

Women in Management in Turkey: Challenges, Hopes, and Progress

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Introduction

The Republic of Turkey is located mainly in west Asia and partly in southeast Europe. It had 77.6 million inhabitants at the end of 2014 (TUIK¹, 2014). The country has been a bridge between east and west throughout the history. The analysis of women in society and in management positions conveys the simultaneous influence of eastern and western cultures in the Turkish context.

The Republic of Turkey has been established upon the demise of the Ottoman Empire. After the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the First World War, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Turks won the independence war and established the new republic in 1923. As the President of the new republic, Atatürk guided a series of reforms in social, political, linguistic and economic areas, which were later referred to as Kemalist principles. The Kemalist principles, which constituted the dominant State ideology, had important implications for the modernization and emancipation of Turkish women (Arat, 1999).

The reforms of the republic carried the values of secularism, nationalism and modernism which incorporated westernization into society. Women were assigned an important role in this modernization project and their progress was interpreted as a significant measure of success in reaching modernity, westernization and development of the nation (Arat, 1994; 1999). This State ideology upheld the value of gender equality in employment and elimination of discriminatory policies from the formal processes of public employment.

The cornerstones of emancipation of women in the Turkish Republic were widely distributed through education, legislative and administrative reforms, political rights, public visibility and professionalism. The impact of the reforms was significant among middle- and upper-class families, while their influence was only partial among lower socio-economic groups and in rural areas. In the post-1980 period, however, two types of changes emerged in the direction of weakening the ideology of “State feminism” (that is, advocacy of women’s movement demands inside the State by women’s policy agencies (Kantola and Squires, 2008) that dominated the early republican era (Healy, Özbilgin and Aliefendioğlu, 2005). Firstly, change was related to the neo-liberal economic

¹ Turkish Statistical Institute

programme that had been applied since the 1980s and resulted in the weakening of the Government labour market regulation. “This has diluted the traditional sex equality discourse of the republican ideology pursued by the state in all sectors” (Healy, Özbilgin and Aliefendioğlu, 2005:254). Secondly, newly emerging political parties and economic institutions advocated gender segregation, which is considered to be against the principle of secularism. In contemporary Turkish society, these trends created a duality between secularism on the one hand and religiousness and patriarchal Middle Eastern values on the other hand.

The changes in the post-1980 period have created some variations in social attitudes regarding the image of Turkish women: “The image of republican Turkish women, expected to ‘self-sacrifice’ and ‘pioneer’ for the advancement of the nation, has lost its influence on a new generation of young women graduates” (Healy, Özbilgin and Aliefendioğlu, 2005:254). Like women in other developed nations of the world, Turkish women started to perceive their careers from a standpoint of individualistic motivation rather than a collectivist sense of fulfilling a national duty.

In summary, despite the significant attempts at modernization of women as dominant State ideology in the early republican era, some conflicting and traditional roles are simultaneously present in Turkish society, even among middle and upper classes which have internalized these principles. With the changes that have emerged since 1980s, “state feminism” has weakened and attitudes favouring gender segregation have gained momentum. Traditional roles that are prevalent in parts of society and the right-wing executive power that was dominant since early 2000s promote segregation of gender roles, the role of women as mothers and wives and traits that are considered to be feminine. This chapter provides an analysis of the existing gender segregation in Turkish society. It aims to portray women’s general standing in society in terms of their contribution to the labour force as well as their position in specific areas, including management, politics and entrepreneurship. This chapter will also examine women’s general well-being in terms of their income, educational and legal standing and attitudes towards them in society. It will summarize with positive initiatives that aim to support women and prospects about future.

Labour Force Characteristics

Labour Force Participation

The Turkish labour force has gone through major changes since the 1950s (Özar, 1994) as a result of significant migration from rural to urban areas and the rapid growth of industrial and service sectors after the 1960s. As a result of these two trends, the agricultural labour force dropped significantly leading to a steady decline in the women's percentage in the total labour force.

Although women's labour force participation has been regarded as an important determinant of sustainable development, women's percentage in the total labour force is quite low. While women constituted 43.1 percent of the total labour force in 1955, this ratio decreased to 30.3 in 2014 (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2007; TUIK, 2014). On the other hand, men's labour force participation rate increased from 56.9 percent in 1955 to 71.3 percent in 2014. As a benchmark, participation of women in the total labour force in the OECD and European Union-28 averaged 51.5 percent and 51.8 percent in 2014, respectively (OECD, 2014)(Table I). Although women's labour force participation rates have started to rise up in Turkey in recent years (Dayioğlu and Kırdar 2009, Taymaz 2009, Uraz et al., 2010), it reveals a declining pattern until 2007 and remains low over the years (OXFAM and TEPAV, 2015).

