their position in these jobs negatively, except for the positive effect of one child for women's position in prestigious male jobs. The further findings showed that while there are relatively more strategies to cope with childcare than female housework, the latter was undertaken by women regardless of their employment status and income, which implied the influential parameter is men's attitudes and behaviours towards women's work and roles in the household. Thus, I analysed men's gender ideology and found that they have a negative behaviour in terms of sharing female housework despite their positive attitudes towards female employment. At the end of this study, it can be seen that the initial vicious circle figure is supported that at the micro level women were expected to be fully responsible for the household chores, at the meso level careers were open to men despite the fact that women exceed them at university graduation rates and at the macro level although men have a positive attitude towards women's work, the social roles and traditions of the society is maintained by social policies and overall gender discourse in the political and social realms lead women towards their traditional gender roles in the household as in the micro level explanations.

While labour market equality is often addressed as meaning an equal participation of women and men in employment, this study defines labour market equality as women and men being represented at a similar level in the same areas, rather than merely achieving an identical attainment rate regardless of which jobs women take. As discussed throughout the study, career-building is a significant part of developing women's status in the public sphere. However, Turkish women constitute only a small percentage of employees in highly prestigious jobs. This research suggests that this phenomenon can be explained by statistical discrimination (particularly taking their success in male subjects of university education into account) based on the belief of employers that women will leave the labour market because of their family-related responsibilities. Considering that women are entitled to severance pay within the first year of their marriage, as explained in the previous chapter, statistical discrimination in Turkey, particularly in top-level jobs where employers need to invest in employees, is expected to be sharper (one of the indications of this is the observation of increasing tendency to ask potential employees for their future plans regarding their private lives in job interviews). Although being given this opportunity might seem positive for individual women, it only exacerbates the current gender ideology by reinforcing traditional roles of women within marriage.

Esping-Andersen (2009) indicates that the 'incomplete revolution' refers to women's changing active status in the labour market while they are still responsible for most domestic responsibilities. In Turkey, the 'revolution' in women's lives has not fully started yet, as there is a low level of labour market participation and a heavy burden due to a lack of external support mechanisms. On a similar note, it can be pointed out that there is an

‘incomplete revolution’ for men rather than women. While men are supportive of the concept of female employment, their share of household responsibilities is not satisfactory. Thus, as much as women's paid work should be supported and their burden diminished, men’s roles as husbands and fathers need to be improved alongside with women’s socially ascribed perception of the fairness of domestic division of labour.

As discussed throughout the study, Hakim suggests that in the 21st century the expanding preferences for women, particularly regarding the variety of jobs and emerging birth control strategies, resulted in more life-style choices, and thus there has been an increasing number of women in the labour market. However, this research has shown that in the Turkish context women’s ‘preferences’ are limited to the question of how far they are ‘allowed’ to make use of these preferences. To present the vicious circle of the expectations of women in the private sphere, and their subsequent exclusion in the labour market, the first empirical chapter of this thesis provided the context, in the form of an overview of Turkish women’s higher educational attainment and concentration in particular occupations. The second empirical chapter demonstrated how women’s likelihood of holding male-dominated and prestigious male jobs is shaped by mainly family-related components. The third empirical chapter revealed Turkish women’s positions in the household and men’s gender ideology regarding female employment, which was connected to social policies and welfare provisions. This study has presented a sociological journey, from the 1980s to the late 2000s (with brief anecdotes and descriptive statistics from 1970s and 2010s to demonstrate the background and the outcome of the period studied), also from the decade when higher education started to

increase to when the problem of women's lack of representation in jobs that are compatible with their education became undeniably recognisable.

## **7.2 Findings and Discussion**

To discuss the findings of this study in detail, the first chapter of this thesis, firstly, presented the enrolment and success rates of female students in the main subject areas in higher education. The picture that was given revealed the fact that there is no particular traditional gender ideology involved in the process of entering and completing university education in conventionally male subjects, contradicting arguments that state that women choose their subject in higher education according to their life plans in terms of their upcoming domestic responsibilities in relation to their socialisation process. I then created a pyramid called 'the hierarchy elevator', based on the expectation that women are trapped in the middle section of the occupational prestige-ladder despite their success in the educational sphere. The combination of the facts that highly educated women more successfully finish their degrees, and that they mostly withdraw from work as a result of marriage as well as work less hours than men in the managerial jobs is a strong indication of the statistical discrimination that occurs in the hiring processes, and strongly suggests that the positive impact of education is overpowered by the extraordinarily imbalanced domestic division of labour, as was seen in Chapter 6. Moreover, the vicious circle figure presented in this chapter hypothesised Turkish women's dead-end position in the labour market, showing that traditional gender roles and the burden created by the social welfare system results in statistical discrimination in top-level jobs, perpetuating women's trapped position in mid-prestige jobs rather than positions of higher prestige if they are already in the labour market. The preliminary results demonstrated that a small rate of women was in managerial positions in terms of major job categories both in 1985 and 2000, as expected,

while analysis of detailed job categories showed that the jobs with highest share of female workers (commonly in these years) were farmers, computing machine operators, and stenographers. It could be seen that women's share was highest in the middle-prestige level of the hierarchy elevator, in jobs mostly do not lead to highly prestigious careers. As Osipow (1975) created three typologies of women's careers namely the homemaker pattern (women who are not significantly engaged or not engaged at all in paid work and are mainly homemakers), the traditional career pattern (women who are significantly engaged in paid work, yet could have career interruptions due to family related reasons, and mostly participate in traditionally female jobs) and the pioneer career pattern (women who are dedicated to a career, competing with men usually for male jobs); it could be stated that the first typology is widely seen in the Turkish context even among highly educated women, the second typology represents the overall status of Turkish women's labour market existence, and the third category is a rare yet desired pattern.

The percentage of women working in scientific and technical jobs doubled from 1998 to 2008. At this time, two prestigious job categories as life scientists and medical jobs (including nurses and midwives) became female areas which shows the importance of increasing female higher educational attainment. However, there has been an overpowering impact of family-related means on women's educational success. The findings demonstrate that the primary reason for women to leave the labour market is highest for the response "due to household responsibilities" and Turkey has the lowest level of maternal employment among all OECD countries. The smallest percentage of married women are in managerial jobs and these are the jobs with the lowest rate of part-time opportunities, being occupations requiring dedication, implying there needs to be

other support mechanisms (particularly for married) women to be career-driven. Thus, the descriptive results in this chapter set the tone of the research, by introducing Turkish women's lack of participation in prestigious jobs, (potentially) in relation to their domestic responsibilities. This chapter also introduced a comparison between countries that are similar to Turkey, referring to different sociological explanations. Areas highlighted were the traditional approach towards women's roles in Japan and South Korea, patriarchal relations embedded in the cultures in Chile and Mexico, the shared Mediterranean social policy regime that burdens women with the functions of social security system in Italy and Greece, and the connection of women's overall status in the society to their labour market positions in Morocco and Egypt. This helped us to see clearly where Turkey stands among its OECD member counterparts, as well as to strengthen the arguments regarding women's positions at work and at home. Literature also suggests that Turkey share similarities with male-dominant cultures such as China and Korea as well as Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand in terms of intra-family cultures and women's status within the family (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1986), with countries like Italy and Greece as sharing a common Mediterranean culture and welfare regime (Grütjen, 2008), and with Mexico in terms of similarities in young women's employment (OECD, 2002), grouping all of these countries together in the same theme provided a wider perspective of comparison between countries alike.

The first chapter aimed to create a basis for the following sections of the study, outlining Turkish women's successful higher educational attainment and lack of participation in prestigious jobs associated with family-related responsibilities being the primary reason for leaving the labour market. These findings steered me to examine the relationship

between Turkish women's exclusion from highly paid and highly prestigious male-dominated jobs and their domestic burden, to investigate the vicious circle created by the responsibilities at home associated with their roles and statistical discrimination based on the fulfilment of this traditional domestic division of labour. First of all, I identified predominantly female and male job categories, adapted the Treiman occupational prestige scale to the Turkish setting and grouped the prestige groups into three levels (see Chapter 3), to elaborate the detailed job groups after the major units of occupations were presented in the first chapter. The primary results showed that by 2000, only 23.2% of women were in male-dominated jobs and they constituted 14.5% of all employees in male jobs.

In terms of where 'aspirations' (based on Turkish women's attainment in traditionally male university subjects and positive outlook regarding female employment) stand in the education-work equation, Jacobs (1989) suggests that aspirations are adaptable in a life-long social control perspective, and that sex role socialisation is not sufficient to fix occupational goals for young women since aspirations are likely to change to accommodate the realities of the workplace as well as they are consistingly more male-dominated than the occupations they hold (Jacobs, 1989 pp. 85-86). In other words, Jacobs (1989) suggests that aspirations are not countable as determinants of women's success in the future in male jobs, and he adds that there may be a significant gap between expectations and realisation regarding jobs such as medicine, engineering and bussiness. However, in the Turkish case, the combination of women's success in male-dominated higher educational areas, the fact that the major reason for leaving the job market is due to being a housewife, and that nearly all highly educated women argue that it is appropriate for women to be in paid work, implies that it is not women's aspirations that are unrealistic

or not promising but that there is a concrete wall between educational and occupational success, and the realistic aspirations of women are attached to a context where women can only achieve within the limitations of the social environment.