Table I: Labour Force Participation Rates (1990-2014)

	<i>Turkey</i>			<i>OECD</i>	<i>EU-28</i>
	<i>1990</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2014</i>	<i>2014</i>	<i>2014</i>
Men	79.7 %	73.7 %	71.3 %	69.0%	64.9 %
Women	34.1 %	26.6 %	30.3 %	51.5 %	51.8 %
Total	56.6 %	49.9 %	49.4 %	60.0%	58.2 %

Source: TUIK Household Labour Force Statistics, 2014 and OECD Statistics, 2014

According to the previous studies and analyses, urbanization and agricultural shedding have been the two major factors that contribute to the declining participation of Turkish women in labour force. Turkey has experienced high levels of migration from rural to urban areas in 1980s. An important

reflection of migration to women's labour force participation is the withdrawal of the migrant women from labour force (from agricultural sector) once they moved to urban areas. Agricultural shedding is also an influential factor in women's labour force participation. In Turkey, the participation of women in labour force has been declining steadily in –from 34.1 percent in 1990 to 23.6 percent in 2007. As rural women are generally employed in agricultural sector as unpaid workers, a decline in overall agricultural employment negatively affects their labour force participation.

The decline in rural female labour force participation is also related with the changing lifestyle preferences of an emerging middle class that pull them away from agricultural activities. The younger cohorts in rural areas are specifically becoming more educated and seek better life and employment opportunities (Çelikoğlu et al., 2009). Young men are rapidly moving from agricultural employment to better-paid jobs in other sectors. Besides, young women are married to men that no longer work in agricultural sector. Accordingly, the family activities in rural areas depart from subsistence agriculture that causes a withdrawal of women from the labour force.

Previous studies have suggested that the low participation in urban areas is the primary factor behind women's low labour force participation over the years (e.g., Dayıoğlu and Kırdar, 2009; Uraz, Aran, Hüsamoğlu, Şanalımış, and Çapar, 2010). According to the Turkish Statistical Institute data (TUIK, 2013²), women's share in the labour force is quite low in urban areas (28 percent in 2013) while it is significantly higher in rural areas (36.7 percent in 2013). The total labour force participation of women (30.8 percent in 2013) is closer to the urban average as the majority of working age population resides in urban areas (68.5 percent) with an increasing effect of migration. Thus, in Turkey, the overall share of women in the labour force is mainly affected by the behavior and trends of female labour force participation in urban areas.

The low participation rate of women in urban areas can mainly result from the low participation rates among urban poorly educated women. Although participation rates among educated women in urban areas (i.e., those who have attained tertiary education) are quite high (72.4 percent in 2013), labour force participation rates among women who have completed only primary and secondary education are rather

²Starting with February 2014, Turkish Statistical Institute reported Household Labour Force Statistics without any "urban" and "rural" distinction. The Institute announced that it would continue to report all related statistics in "total" terms until the redefinition arrangements for "urban" and "rural" areas was finalized.

low, at 20.7 and 25.5 percent, respectively (TUIK, 2013). Household Labour Force Survey statistics indicate that the main reason behind the non-participation of urban poorly educated women is their role as housewives (74 percent in 2013) followed by the opposition of families to their working (8 percent) (TUIK, 2013). 6 out of 100 women are not in the labour force as they are handicapped, sick, or too old to work and the remaining 12 percent are still in school or have other reasons for non-participation (e.g., seasonal worker, does not expect to find a job, not looking for a job but ready to work).

Indeed, there are also certain cultural and economic barriers that prevent the labour force participation among poorly educated women in urban areas. Economic barriers mainly include the existing unfavorable working conditions for poorly educated women in urban areas. In 2013, 61 percent of the poorly educated women in urban areas working in informal sector in Turkey (TUIK, 2013) and getting low salaries, having long working areas, and they lack affordable childcare. Besides, they also face with cultural barriers that relate to their societal role as caregivers and expectations of their husbands, extended families, and others. Family pressure (from husbands, parents, and in-laws), pregnancy, and childcare tend to be a particular constraint that decreases poorly educated women's intention to participate in the labour force in urban areas.