The results of the logistic regression analysis that follows the descriptive presentation of data aimed to evaluate the relationship between women's chances of holding male-dominated jobs regardless of prestige, to measure horizontal segregation and variables that could affect this probability; educational level, marital status and the number of children being the major components. Both in 1985 and 2000, the positive impact of higher education on being in male jobs was stable. Married women were less likely to be in male jobs than women with any other marital status, divorced women being the most likely to work in a male job. This could be due to two reasons: Turkish women are excluded from low-prestige occupations as a result of the unconventional work hours and conditions of these jobs ("maids and related housekeeping service workers n.e.c" is the most common low-prestige job category for women who usually work under female supervision) and from highly prestigious jobs as a result of the heavy domestic burden which prevents them from work in prestigious jobs that are compatible with their education. The findings also revealed that there is a decreasing probability of women being in male jobs in parallel with increasing number of children. This showed the problem that in the jobs in which men dominate, married women and mothers are not likely to be employed. As stated in this chapter, men are preferred over women as employees for different reasons that push women towards middle-prestige jobs with fewer career opportunities. Thus, after presenting women's positions in male jobs overall, Turkish women's and men's position

in the male-dominated areas of the three prestige levels in the hierarchy elevator was demonstrated.

We have seen that there has been an expansion of the lowest and highest scoring occupational groups in terms of prestige. However, despite the increase in the number of women at the higher prestige level, even in the few high-prestige female jobs, men have a considerably high share in even prestigious female jobs. As the previous chapter showed, highly prestigious jobs are associated with higher education, thus the lack of women's representation in top-prestige occupations despite their increasing higher educational attainment indicates a lost potential in respect of highly qualified women. A Heckman two-step correction model was applied in this section and the findings demonstrated that there is a reserve of highly qualified women who would hold prestigious jobs if they were employed in the first place. However, the p value was questionable thus a Heckman probit model was formed, which presented that there is a positive correlation between the selection equation of probability to enter the jobs market and selection outcome of probability to be in the highest prestige jobs regardless of gender composition.

Nearly half of women with higher educational degrees are not working, while men account for seventy per cent of prestigious male jobs and this is not only because there are more men in the labour market overall as a fact but also due to the discriminatory practices women face due to their domestic responsibilities which they are expected to fulfil regardless of their qualifications. Still, increasing higher educational attainment as well as overall labour market participation is key for reinforcing women's careers, since by 2000 among workers with higher education in working age 69% are men. The interaction terms

of education and marital status have also shown that low education has a diminishing impact on women's likelihood to be in the most prestigious male jobs which is the strongest for single women in 1985 and married women in 2000.

Regarding motherhood, having one child was found to have a positive impact on women's likelihood to be in a high-prestige job which was presumed to be a result of the higher economic and socio-economic status of women in these positions as well as the existence of a variety of coping mechanisms for childcare unlike daily household tasks that are expected to be either undertaken by family members or via paid help. Ward and Wolf-Mendel (2012, pp. 59-60) also find that having a child contributes to women's work in academia (as a high-prestige occupational area) in terms of efficiency and arrangement of priorities.

The findings of the second chapter addressed the negative trajectory of Turkish women's careers in prestigious jobs that are mostly held by men as a result of changing marital status and having children, despite the positive impact of education on women's work. Thus, I aimed to investigate how the share of roles in the private sphere on the micro (family-level) and macro level (social policy-level) occurs, and I elaborated how women and men fare in female household tasks as well as how women's work is viewed to evaluate whether this is mostly a problem of tradition or a more deep-seated role separation. The reason for separating female and male housework is the fact that irregular and less time-consuming traditionally male chores are done by men if not paid help is received and also because there is a gender separation in the share of the household work which mimics that of the labour market, also including traditionally male household chores

in the analysis could cause misinterpretations that men are contributing to female household tasks at a higher rate than they actually do. The finding that time-consuming and continuous female chores are mostly undertaken by women was to be anticipated. However, the substantial result was that women's working status and their earnings (as well as regional differences) do not lead to a difference in women's share of the traditionally "feminine" domestic responsibilities that are likely to hold them back when constructing careers. This implies that time availability and resource bargaining approaches are less relevant than gender ideology in the Turkish context. This was compatible with the result that women leave the job market as a result of family-related reasons also the traditional role allocation. Childcare was found to be somewhat more manageable: in contrast to female housework, women's paid work and increasing earnings created a more dramatic difference for women as carers. Thus, I measured the influence of time availability and resource bargaining on women's likelihood of being responsible for female household tasks. Although the results demonstrated that being in paid work and making more money meant undertaking less female housework, the descriptive results showed that still a majority of women do the female housework and men's involvement in the process is extremely low.

In terms of attitudes towards women's work, we have seen that 71.6% of low educated men and 91.1% of highly educated men are in favour of women's work (TurkStat, FVS, 2006). While women are represented in many areas of higher education which refers to their career-building aspirations, their mentality regarding female work is consistent with these aspirations: 99% of highly educated women are supportive of female employment. The (very few) highly educated women who argue that women should not work indicate

that the main reason for this position is that 'paid work exhausts women'. For men of all educational levels the highest rate is for 'domestic reasons'. Based on these findings, I decided to measure men's gender ideology by examining the relationship between men's attitudes and behaviour towards women's work. The results of the bivariate probit analysis showed that there is a positive relationship between men arguing in favour of women's work and men doing female housework. In other words, it is expected that men engage in female housework will also argue in favour of women's employment which could be addressed as directly positive gender ideology. However, the number of men doing female housework at a bare minimum. Indeed, the marginal effects measured after the bivariate probit analysis demonstrated that the two components of gender ideology to simultaneously exist is only .04. In addition, further analysis has also shown that while 83.9% of men who do female housework argue that it is appropriate for women to be in paid work, only 6.5% of men arguing in favour of women's work do female housework (TurkStat, FVS, 2006).

So, the problem is not that men consider women's paid work to be problematic but that they consider women's lack of domestic work to be an issue. As long as the household is in order it is acceptable for women to work, and this is why women end up trying to push work into home and hold jobs that are compatible with their domestic burden. This finding is compatible with Hochschild's argument in the 'Second Shift' (1989), that the gender ideology of individuals can be fractured and incomplete. The empirical findings of this research show this to be the case. This male behaviour exists in parallel to the effort of the state regulations to incorporate work into women's lives rather than making room for women to achieve their goals, by not interfering with the burdens they have at home.

These intense expectations also cause women to feel guilty when they do not undertake these tasks. Kremen Bolton (2000) states that there is a 'third shift' women carry in their minds in terms of the psychological aspect of women's hectic life schedules that they doubt their decisions and question their choices alongside with the physically (and also generally) exhausting first and second shifts. Aycan (2004) also found that female managers working in the private sector in Istanbul felt the need firstly to convince themselves to overcome guilt that they could receive help for their domestic responsibilities particularly because it has been questioned why they have to work and why they have made a decision to 'leave their children for work'. Ferree (1991) also indicates that women's investment to keep high standards in domestic work is a problematic issue even when men do housework and overcoming this will be a step towards a more egalitarian domestic division of labour. Preliminary results have showed that men do very little housework even they are highly educated, but highly educated men are content with women working. Although men are not 'literally' against female employment, they still put women's domestic roles before their paid work and see such paid work as an addition to their 'main' domestic' roles. This is consistent with female overrepresentation in jobs that are seen as a continuation of their roles at home. Thus, the solution is expected to be in: a) the state taking the burden off the shoulders of women, in the form of social welfare provisions; b) encouraging men to engage in the private sphere via policy support, public service announcements, and improving the pre- university curriculum, particularly for younger children; and c) introducing multi-dimensional roles for women and socialising them into these roles in the public sphere and doing this for men as well in the private sphere as husbands and fathers.

In the discussion of social policy regulations, firstly we have seen how Sweden, as a Northern European (social democratic) welfare regime, has developed over the years in terms of women's burden at home, and -most importantly- transforming men's roles. This was an example of how states can interfere with the private sphere in a constructive way by using different strategies, including taxation, parental leave that is separately designed for mothers and fathers, and providing support to parents (including in the form of child benefits and sick leave). Sweden offers a good model of how states can introduce a balance between protecting the family structure and women's paid work as it was seen that the current state was different in the history and welfare provisions as well as monitoring change over the years were key elements in transforming women's and men's roles in society. The outline of the social policies and laws regarding women's work in Turkey showed that although the opportunities provided for maternal employment, in terms of leave have been improved, a significant provision of day care has not been consistently provided and the persisting traditional and mostly patriarchal gender discourse in the political sphere that reinforces women's domestic roles has prevented men from sharing domestic responsibilities at home and have not fully endorsed women's career prospects in the labour market, thus overpowering the provisions.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the findings of this study subsequently supported the initial illustration of the vicious circle of female employment: there is the circle of half-egalitarian approach of men at the micro level and the overall traditional gender discourse towards women's work at the macro level was revealed as the source of the problem. It is also stated in the international literature that women do not willingly leave the job market and they do so mostly due to marriage responsibilities that are not

being shared by their husbands, as well as because employers are not supportive, and as a result of inadequate state pressure (Meers and Strober, 2013, p. 76). Supporting women's careers and increasing the number of role models would create a collective motivation and improved aspirations for young women. Among all the gender-related problems that exist in the society, women's careers may not be considered as the major issue. However, at the current juncture in which women's position in the society is underestimated in a politically conservative manner, to improve women's status in the society, introducing empowered career women as role models seems more logical than anticipating the issue of women's careers to be on the top of the social policy agenda. As long as the overall expectations and lack of support remain, affirmative action in the labour market will be incomplete as a path toward women's work, even though as Valian (1998) emphasises affirmative action is needed considering that circumstances do not allow women to succeed at work based on merit and this could create a ground for enabling them to compete more equally with men. Efforts should focus on the balance of family and work, rather than protecting the private sphere and squeezing in employment. In the social policy realm, it needs to be recognised that the unity of the family could still be protected without burdening women with the entire informal social security provision in terms of care work.