Along with the economic and cultural constraints, poorly educated women in urban areas may also experience an "under-participation trap" (Booth and Coles, 2007; Çelikoğlu et al., 2009; Taymaz, 2009). According to the under-participation trap, poorly educated women tend to work in informal sector that generally offers them lower wages than what they would have to pay to hire someone else to do their domestic activities (e.g., childcare, cooking, cleaning). As a result, they are more likely to withdraw from the labour market. Low wages and low returns to education may also prevent families to invest in the education of girls as they think that women have little chance to participate in the labour force. This will contribute further to keeping wages low, which will subsequently keep labour supply low.

All in all, it is plausible to argue that various socio-cultural factors, education level and marital status, and migration/urbanization trends influence women's labour force participation. The social roles of women and the norms of patriarchal society play an influential role in shaping women's decisions on labour market participation (Dayioğlu, 2000; Dayioğlu and Kırdar, 2009). Available literature argues that housework and childcare/eldercare are traditionally female duties that may preclude women from participating in the labour force (İlkkaracan and Acar, 2007). The women with young children find it

even more difficult to participate in the labour force (Dayıođlu and Kırdar, 2009). The findings of the Household Labour Force Survey (TUIK, 2013) show that the labour force participation rates of women (aged 29-45) with children (29.9 percent) are significantly lower than those without children (45.5 percent). This gap is even larger in the urban areas where women experience increased burden of domestic work including child-care as they receive limited help from family members. With respect to the effect of education, previous studies have shown that there is a positive relationship between the level of education and women's labour force participation (e.g., Aran, apar, Hüsamođlu, Sanalması, and Uraz, 2009). Estimates reveal that having a higher educational degree increases probability of employment from 3 percent (primary school graduate) to 73 percent (college graduate) for women (elikođlu et al., 2009). Finally, urbanization is an important trend that strongly influences women's labour force participation. The decline in agricultural production leads people to migrate to urban areas. Rural migrant women, who worked previously as unpaid family workers, find it more difficult to participate in the labour market in urban setting due to their lower levels of education and insufficient skills. Besides, moving away from rural areas where the family support is substantial to urban centers often as a nuclear family may substantiate the burden of domestic work (e.g., child-care, care of the elderly and sick) on women.

Employment

Household Labour Force Survey Statistics indicate a rise in women's employment over the period 2000-2014. This increase is primarily associated with the rise in services sector employment. Leaving its place to services, the agricultural sector is no longer the primary sector of employment for women. Although male workers continue to dominate the service sector (71 percent in 2014), the number and percentage of women employed in the service sector more than doubled between 2000 and 2014 (TUIK, 2000, 2014) (Table II).

Table II: Employment by Sector (Thousands of People and %, population over 15 years of age)

	<i>Agriculture</i>	<i>Industry</i>	<i>Services</i>
Women			
2000	3,508 (45%)	763 (15%)	1,529 (18%)
2014	2,553 (41%)	1,235 (24%)	3,839 (29%)
Men			
2000	4,261 (55%)	4,411 (85%)	7,108 (82%)
2014	2,937(59%)	4,079(76%)	9,393(71%)
Total			
2000	7,769 (100%)	5,174 (100%)	8,547 (100%)
2014	5,470 (100%)	5,315(100%)	13,234(100%)

Source: TUIK Household Labour Force Statistics, 2000/2014

When we look at the employment status of women between 2000 and 2014, TUIK statistics reveal a positive change in women's engagement in economic and entrepreneurial activities. Employment status of women improved between 2000 and 2014 as women moved out of agricultural and informal sector jobs to the formal economy. The percentage of women once working as unpaid workers dropped 21 percent between 2000 and 2014 (TUIK, 2000, 2014). There was a significant shift from unpaid employment to regular or per diem during the same period while there was no significant change in the proportion of women who were self-employed or who were job owners (Table III).

Table III: Employment Status by Sex and by Selected Years (annual, 2000 and 2014) (% population over 15 years of age)

	2000			2014		
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Total</i>
Regular/ per diem employee	54	35	49	68	60	66
Employer	7	1	5	6	1	5
Own account worker	29	12	25	21	9	17
Unpaid family worker	10	52	22	5	30	12
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: TUIK Household Labour Force Statistics, 2000/2014

In Turkey, being employed without being registered in any social security institution indicates working without any social protection. Despite the fact that the rate of employed women without social security somewhat improved between 2000 (70 percent) and 2014 (48 percent), half of the women are still employed in the informal sector (TUIK, 2000, 2014). The rate of employed women in agriculture without social security was particularly high (94 percent) revealing that the decline in women's employment in agriculture did not substantially pull down the rate of employed women in informal sector (TUIK, 2014).