### **7.3 What is the way forward? Future suggestions**

Based on the findings of this research, there are strategies that could be adapted to the Turkish context to improve women's status in top-prestige jobs, and to reinforce the notion of careers for Turkish women in high-prestige occupations. Supporting women's careers would be a substantial step towards improving women's status as leaders and as successful individuals competing equally with men and having a say in the public sphere. Promoting female careers is a significant way to diffuse the representation of working women into

many other layers of the public sphere from higher positions in academia to politics. Since the overall gender discourse in the society is a major determinant of these support mechanisms to be functional, it is crucial to come to the realisation that the goal needs to be providing space for career improvement rather than trying to maintain the present position of women in the private sphere and incorporating the labour market into their already heavy burdens. To be able to achieve this, six main suggestions for the future that are potentially beneficial for women's career prospects derived from the findings of this research are listed below.

### **7.3.1 A standing problem: Day care**

The results of this research have demonstrated that having children decreases the probability that women will hold male jobs. Although having one child makes it more likely for women to hold more prestigious jobs, more than one child lowers their chances in these jobs as well. Thus, we could state that maternal employment needs to be reinforced and it should be recognised that individuals are not units aiming to achieve maximum profit from their actions at all times, and sentimentality is involved in the decision-making processes particularly regarding family-related issues. There are surely psychological and hormonal dimensions to motherhood but in the context of this research, socio-psychological and sociological connections are more relevant; that is, the guilt caused by collective judgement and how women are socialised with the notion of being a good mother. The notion of 'mummy guilt' is a real phenomenon that has been frequently studied in the literature. 'Good mothering' is based on the assumption that women are the ideal caretaker for children, and while being a mother is considered to be a prerequisite for being a "complete woman" and mothers are expected to be fully devoted to their caring roles, if this devotion is not fulfilled it results in guilt (Evans and Grant, 2009, pp. 214-

215). Mason and Ekman (2007) also emphasise the phenomenon of mother guilt (pp. 51-52) and how the new momism (p. 59) underestimated that childcare has become more demanding and difficult with changing social circumstances, as it is now even harder to integrate lives and careers. Rubin and Wooten (2007) indicate that highly educated stay-at-home mothers express feelings of guilt and conflict that they consider themselves inadequate for their children as well as they think they are wasting their qualifications by not working which is a common concern for the modern woman. Although traditional cultures attribute childcare to women, it should not be forgotten that except caring needs in relation to the physical necessities such as breastfeeding, fathers could undertake any responsibility of the child/children and their roles are as important as mothers' in children's lives.

Literature suggests that there is no evidence of a traceable negative effect of having working mothers on children, children of working mothers are no more likely to have negativities in their lives than children with stay-home mothers (Rossi, 2011, p.337). Gregg and Washbrook (2003) emphasise that although full-time work before the child is eighteen months old could have adverse effects on a child's cognitive development, these effects are small and mostly insignificant while part-time work and working after eighteen months are even slightly beneficial for children as well as equal parenting as in fathers being more involved when mothers return to paid work early; also, children attending childcare when mothers are at work are found to have better cognitive outcomes. Other studies also find that maternal employment has positive academic and social influences for children, even though there are socio-economic and cultural differences; studies have also focused on the importance of fathers' active roles in children's lives (Hoffman and Youngblade, 1999). As well as the circumstances of the family, the attitudes and

expectations of mothers and fathers, and the distribution of time available have important effects (Scarr et al., 1989). As in the example of Britain given by Crompton and Sanderson (1990), in many developing and developed countries the decrease in infant mortality released the attention given to physiological problems and shifted that attention towards psychological issues, such as that it is wrong for child not to be with the mother; as a result, the state has played a key role in making mothers responsible for children (p. 52). In the case of Turkey, men would be expected to opt out of the opportunity take a full or partial twenty-four months of unpaid leave that is provided to both women and men (public and civil servants) in 2011 considering the deep-seated emphasis on women's traditional gender roles. Thus, unless the aim is changing the mentality regarding women's roles in the public sphere, this 'option' would be attributed to women, thus context-specific solutions are necessary. Furthermore, in practice the simultaneous unpaid leave would put families into economic hardship also considering the new addition to the family. As in the example of the Scandinavian countries, more persuasive precautions need to be taken such as shared leave exclusive to men although there is still a lot of processes to overcome as only very recently (The Official Gazette of the Republic of Turkey, 2015, no. 29335) five days of paid leave has been granted to fathers who are employees working under an employment contract, for the first time (in the same Official Gazette, the raise of the cost-of-living adjustment for the third child from 5% to 10% is introduced, yet this could also be interpreted as a step to encourage higher fertility rates rather than merely being a family support reinforcing women's employment). In 2013 (The Official Gazette of the Republic of Turkey, 2013, no. 28737) regardless of the age and marital status of the female employees, employers were held responsible of providing a room for breastfeeding purposes no further than 250 meters from the workplace for 100 to 150 female workers (the number of all women working in the firm within the municipality in question), and for

150 or more female workers there should be day care for children aged nought to six for which transportation should be provided if the center is more than 250 meters away. Also, employers of the same institution could provide a common service or make arrangements with public day care centers to fulfil this responsibility. These obligations apply to workers of all statuses who are dependent on the law number 6331 unless there are facilities established beforehand for workers in accordance with their statuses, while the aforementioned rights concerning day care facilities (The Official Gazette of the Republic of Turkey, 1987, no. 19658) that are applicable to public and civil servants (who are dependent on law no. 657, first section/first article) are reserved regarding the fourth section of this regulation introduced in 2013. In April 2015, a childcare at home project named “The Operation of Supporting Formal Female Employment via Home-based Childcare Services” was launched that was conducted by the Social Security Institution, and was jointly financed by the Ministry of Labour and Social Security and the European Union, within which initially 300 Euros of care benefit was aimed to be supplied to 5000 mothers every month, for twenty-four months in three big cities of Turkey. Regarding this project, the Minister of Labour and Social Security stated that as female workers in the domestic sector are now provided social security when they work ten days or more in a month, this project will also help five thousand childminders working informally to be employed with social security and five thousand mothers in the process of going back to paid work for the reconciliation of family and employment (The Ministry of Labour and Social Security, 2015)<sup>23</sup>. Introducing a similar and extended project (that also covers housekeeping services) supported by the State that would bring together women in need of

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<sup>23</sup> The Ministry of Labour and Social Security, 2015: [http://www.sgk.gov.tr/wps/wcm/connect/d6ae6d63-dabf-4252-9c6a-201f96b5fbb1/haber\\_20150415\\_103.pdf?MOD=AJPERES&CACHEID=d6ae6d63-dabf-4252-9c6a-201f96b5fbb1](http://www.sgk.gov.tr/wps/wcm/connect/d6ae6d63-dabf-4252-9c6a-201f96b5fbb1/haber_20150415_103.pdf?MOD=AJPERES&CACHEID=d6ae6d63-dabf-4252-9c6a-201f96b5fbb1)

employment and families who need support in their household chores would be expected to further help to solve the problematic issue of the double burden of women.

In January 2015, the Prime Minister of Turkey made the statements that day care centers will benefit from tax incentives, women in unpaid leave will still gain right to degree advancements and municipalities will be responsible to open day care<sup>24</sup>. Although the planned obligation given to municipalities to establish day care centers is a positive step, the lack of sustainability and supervision of day care at workplaces had so far caused this obligation to be neglected. It is not uncommon for employers to keep the number of female workers under the minimum, so that the day care requirement is not fulfilled. Thus, careful and systematic formal inspection of the demanded care provision alongside with a supportive gender discourse is significant to improve employers' mentality and attitude towards the importance of day care for employees (for both mothers and fathers). In cases where it is not recommended to have an on-site day care facility and kindergarten due to health and safety reasons, the introduction of a generous child allowance as in Sweden which is a financial support provided to parents until the child is 16<sup>25</sup> or a childcare rebate as in Australia that pays the out-of-pocket childcare expenses and is not income tested<sup>26</sup> could be considered as suggested family benefits concomitantly with attempts to raise awareness among parents regarding the significance of professional day care at eligible centers and kindergartens. In 2015 (The Official Gazette of the Republic of Turkey, 2015,

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<sup>24</sup> Cumhuriyet (Newspaper), 8th January 2015 Monday.

<sup>25</sup> The Official Guide to Working in Sweden: <http://work.sweden.se/living-in-sweden/social-benefits/>

<sup>26</sup> Australian Government website: <http://www.mychild.gov.au/childcare-information/rebate>

no. 29319), child benefits are introduced in Turkey, however, it is only 300 Turkish Lira<sup>27</sup> for the first child, 400 TL for the second child and 600 TL for the third child, as a one-off payment only. Furthermore, regarding teaching jobs as an occupational area women are a major part of, the recent transition from full-time day care to half-day (for state schools) (The Official Gazette of the Republic of Turkey, 2014, no. 29072) would also be expected to affect female teachers negatively if they are in need of full-time childcare in accordance with their working situation. The statements of the Prime Minister of Turkey (see footnote 24) include that there are preparations to present mothers part-time working opportunities for two months for the first child, four months for the second child and six months for the third child (with full wage), the remaining amount of part-time wage being paid by the state for parents to spend more time with their children until they are 5,5 years old and start school. The mother guilt and concerns regarding childcare is the most intense for the period starting from the birth of the child until schooling begins, which is currently around 5,5 years old in Turkey. Still, policies regarding flexible work need to be carefully considered since as it is beneficial in terms of the possibility for parents (which is mostly the mother) to be still attached to the labour market while taking care of the child, it could potentially affect women's career prospects due to the motherhood penalty in comparison to men assuming they are much less likely to benefit from parental leave and temporary part-time work opportunity, which exacerbates employers' prejudices regarding women's occupational discontinuity based on familial responsibilities also considering the previously made reference (see Table 3) to the lack of a revolving door (Jacobs, 1989) pattern for Turkish women's position in prestigious jobs in 1985 and 2000 (which was in a reverse U-shape pattern in both years). Thus, the extension of the above-mentioned

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<sup>27</sup> 1 GBP = 4.1393 TRY, The Pound to Turkish Lira exchange rate (GBP to TRY) as of 18 July 2015 at 8:41 AM. Currency rates, 2015, available at: <http://www.exchangerates.org.uk/Pounds-to-Lira-currency-conversion-page.html>

childcare at home projects and on-site day care provision need to be reinforced primarily (as well as be monitored carefully) alongside with family benefits, phased flexible-to-full-time return to paid work and child sick leave not only for mothers but also for fathers.

Successful working mothers see their careers as a life-long commitment while new momism presents women with choices strictly within the idea of becoming a mother which is considered to be a necessity for being a complete and real woman with a selfless professional approach towards motherhood (Ward and Wolf-Mendel, 2012, pp. 59-60).

The notion of 'new momism' also needs to be investigated in the Turkish context as it can be observed that there is a great pressure on mothers recently, as a result of the expanding social media and the way individuals' actions are monitored and are more under the limelight as well as judged. Unless women can balance the career side and motherhood side of their lives, they become a 'victim' of the perfectionist expectations of the new momism which I believe causes many women to withdraw from the labour market if they are already employed, in view of this more demanding trend in terms of motherhood.

While 'the macro level good mother ideology' is observed in many cultures (Evans and Grant, 2009), this pattern is one of the reasons that could be accounted for the lack of highly qualified women's trend to stay home, creating a prejudice regarding 'career mothers', which perceives careers to be a notion for single and aggressively determined young women.

Therefore, it is common sense to argue that motherhood affects female employment, not only for reasons of practicality (finding suitable childcare, the expense of day care etc.) but also for humane reasons (social pressure, guilt, attachment). Thus, if we wish to solve the

problem of mothers withdrawing from the labour market, this factor cannot be ignored. As will be discussed below, longer maternity leave could affect women's attachment to work negatively and shorter leave could cause women to withdraw as a result of "mummy guilt". Thus, the solution lies in providing day care at the workplace, with professional carers, and providing the flexibility for women to have their children close by while also being able to work. Although governments are reluctant to interfere in the industrial bargaining of provisions (OECD, 2007), the control mechanisms need to be standardised, and rather than providing day care service at centers outside the workplace, it needs to be provided within the work premises.

### **7.3.2 Flexible work**

Careers and part-time jobs do not seem to go together. The preliminary results of this research in Chapter 4 have shown that there are nearly no part-time jobs in managerial category and only a few in professional job category (both of these categories mainly include top-prestige occupations). The literature also supports the argument that although part-time work provides a certain level of flexibility, it tends to marginalise women into less well paid and less prestigious jobs with some exceptions. An ILO article on flexible work (1997a) states that part-time work could be a linkage between being active and inactive in the labour market and could help to reconcile family and work; yet with a lack of social security, certain benefits and training opportunities, career prospects are rather weak in these jobs particularly in the case of 'on-call' workers in "zero hours" systems. An ILO report (2004a) indicates that part-time work is highly attached to service sectors, largely includes low-skilled workers in many countries and among its disadvantages are gender segregation and exclusion, endorsing traditional roles at home and poor conditions

(in some cases part-time work is also exploited by squeezing full-time work into part-time hours). Also, as the occupational prestige scoring system showed us prestige is not solely attached to higher pay, it is obvious that a career would be hard to build while working half the time compared to one's colleagues.

In Turkey, it is not a common practice for women to work part-time (Grütjen, 2008). Although the lack of part-time work attainment seems to be a positive pattern at first regarding the marginalising potential of these jobs (Jaumotte, 2003b), it also provides the integration of women under the constraint of family responsibilities into the labour market (Jaumotte, 2003a). The focal question is how part-time work could be improved in cases of necessity without being a source for 'pin money' (Harkness et al. 1997) and positioning women secondary workers in the labour market. As stated, from one perspective flexible work provides some level of economic independence but if there is an unchanging gender ideology at the micro- and macro-levels, the anticipated advantage of time availability coming from being at work would diminish based on less or irregular hours worked and the advantage of resource bargaining would also be limited based on lower pay and social security benefits in part-time work and various other types of flexible employment. Thus, flexible work including part-time arrangements would be mainly preferable in transition processes where both women and men are under the burden of family obligations such as being new parents or having a family member in urgent need of care (better yet, social benefits would come into the picture in such cases). As long as the gender ideology of individuals and society remains highly traditional, there will be reverse time availability that unchanging expectations of women will be maintained while work responsibilities are added to their burden. The priority needs to be on creating room for women to build

careers surely without turning positive discrimination towards parents into discrimination towards non-parents.

The International Labour Organization (2004a) describes part-time as usually working either 30 or 35 hours a week depending on the country which is stated as 36 hours for Turkey while according to the OECD (2007) part-time work is described as under 30 hours of work a week doing the main job. The ILO (2004a) lists alternative part-time working types as job-sharing (one full-time job shared between two or more people), progressive/phased retirement (reduced working when close to retirement) and parental leave on a part-time basis (reduced working hours for parents). However, it should be added that flexible work does not equal part-time work. ACAS (2013) presents various types of flexible work as flexitime (workers choose when to begin and end work within certain set limits in terms of required office time at core hours), overtime (hourly worked hours), compressed working (relocating time worked into fewer and longer blocks during the week or opt to work nine of ten days in a fortnight), shift work, annual/annualised hours, term-time working, temporary work, fixed-term contracts, sub-contracting, zero hours contracts, and teleworking (which includes homeworking and mobile working/hot-desking). ILO (2004b) also underlines the time banking strategy that is keeping track of hours work in accounts for individual workers (similar to annual/annualised hours) in which they could save credits or compensate for deficits in hours worked up to a maximum amount that are calculated for extended processes, and how and when to spend these credits both depend on the arrangement made with the employer/institution. To add to these categories, there are also small-scale (mainly craft-based) home production and internet-based small businesses.

Working from home (or any flexible venue of one's own choice) on an optional basis could also be a preference for those seeking to obtain a flexible job via telecommuting. However, this should be carefully considered so as not to recreate a new horizontal segregation in the form of 'proper' female careers. Also, it should be taken into account that working from home could cause the continuation of the expectations of women regarding household responsibilities as well as the devaluation of their employment by falsely assuming that as they are physically at home and are traditionally considered to be the homemaker, they are available to act accordingly even when they are actually carrying out paid work. It should also be noted that for career women, the intention is mostly not to reduce the working hours but to rearrange them according to their needs, as in the example of time banking also keeping track of hours worked combined with flexitime occasionally, adapting their starting and finishing working times to family responsibilities (Hein, 2005, pp. 149-150). In her interview (Forbes, Europe edition, 21 July 2014, pp. 12-15, by Hisayoshi Osawa), the director of the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry's (METI/Japan) economic and social policy office Riwa Sakamoto states: *'Say I want to do some work on my PC at home after putting the kids to bed. The law cannot differentiate between overtime at the office and my doing catch up work and it compels my employer to pay me overtime. Its not overtime. Its my choosing when I want to work.'* This statement represents many parents' wish to obtain a career and still be able to have time for their families. Thus, arranging working hours rather than working less seems to be the way forward for parents with younger children even if it is provided irregularly. The emphasis is expected to be on creating opportunities that help women to build a career. For managerial careers, it is not anticipated that women or men working flexibly will be in the

top-ranked jobs, considering the need for dedication to the work in this positions and the long hours of work involved in most of the vertical mobilisation processes. Still, high-prestige occupations do not refer to managerial jobs only. Some prestigious professional jobs could be arranged flexibly (mostly via controlling the working hours rather than working less) such as in the case of freelance work undertaken by graphic designers, web designers, illustrators, artists, writers, painters as well as university lecturers who only attain certain classes as instructors (who could still pursue an academic career), architects working project-based, tutors of all levels working regularly or irregularly by choice, and doctors (who could have their own surgery and arrange their appointments according to their availability). Still, as mentioned above, these types of work should be carefully evaluated considering the risk for the employees to be detached from the labour market and compromising promotion and career advancement chances in both low- and high-prestige jobs.

### **7.3.3 Maternity and paternity leaves**

As mentioned before, in 2011 (The Official Gazette of the Republic of Turkey, 2011, no. 27857) twenty-four months of unpaid leave has been introduced to both women and men. This entitlement is provided to women who are public and civil servants, while employees working under an employment contract (women) could use upto six months of (also unpaid) leave but there was no defined leave for men working under an employment contract until 2015. Considering the total leave for public and civil servants, if we assume a female worker takes the full forty weeks of maternity leave, it is nearly three and a half years of break from paid work. It is common sense that such a long leave could negatively affect women's attachment to work, it is not expected for the father to take the twenty-four

months of unpaid leave simultaneously, as there would be no income for the household. And as long as the strict role separation continues even in the form of housework, it is not likely men will take this leave while women work and thus these arrangements need to be investigated further. Considering that women are entitled to severance pay when they leave their jobs within the first year of marriage, this is why employers increasingly investigate the private lives of employee candidates, as a result of the risk that they will leave their jobs within the first year of marriage and the additional three and a half years of maternity leave would therefore strengthen the statistical discrimination women encounter. Thus, the process entails other mechanisms, such as using a full leave for a certain amount of time and gradually returning to paid work, to preserve the relation with employment as well as making the process of adaptation for mother and the child easier. This transition could occur from fully paid maternity leave to home office work and from there to flexible/part-time work and eventually going back to full-time working by including paternity leave in this process as well. These mother- and child-friendly policies are also significant in terms of the state's concern regarding the decline in fertility; Billari (2008) indicates that the lowest-low fertility is related to the familialistic pattern in Southern European regimes as individual-oriented regimes have become more fertility friendly, possibly due to their mother- and child-friendly approaches.