Unemployment and Underemployment

The labour force indicators reveal that unemployment in both agriculture and non-agriculture sectors is higher for women than men. In 2014, the unemployment rate was 11.8 percent for women while it was 9.9 percent for men. The non-agricultural unemployment in Turkey, on the other hand, was higher than overall employment both for women (15.6 percent) and men (11.0 percent) (TUIK, 2014).

Previous studies suggest that women are affected by unemployment more severely than are men, causing them to withdraw from the labour force. Tansel (2002) proposes that the ultimate impact of unemployment on female labour force participation depends on the relative strengths of the "discouraged worker effect" and the "added-worker effect". The added worker effect implies that labor supply of married women will increase when their husbands become unemployed. On the other hand, discouraged

worker effect suggests that the higher the unemployment rate the less likely women will be employed which, in turn, discourages women from looking for a job and causes them to withdraw from the labour force. Working with a cross-sectional data from Turkey for the 2000-2010 period, Karaođlan and Ökten (2012) report that married women whose husbands are unemployed or underemployed experience an “added worker effect” and are more likely to enter into labour market and work more hours. However, worsening conditions of unemployment in a specific region are likely to have a discouraging effect on wives that decrease their labour force participation. The rising share of female underemployment in total underemployment in recent years reveals that women are either pulling out of the labour market or settling down for temporary or partial work.

Gender Differences in Earnings

According to the Global Gender Gap Report prepared by World Economic Forum (2014), Turkey was ranked 87th in wage equality among 131 countries. Estimated earned income figures reveal 10,501 US dollars for women and 26,893 US dollars for men with a respective female-to-male ratio of 0.39. Although these figure seemed to improve slightly over the years, Turkey is still behind most of the OECD and EU-27 countries in terms of wage equality (World Economic Forum, 2014).

In Turkey, there are two major wage-related concerns about the compensation of female labour force. First, employment opportunities for women are generally concentrated in certain sectors paying low wage rates. Turkish women are mainly employed in labour-intensive and low-paying jobs, like textile and ready-made garment industries. Secondly, in most of the sectors they work and the occupations they choose, women generally earn less than men (hierarchical segregation). Working without social security and with flexible hours decreases women’s wages even further. When we examine the major occupational groups, in 2010, the largest wage gaps are observed for plant and machine operators and assemblers, professionals, and craft and related trades workers (TUIK, 2010). The only occupational group where women were at an advantage with respect to wage levels compared to men was managers, despite the fact that very few women reach such managerial positions (Table IV).

Table IV: Average Yearly (Gross) Wage Rate Based on Gender and Occupation and Wage Gap Ratio (2010) (TL)

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Wage Gap* %</i>
Managers	43,825	43,073	46,201	-7.3
Professionals	31,520	34,549	27,861	19.4
Technicians and associate professionals	22,082	22,536	20,865	7.4
Clerks	18,875	19,383	18,203	6.1
Service workers and shop and market sales workers	12,922	13,167	12,188	7.4
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	14,091	-	-	-
Craft and related trades workers	15,278	15,586	13,004	16.6
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	13,336	13,851	10,518	24.1
Low-level occupations	12,075	12,449	10,713	13.9

Source: TUIK Structure of Earnings Survey, 2010

*Calculated based on total wages in 2010, [(male wages-female wages)/male wages*100]

The gender pay gap does not change even taking education into account. In 2010, on the all education levels, men receive higher earnings than women although wages increase with the level of education for both men and women (Table V). The highest wage differentials between men and women are observed in the vocational high school degree while the lowest differential is in the high school degree. The gender wage gap in vocational high school education may be related to the employment of women with vocational school degrees in low-paying, low status jobs in sectors such as garment production, catering, and childcare.