Working in a highly male-dominated job requires years of additional training, financial sacrifice and dedication (Mason and Ekman, 2007, p. 9) and as much as failing to accommodate for paid family leave not only projects a lack of political will, but also reflects a persistent cultural reluctance to accept mothers in the workplace (Mason and Ekman, 2007), longer maternity leave combined with an overall traditional gender

discourse is nearly as discouraging. While it is understandable that the priority for employers is maintaining their business (which is also crucial for the economy) and while governments monitor the population, there needs to be room for women to actively engage in the labour market. Women should be supported at home by parental leaves specific to fathers as in the example of Sweden, and a systematical exchange of the recently introduced twenty-four months long parental leave between the mother and father needs to be supported. In addition, child sick leave as in many Scandinavian countries needs to be introduced, as sickness is one of the largest problems for dual earners with school-aged children and no external (and family) support. Dedeoğlu (2009) emphasises that as covered in a report of Turkish Confederation of Employer Associations in 2005, the bill suggested by the Directorate General on the Status of Women regarding parental leave, which would have given women and men six months leave each, has been rejected (particularly based on the strong reaction from employers) on the grounds that this type of leave is a cultural necessity specific to Europe due to its social life arrangements and even though men will be given this time off, they will not use it for childcare purposes. Although after this, maternity leave was increased, paid paternity leave has remained the same as ten days, and the outcome and use of the newly entitled twenty-four months for men who are public and civil servants is yet to be seen. Finally, although private institutions are also responsible for fulfilling these requirements, it is not uncommon particularly in the private sector that women are pressured to return to work at an earlier stage, as a result of the pressure to compete with their male colleagues, and when they cannot cope with this pressure they tend to withdraw from the labour market at times which is another reason that monitoring as well as introducing social policies and regulations should be carried out carefully in all sectors and occupations.

### **7.3.4 Socialisation process**

The findings of this research have shown that although men have a positive attitude towards women's work, they are not involved in domestic tasks and women take on the major part of these responsibilities, regardless of their employment status and wages. The contradiction between men's attitudes and behaviour regarding women's work could be the result of learned traditional roles. Reskin and Hartmann (1986) indicate that sex-role socialisation is a life-long process in which expectations about how genders behave are transmitted through family, educational system and mass media. Also, there are studies that suggest that the socialisation process is substantial, in that women and men shape their future roles and traditional socialisation prepares them for prescribed gender roles (Bielby and Baron, 1986). I argue that socialisation is directly associated with women's career prospects in relation to men's socialisation process regarding gender roles in the home. Ayca (2004) points out that stereotypes regarding gender roles and approaches towards women's careers cause barriers that make the domestic burden of women 'non-negotiable', while men who are socialised into sharing domestic responsibilities both provide support for their working spouses and are role models and primary supporters of their daughters' careers.

The first level of socialisation starts in the family, which is also where the vicious circle starts in terms of the lack of career-women role models. Valian (1998) points out that the gender schemas (which are inclusive of stereotypes but are more extensive in terms of the overall picture one hold for gender roles) that are shaped throughout the life course that start from early socialisation result in the lack of accumulation of advantage for women in the labour market. In early school years, the educational sciences literature frequently

focuses on the importance of the curriculum and how role separation that is featured in books reinforces traditional gender roles. In parallel with the traditional government discourse, it has recently received media coverage that current school books encourage early marriage and highly traditional gender roles. In the literature, there is also emphasis on changing gender reflections in the curriculum: while in the 1930s and 1940s the curriculum reinforced gender equality, starting from the 1950s to today, traditional gender roles have been introduced in school books (Arat, 2006). It is also stated that today women's status in school books is even worse than it was in the 1950s, when the introduction of the idea of women as the servants of the family began, which contrasts with the introduction of women from the 1920s to 1945 as teachers of the new republic and of civilisation (Gümüšoğlu, 2005). As this problem needs to be solved, adult socialisation via gender courses at university need to be supported. Also, egalitarian roles should be enforced and imposed via media, NGOs and the overall discourse in terms of men being involved at home.

### **7.3.5 Gender discourse and ideology**

This study argues that gender discourse is a key element in the process of changing women's status in the labour market. Kardam and Toksöz (2013) indicate that a slight increase in women's attainment in non-traditional jobs is not adequate to change the traditional mentality towards women's roles as homemakers and mothers, and thus women's attainment in non-traditional educational majors is not a solution by itself. The first issue regarding the balance between women's careers and family lives is the traditional gender ideology inherent in the society in two perspectives. The first perspective is the cultural inheritance that shape context-specific gender roles in a certain way where expectations (or even pressures), together with the socialisation process, shape

women's and men's role-allocation long before they start a family. The second perspective is the prescribed roles that are attributed to women and men, which derive from a historical role separation that was needed at the time to a certain extent but which have been maintained until today in most parts of the world despite the fundamental changes occurred regarding women's attainment in social, economic and political spheres. The former is mostly seen in countries where the expectations of women are a part of the culture and includes traditionalism. In these contexts, men's gender ideology as individuals is highly influenced by the state ideology, as in the example of Turkish men both state and men support female employment in theory but not in practice. Also in these contexts, women's careers are undermined and needed only for financial reasons in a temporary pattern. In the Turkish context specifically, women are encouraged to leave their jobs when they get married in order to get used to married life and a new life order that focuses on family, and because they are expected to have children soon anyway. This is also supported by the law, with women offered severance pay when they leave their job within one year of marriage as mentioned above.

Why is gender ideology so important? In the social context in which gender relations are formed, the lack of endorsement of equality firstly affects individuals' gender ideologies and role allocation. In other words, the state ideology influences men's gender ideology both as employers at work and as individuals at home. On the individual level the finding that men support women's work while they do not contribute to their heavy burden in terms of housework is one of the results of the traditional gender role allocation. As employers, individuals' gender ideology increases the risk of statistical discrimination. Similarly, Meers and Strober (2013) indicate that policies are insufficient if a woman

works in a job with an employer who does not support female employment. When there is a traditional gender discourse at a macro level, employers are indirectly encouraged to not follow the formal requirements. One of the examples is that they find strategies to not open day care by keeping the number of female employees under the minimum required number which could be observed in the Turkish labour market. The gender discourse of the state also influences the roles attributed to women and men both in the private and public spheres. Instead of imposing women's and men's roles separately in different contexts the multiple role allocation, which is found to be beneficial for both women and men (Barnett and Hyde, 2001), is expected to be introduced via media campaigns and social policies alongside with a non-gendered media language and culture particularly in advertisements which commonly portray women as the sole homemaker and caregiver. It is also argued that there is a buffering effect of women's multiple roles as workers, homemakers and mothers: success and satisfaction in one role can compensate for stress and failure in the other. It is, thus important to provide motivation regarding women's status in careers in terms of being career-driven which provides higher levels of psychological well-being as well as more engaged and optimistic in terms of career prospects (Burke et al., 2007). Also, aiming to break the relationship between masculinity and not doing housework is as important as not attaching femininity only to care work. Damon Young (2013) indicates that the relationship between femininity and passive weakness is 'absurd' and a man who cannot cook, care for a child or iron clothes is vulnerable (rather than masculine for not doing these tasks) as he is not able to care for himself or for others.

Women's reproductive activities are suggested to be indirectly contributing to the economy and 'capital' in Marxist terms (Escobar-Meléndez, 2013). Crompton (1999) also

argues that women's contribution to the service class does not only occur in the public sphere but derives from the private sphere in terms of women's unpaid work at home and its incorporation into men's careers. I agree with the statement that women indirectly contribute to the economy by providing otherwise paid services in the household.

However, the problematic phenomenon here is the secondary and 'assisting' position of women, mostly as consumers and/or reproducers rather than being involved directly in production processes of the economy. My focal point is that women should contribute in 'direct' ways to the economy, also to ensure self-realisation, and use their education and qualifications in their professional area, not only help men to build careers and their children to build a future but also be visible in the public sphere and represented in prestigious positions in the labour market in accordance with their aspirations and success in the higher educational sphere. Indeed, Crompton (1999) adds that women's careers are sacrificed and they opt for jobs so that men can have careers. In the following section, I will present how this indirect contribution can be turned into a direct contribution for lower qualified women simultaneously improving the chances of highly educated women to obtain careers.

It should first be recognised that being a homemaker and mother is only one among the many roles women hold in society and none of these roles are a barrier to another: protecting one over the other will not contribute to the improvement of women's status in the society. The notions of sacredness of sacrifice and 'living for others' pressure women into a one-dimensional role in which they cannot realise their aims and life goals. Also, as in Horner's theory (1972) it is emphasised that when women work in "tough" jobs, they develop an anxiety towards success as a result of fearing that they will fail to succeed or

considered less feminine (due to the values internalised during the socialisation process in particular) which could be considered as a result of the imposition of women's caregiver role as their primary and even only identity. The way to diminish this imposter syndrome (Clance and Imes, 1978) (which refers to women's feelings of inadequacy particularly at work) could be by creating a context in which women and men share equally: both paid and unpaid work. Specifically, the perception that women need to be 'manly' to succeed in high-prestige occupations particularly in management (Wajcman, 1996a) should be overcome via the mentioned discourse improvement. A study conducted in relation to women and men in managerial positions shows that while men refer to themselves as managers, women describe themselves as "professionals" (Wajcman, 1996b), thus it might be inferred that women care about the job itself, more than the power attached to the job's label. Wajcman's study (1996b) also demonstrates that although both female and male managers have similar backgrounds, working hours and motivation towards their work, organisational structures and practices are central to women's marginalisation in these jobs. The false image regarding women in prestigious occupational positions that are associated with masculinity could be achieved via public education provisions and a positive socialisation process as well as educating employees and colleagues as in the suggestion of 'awareness training' given by Valian (1998, pp. 314-315).

As seen in the example of Sweden, even in a context where there is a strong government effort and monitoring to include men in the private sphere, there could be resistance to change and there might be need for additional endorsement over time. Women being seen as homemakers and men being seen as breadwinners is not particular to certain cultures or specific welfare regimes. The tendency to consider women's caring roles as 'natural' is not

only inherent in Turkish society but is also a global problem encountered by women. It is frequently encountered in the media that women in leadership positions state that they do so due to the support of their husbands, while at the same time a majority of women leave their jobs for their husbands (Sandberg, pp.145-146). Based on the transformation of women's roles in Sweden since the 1970s, it is obvious that providing simultaneous support to women's work by providing sufficient and substantial provisions and 'forcing' men to take responsibility at home is the basic solution that needs to be worked on. At the same time, both the notion of women's work but also women's careers should be kept as a priority in this process.

### **7.3.6 Allocation strategy: Women working for women**

It is an obvious problem that low educated women either stay home or work in a very limited range of jobs that are traditionally appropriate for them, as has been demonstrated in the previous chapters. This research has shown that jobs as maids and workers in related areas are the most common low-prestige positions held by Turkish women with lower qualifications. Although steps have been taken to improve their circumstances, there are many precautions that need to be taken to supply women with both additional job security and social security. The law requires daily cleaners and maids to be provided with social security regardless of whether they work regularly or on an irregular daily basis. However, these women still encounter many problems, such as irregular employers not providing social security, unstandardised wages or even not being able to work due to the more traditional approach relatively lower educated people have. As for highly educated women, there is a lost potential of women with higher qualifications who are not in the labour market and whose qualifications correspond to jobs in the higher prestige level. I suggest that there should be a systematic allocation mechanism which employs low educated

women in need via NGOs and formal organisations in households where other women could not work due to their domestic responsibilities. While the necessity that women in paid domestic work need to be employed and insured as well as followed up formally by the Turkish Employment Agency to break the informal and direct relationship with the employer and employee (Kalaycıoğlu and Ritterberger-Tılıç, 2001, p. 171) has been discussed in the literature, this study suggests a systematical mechanism in a two-way path. In other words, as mentioned in Chapter 1, highly educated women who are not working due to their domestic responsibilities are also in a disadvantaged category and measures also need to be taken on their part, by both providing social security to paid domestic workers and providing domestic services safely and subsidised to the women who cannot work due to their double burden. A compensation for different roles of women from different backgrounds where low qualified women are protected by law and are provided with jobs helping women with their domestic burden is a great necessity. It is frequently discussed that low educated women help women to work outside the home. However, I particularly refer to a systematic allocation which is subsidised by the state and where social security is provided to low educated women and an opportunity for highly educated women to work outside without a heavy economic burden. Also, being under the control of official institutions, trust issues as between the employee and employer (which normally is built informally) would be overcome faster and this particularly would help to break women's traditional barriers regarding paid work by providing employment in a more conventional setting.

Considering the juxtaposition of low-educated and high-educated women being under a similar domestic burden, this would create a 'win-win' case for all parties involved in the

process: for unqualified or low qualified women, working under the monitoring of formal institutions with guaranteed social security and regular employment; for women aiming at careers, trustable and subsidised help to realise their potential in paid work; for the state, this would not burden the social security system; for employers, the risk of the withdrawal of women as a result of the responsibilities brought by marriage would decrease, and if combined with a standardised day care system at work, statistical discrimination towards women in higher positions in the labour market would be expected to decrease. However, husbands should be encouraged to contribute to daily tasks and these responsibilities should not be solely given to women as paid and unpaid workers. There could well be criticisms that hiring paid care workers creates a new form of power relations among women and ‘extends the housework crises’, burdening other women and their families with the same responsibility (Federici, 2012). There are studies arguing similarly in the Turkish context that the domestic paid work creates a conflict between women from different classes as well as the informal relations cause an ambiguity of job description (Erdoğan and Toksöz, 2013; Suğur et al., 2008; Fidan and Özdemir, 2011) there is a great importance of women working as maids for other women’s paid work outside home (Suğur et al., 2008). However, the crucial point is that ‘paid’ employment for those willing to work is not a form of burden and the point is to provide employment to women with lower qualifications who otherwise would not easily find any job or a job with guaranteed social security, and to provide women with the opportunity to participate in the labour market who otherwise would stay home due to unpaid work.

#### **7.4 Contribution of this research: What is unique about this study?**

First and foremost, this study revisited the notion of ‘disadvantage’ in the labour market by addressing the lack of women’s career-focused employment which has been underestimated in the Turkish literature except in case studies limited to individual job categories or geographical restrictions. The lack of effort to develop women’s status in top-prestige jobs was highlighted and although women’s secondary worker status has been frequently emphasised in the literature, this study underlined how highly educated women are held back from having careers as jobs that are compatible with their qualifications are not compatible with their family-related responsibilities. This study aimed to promote an understanding of women’s career awareness and the notion of disadvantage being not only attributed to low educated women who are marginalised in the labour market but also to those who are statistically discriminated against at the top-prestige level.

While the reconciliation of work and family life has been studied widely, there are no extended studies in the Turkish context that follow the issue of women’s work starting from higher educational choices to women’s positions in prestigious managerial and professional jobs, and from there to women’s status in the family, and which link all these elements to a critical social policy discussion by including comparisons to similar countries. It is also a substantial contribution that this study presents a combination of statistical findings (how gendered domestic burdens influence women’s positions in employment) and social policy regulations (the positive discrimination towards married women), revealing the strong relationship between gender discourse and its reflection in the private and public spheres which is the main paradox in Turkish women’s educational and occupational attainments.

In terms of the concepts used in this research, the notion of a hierarchy elevator aims to contribute to the literature of Sociology of Work, to illustrate women's trapped position in many different contexts related to a combination of a glass ceiling (vertical segregation) and 'non-revolving doors' (horizontal segregation). The illustrated vicious circle theory sets out to be a basis on which to recognise the problem in the frame of micro, meso and macro levels and to collate these three elements to overcome the lack of a notion of women's careers. Also, as maternal employment is a primary issue in the literature regarding female careers, this research has given attention to the negative impact of household chores, and has considered that such chores do not involve as many coping mechanisms as childcare and cannot be overcome by state support. Thus, in the future suggestions section, I have suggested a system which could contribute to women with lower qualifications being able to work under conditions of social security and job protection while higher educated women benefit from this in terms of time management and dedication to their careers.

The comparison of countries from different historical and cultural backgrounds in this study provides a fruitful context for further collaborative research in the fields of Sociology of Gender and Work as well as social policy research derived from the resemblances of countries in the Mediterranean area. The reflection on the contradictory nature of the Scandinavian and Mediterranean welfare regime models is expected to open a ground for discussion about how to improve family-related policies in Turkey and similar countries. Obviously there are economic, cultural and social differences between Northern European and Mediterranean countries which makes it inorganic to adapt a whole welfare

regime to a different context. However, by presenting the historical evolution of women's status in the example of Sweden and detailed social policy applications in Turkey, we can see that there are adaptable family-related applications, as in the example of father's leave allocated only to fathers, taxation strategies that make it profitable for both spouses to work, and mainly on-site day care opportunities.

The coherent evaluation of a linear discussion on female-dominated educational subject choices, female-dominated paid work and traditionally female housework provides a fresh perspective in the literature of gender studies and studying men's contribution to feminine housework in particular to measure their gender ideology is significant because unlike female domestic responsibilities male chores are randomly undertaken, postponable, controlled tasks, unlike female-dominated housework. The emphasis on the fact that women from all backgrounds, in terms of working women and women with higher salaries, suffer from the double burden of the female housework is a significant indication of the urgent need to introduce social support for women. The analysis of men's gender ideology in two separate perspectives, theory (supporting female employment) and practice (diminishing the burden at home) has also presented a new perspective. In other words, separating the components of attitude and behaviour has contributed to the understanding of the mechanisms which affect the dynamics of division of labour, showing that the problem lies more in role separation than in society's approach towards women's paid work.

Empirically, I have applied methods that have not yet been used in the Turkish context.

The implementation of the Treiman prestige scale is a first, as a prestige-based analysis of

female employment in male-dominated jobs has also not been used before. It has not been preferred to use Heckman correction to measure women's position in the labour market in Turkey as well in other studies. This study has used large datasets from different years, including the HLFS from 1988 to 2008, Census data of 1985 and 2000, and the FVS of 2006.

While the use of different data sets could be considered to be a weakness, the fact that years of the data are in an intersecting and sequential relationship, this weakness in relation to the scope and difference between years is compensated for by providing valid variables for individual chapters and forms a picture of a journey rather than being limited to a single year. However, as a future reference an ideal data set for analysing women's employment in relation to their domestic responsibilities would include work and family-related components, in longitudinal pattern to measure change over time clearly, and an additional section to be directed towards employers to analyse men's understanding of female employment as individuals and employers so as to discuss statistical discrimination in more detail. Also, as mentioned in Chapter 3, further research is needed to continue elaborating the consequential and circular relationship between women's careers, household responsibilities and social policies in-depth using qualitative and quantitative methods.

## **7.5 Final remarks**

This research has shown that highly educated women's lack of attainment in prestigious jobs needs to be recognised in the Turkish context and the focus should shift from incorporating work into women's lives to arranging the household burden in balance with women's work. The secondary status of women in the labour market in mediocre jobs

should be replaced by an encouragement towards career-driven leading roles. In their research conducted in 2013-2014, Paker et al. (2015) found that both for Turkish women who are working and not working, the perception regarding the reason for women to work is highest for “self-confidence” which is followed by “economic independence” and then “financial needs”, only 11.2% of all women stating the reason for women to work is “to have a career” which is 5.2% for the reason of “for their education/training to pay off”. This shows us that even by 2014, having a career is at the bottom of women’s list as a motivation to work, thus it is crucial to reinforce the concept of “careers for women” (in terms of creating higher prestige job opportunities for women that could be achieved by the support of the state, NGOs and large-scale private institutions) as well as “women for careers” (by underlining the importance of women’s careers to change the mentality towards female employment) in society with the help of media campaigns, social policies and public education.

Turkish women are more vulnerable to statistical discrimination as a result of the gender ideology inherent in the society and welfare regime regulations as well as the encouragement to leave the labour market when they get married. Also the law that stated that women could work with their husbands’ approval was only dissolved in 1990 (Moralioğlu, 2012), and thus their status still needs further improvement. In fact, women are supported theoretically by men on a micro level (men argue that it is appropriate for women to work) and by the state on a macro level (maternity leave opportunities). However, women are mostly not encouraged by individual men and state in practice (there is a very low rate of involvement by men in the household responsibilities and the state promotes a traditional gender discourse). Thus, to achieve greater equality, the concept of

women's careers should be underlined and worked on, and the discourse on womanhood needs to be improved.

We have seen that higher educational attainment increases women's likelihood of working in more prestigious jobs and improves their gender ideology, thus the expansion of higher education should continue at a faster pace. Women's careers should not be considered as a compromise in respect of their private life but should be encouraged via social policies, media campaigns, labour unions, large scale private institutions and NGO projects. Tansel (2001) finds the U-shaped impact of economic development process (after a sharp decline, a stagnant process is followed by an increase in female employment in the process of development) on Turkish women's paid work in his analysis of 67 provinces in 1980, 1985 and 1990, and adds that an increase in women's employment could be predicted for future. Again, as much as it is important for women to have economic independence via overall labour market participation, a potential increase in their entrance to paid work needs to be accompanied by their mobilisation into higher levels of the hierarchy pyramid also supported by a more egalitarian political discourse.

Female employment is not only a concern of gender equality. The report of The World Bank and State Planning Organisation of Turkey (2009) state that increasing number of working women would reduce poverty, improve national economy and affect several social indicators positively and the report notes *"if six or seven percent more Turkish women would start full-time jobs, this would reduce poverty by around 15 percent"*. On a related note, increasing number of women in more prestigious positions in the labour market would raise women's overall position in society not only economically but also

politically. Considering that many of the well-known prestigious female figures who are at the top of the most successful business people lists (Erdoğan in *Capital Magazine*, 2014) are those who are associated with the status of their family members, there is still a long way to go in achieving the purely meritocratic career development of women. The primary concern is that Turkish women are not only labelled as secondary workers due to the double burden they face and the traditions (Karabıyık, 2012) as well as because their career objectives are overlooked, they are also considered as secondary citizens in some cases, because they are seen as supporters of their husbands in the private sphere directly and in the public sphere indirectly, these roles being considered not only as primary but also as a major part of being a woman. Thus, they are seen as intermediate actors. This study aims to contribute to the understanding of the importance of women's positions in higher prestige occupations: that this is not only about improved social status or increasing economic resources but is mostly about making women equal members of the public sphere, as opposed to being treated as providers for others. Thus, it is pivotal to transfer women's success in the male areas of the higher educational sphere to the labour market.

If the gender ideology regarding women's reproductive roles remains the same, the extension of maternity leave will have a negative impact. Thus, social provisions supporting women's work should be compatible with the overall gender ideology. The literature also emphasises that even though the aim is to protect the population level, the 'near-replacement levels of fertility in Turkey has been not empowering for Turkish women' (Angin and Shorter, 1998), thus the decreasing fertility in its natural course could be expected for the future regardless of the external support towards women's work. It should also be indicated that (OECD, 2007) although family-friendly policies in the

workplace are potentially positive for greater efficacy of workers, the report found that the hard evidence regarding such policies is not overwhelming, as governments do not prefer to override the industrial bargaining processes. The report also indicates that while policy-makers could be concerned about demographic trends, as these issues are not urgent concerns of employers and employees, they are therefore not included in the bargaining processes or seen in workplace outcomes (OECD, 2007, pp. 190-192).

The social policy implementations regarding endorsing women's roles as workers (mostly in terms of jobs rather than careers) without changing men's attitudes towards sharing the domestic burden remain inadequate as a way to alter the gender ideology on an individual and societal level. The presence of rights such as maternity leave, day care and tax-based family support are only meaningful when they are concomitant with an egalitarian mentality. This is the only way to break the vicious circle of male patriarchy in the labour market and the continuing lack of adequate social support to families. There should also be more research on Turkish women's careers, strategies to cope with balancing work and life, the real reasons they opt out of work, and how time management and resource bargaining can be effective. Although I expect the share of female housework to remain unequal and I realise that social change in terms of this inequality will take time, I believe that the allocation system suggested could be a buffer mechanism in the process of change. However, as childcare could be arranged via many other channels (even though day care at work is the ideal way of dealing with this issue), I anticipate there will be changes in modern fatherhood, particularly for educated and egalitarian men. Becker (1993) suggests that due to biological differences between women and men, their roles in the division of labour can not realistically be substitutes for one another. However, regarding childcare

(for the same reason that there are no possibly biological reasons why men can not perform housework) except short-term biological needs of the infant as breastfeeding, parental roles are heavily shaped by social structures and there is no tangible reason why fathers' can not take care for children if (as Becker (1993) puts it) there really needs to be an 'efficiency' regarding women's and men's specialisation of duties in the family. Thus, the importance of the gender ideology is also related to the notions of motherhood and fatherhood considering that the biological necessities of care that are provided by the mother is within a limited time and the later stages of the childcare being attributed to women's roles is a social construction. In the past, when men were the sole breadwinners for the family, mothers undertook the caring role while fathers were the providers. When there is a substantial increase in maternal employment, fathers will have to adapt to caring roles, in order to be an influence in their children's lives with the changing parental roles. As Bergman and Hobson (2002) underline, the weakening of the male breadwinner in Sweden with the rise of dual-earner families lead to the remaking of men's roles as involved fathers and it was a state-induced movement via government campaigns that was sustained by media unlike in some other contexts where grassroots support that challenged men's roles took place. In addition, as stated by Knijn and Selten (2002, p. 168) a media campaign in the Netherlands promoted the fact that "*men are as indispensable in the home as they are at work*" as stated in the television spot, giving the message that children need to know their fathers: this can only happen if they are involved in their children's lives.

I believe that Turkish women have the necessary potential to compete with their male counterparts if the overpowering expectations imposed on them are diminished and they are given the opportunity to build careers. Although the current political atmosphere is not

the most ideal context, more role models will steer others to achieve more in the labour market. Hence, continuing increase in women's higher educational attainment, improvements in the curriculum reflecting egalitarian roles attributed to women and men in society, and a stable educational system that primarily targets development of individuals' futures rather than serving political agendas. In the triangle of employers trying to keep their profit at a maximum, governments concerned about population growth and protection of the family, and women seeking opportunities to be heard and recognised in the labour market, the best mediator will be a more egalitarian gender discourse that supports women as empowered individuals and an improved perception of their roles in all areas of society.

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<sup>28</sup> This is an online database on Turkish Statistical Institute website ([www.tuik.gov.tr](http://www.tuik.gov.tr)) where one could create tabulations using the available data sets and variables of choice.

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## Appendices

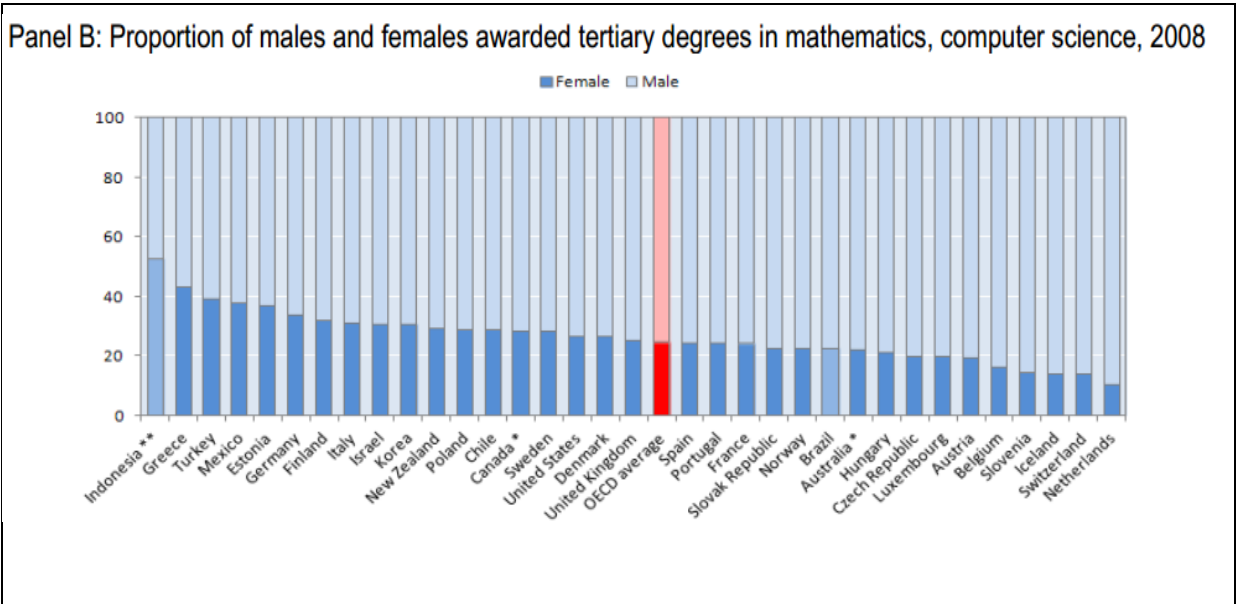
### Appendix 3.1

#### **Prestige groups**

<b>Major categories</b>	<b>Prestige Score (SIOPS by Treiman)</b>
Professional, Scientific and Technical	58
Managerial, Legislative Jobs and Senior Officials	64
Clerical and related workers	41
Sales workers	40
Service workers	27
Agriculture	34
Production and rel. workers	32
Members of the Armed Forces	42
New Workers seeking employment	32
Unclassified	40
Not in the labour force	41

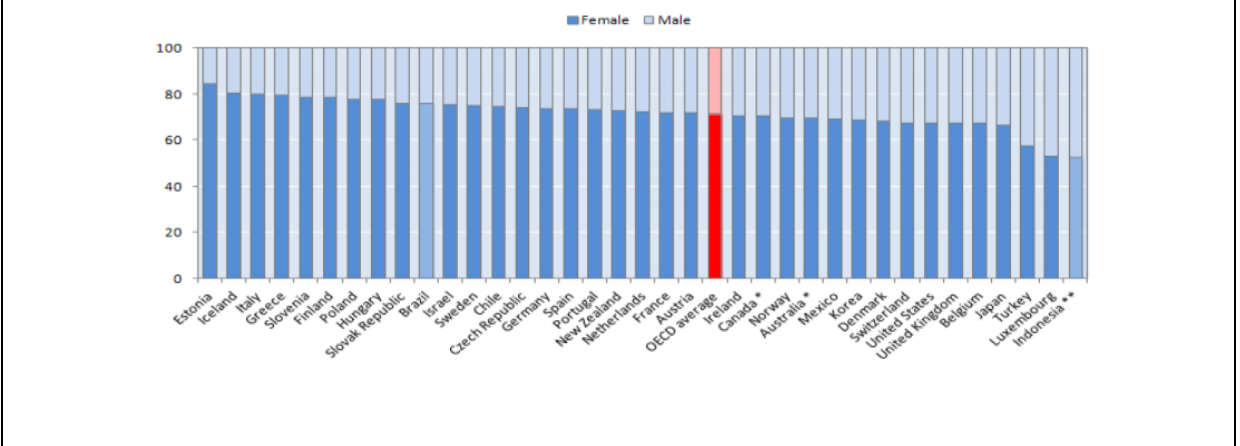
Appendix 4.1:

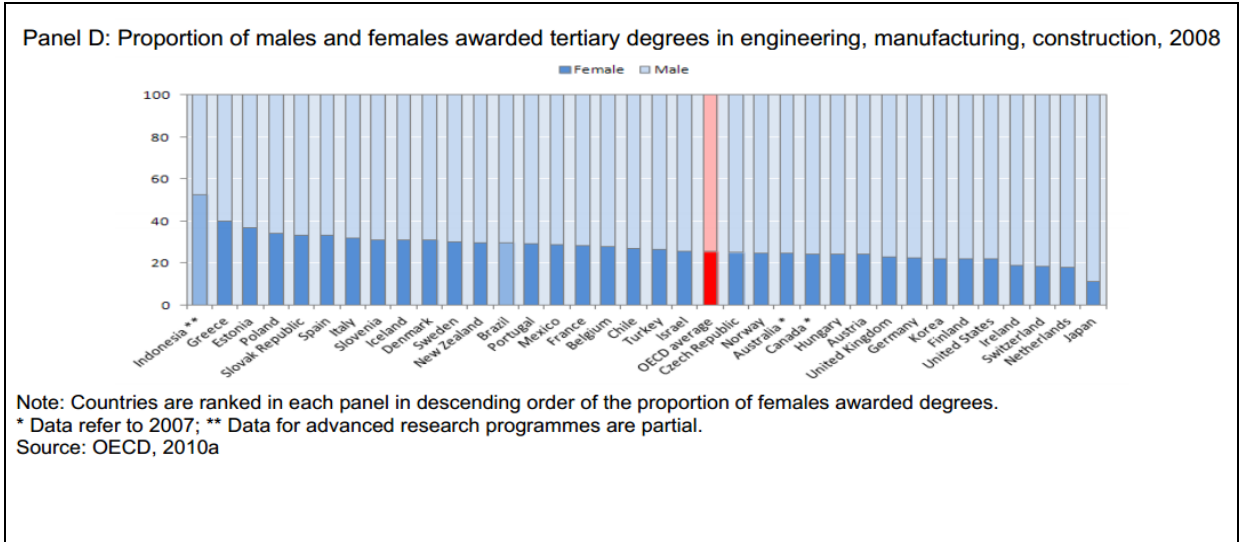
Proportion of males and females awarded tertiary degrees in different majors (2008)



**Chart 1.6: Females dominate the humanities and health degrees whereas more males are awarded mathematics and engineering degrees**

**Panel A: Proportion of males and females awarded tertiary degrees in humanities, arts, education, 2008**

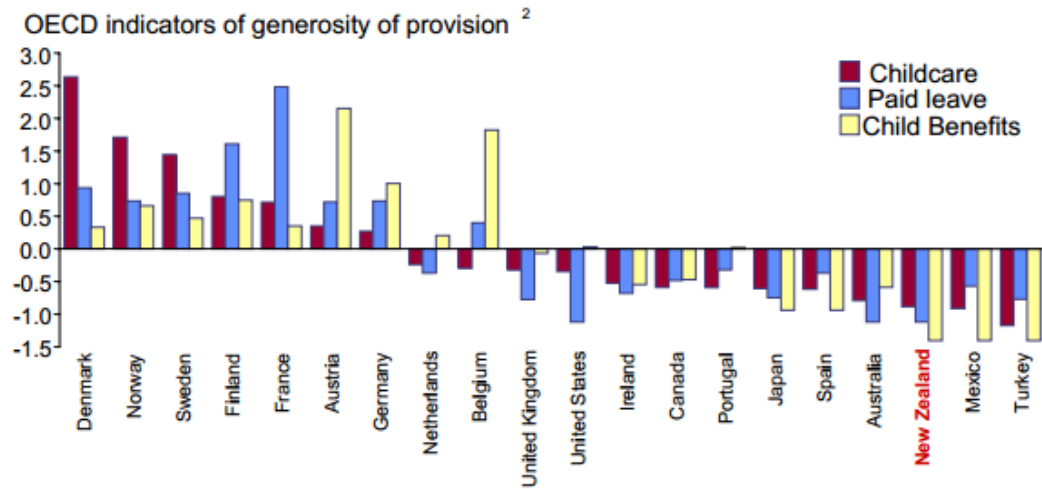




Figures taken from OECD, 2010.

Appendix 4.2:

Government support to families with younger children, 1999\*



\*Source: Jaumotte, 2003a.

Appendix 5.2

<b>Two-step Heckman selection model, 1985 and 2000.</b>		
Occupational prestige	1985	2000
Urban	.86 (.04)***	.85(.02)***
low educated	-.36(.03)***	-.34(.01)***
medium educated	.10(.02)***	-.21(.01)***
single	-.06(.01)***	-.04(.00)***
divorced	-.35(.02)***	-.31(.01)***
widowed	.07(.01)***	-.02(.01)***
1 child	.07(.01)***	.03(.00)***
2 children	.13(.01)***	.06(.00)***
3 or more children	.09(.01)***	.05(.00)***
Constant	2.55(.02)***	2.47(.01)***
<i>Select</i>		
urban	-2.30(.00)***	-2.52(.00)***
low educated	-1.67(.01)***	-1.55(.01)***
medium educated	-1.30(.01)***	-1.19(.01)***
single	.04(.01)***	-.004(.01)***
divorced	.54(.02)***	.57(.01)***
widowed	-.21(.01)***	.05(.01)***
1 child	-.07(.01)***	-.03(.01)***
2 children	-.19(.01)***	-.15(.01)***
3 or more children	-.15(.01)***	-.12(.01)***
Constant	2.70(.01)***	2.77(.01)***
mills		
lambda	-.87(.02)***	-.84(.01)***
Rho	-1.00	-1.00
Sigma	.87	.84
Number of observations	722010	1081633
Number of censored observations	399088	652747
Number of uncensored observations	322922	428886
Wald chi2	29002.62(9)	52771.78(9)

Data Source: Turkish Census data, 1985, 2000 (Turkish Statistical Institute). Author's analysis.  
Author's work.

The truncation effect is the basic concern to evaluate in this analysis as it is the parameter that presents the comparison of likelihood of women, who are in the labour market and who are not working, to be in higher prestige occupations (which are mostly predominated

by men). It is calculated by using the equation of 'lambda x average mills value'.<sup>29</sup> The average truncation effect is -60.6% and -62.8% for 1985 and 2000 respectively, which shows that a woman with average sample characteristics, who is selected into employment, has a statistically significantly lower likelihood of being in a more prestigious job (by -60.6% in 1985 and -62.8% in 2000) than a woman randomly chosen from the population with average composition of characteristics. This result sheds light on the lack of adequate conditions for more qualified women in the labour market as it is anticipated that a woman who is randomly chosen from the population and who is more likely to be in higher prestige jobs than a woman who is selected into the labour market is likely to be highly educated. However, as explained in the Heckman two-step selection analysis section of the study, since the  $\rho$  value is not between 0 and 1, the reliability and viability of the findings of this analysis remain questionable.

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<sup>29</sup> Source: Bryn Mawr College, Course Handout by Thomas P. Vartanian: <http://www.brynmawr.edu/socialwork/GSSW/Vartanian/Handouts/Heckman%20selection%20models%20explained.pdf>.

Appendix 6.1

**Factor loading for religiousness\***

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Factor (N=22875) Factor loadings (pattern matrix and unique variances)

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	Not influential	Influential	Very influential
1	.62	.30	-.02
2	.81	.01	-.15
3	.80	.05	-.04
4	.71	-.18	.04
5	.83	-.19	-.03
6	.63	.22	.13
7	.74	-.12	.12

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\*Factor analysis results show that among all seven separate components (spouse choice, friendship, clothing, voting, relationship with neighbours, eating and drinking habits, and occupational choices), there is a high factor loading of number five, the impact of religion being concentrated in this component to represent religiousness.