Table V: Average Annual (Gross) Wage Rate Based on Gender and Education and Wage Gap Ratio (2010)

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Wage Gap* %</i>
Primary school and below	13,099	13,526	11,065	19
Primary education and secondary school	13,043	13,505	10,949	19
High school	16,414	16,907	15,049	11
Vocational high school	21,280	22,195	17,109	23
Higher education	35,383	37,878	31,437	17
Total	19,694	19,683	19,728	-0,001

Source: TUIK, Structure of Earnings Survey, 2010

*Calculated based on total wages in 2010, [(male wages-female wages)/male wages*100]

Previous studies on wage differentials in Turkish Labor Market have presented valuable findings regarding the role of education or human capital in the gender pay gap in Turkey. Using 1987 data from the Household Income and Expenditure Survey, Dayiođlu and Kasnakođlu (1997) find that almost 40.5 per cent of the variation in female earnings can be explained by basic human capital. In the same study, the authors report a 37.5 per cent wage gap in favor of men and point out that 36.2 per cent of this gap can be explained by human capital differences while the remaining 63.8 percent results from the discrimination in the labour market. Tansel (2005) examines the wage differentials in the public and private sectors by using 1994 Household Expenditure Survey. The results reveal a female-to-male wage ratio of 77 per cent in private sector in favour of men, while this ratio equals to 84 per cent in state-owned enterprises. Examining the gender wage differentials based on 1988 Household Labour Force Survey Data, Hisarcıklılar and Ercan (2005) argue that wage gap between men and women cannot be explained by the differences between men's and women's human capital but by their differential treatment. In support of this argument, using 2003 Household Labor Survey Data, ilkkaracan and Selim (2007) report that when personal characteristics such as education level, tenure, age, marital status, occupation, profession, part-time/full-time, firm size, working in an informal job, and being a union member are controlled for, a 6 percent gender wage gap is still observed in the public sector to the advantage of men. In the private sector, the corresponding difference is much higher, as high as 21.2 percent. In a more

recent study, Cudeville and Gürbüzler (2010) confirm the previous findings using 2003 Household Budget Survey Data. The authors report that controlling the basic characteristics such as age, occupation, and education, 76 percent of the wage differences was due to outright discrimination. This form of discrimination denotes to a pay differential that occurs neither as a result of different productivity levels, nor as a result of the type of job or workplace; but merely due to the sex of the worker.

In light of the empirical evidence above, it is plausible to argue that a significant portion of gender wage differentials in Turkish Labour Market may arise due to unequal treatment against women in addition to differences in their human capital characteristics. İlkaracan and Selim (2007) state that the “part of the impact of this unequal treatment rewards men with higher payments but it mainly shows itself as lower wages for women” (p.59).

Women Pursuing Education

Education of women and men is one of the major problems in the way of social development and modernization of Turkey. After the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey, Kemalist principles and State ideology that aims to improve women’s position in society achieved some success in providing widespread education to Turkish women. Primary education is compulsory for both girls and boys and parents who do not send their children to school are liable to imprisonment.

In the early years of the Republic, the rate of literacy was very low among women and over the years there was a significant increase in the rate of literate women. In 1990, 67.4 percent of women and 89.8 percent of men were literate, and the literacy rate increased gradually both for women and men, reaching 90.6 percent and 98.1, respectively in 2013 (TUIK, 2014). By a law enacted in 1997, compulsory education was raised from five to eight years, by combining primary and junior-high school education as compulsory. In 2012, another law was enacted, which increased compulsory education to 12 years, by a 4+4+4 structure of primary, junior and high school education as compulsory. Accordingly, the rights of girls to receive primary, junior, and secondary (high school) education are put under State guarantee. In the 1997-98 educational year, the schooling ratio for women was 78.9 percent for primary education and 34.1 percent for secondary education. In 2014-15 for women, the schooling ratio in primary education reached 96.6 percent whereas the same

ratio increased to 94.3, 79.3, and 41.1 for junior, secondary, and higher education, respectively (Ministry of National Education, 2014-2015). Thus, there is no meaningful difference in the schooling ratio based on gender by the year 2015. This situation can be associated partly with the rise of private and public initiatives and campaigns that promote equal education opportunity for women (more information on these initiatives and campaigns are provided later in this chapter).

While years of schooling increased significantly for girls on the one hand, on the other hand gender roles are apparent in both vocational schools and university education, as there are distinct differences between the concentration areas of female and male students, which represent the cultural norms prevalent in society. Girls are frequently placed in vocational schools that teach subjects which are considered to be a part of the female role, such as home economics, child rearing and sewing, and boys are placed in schools that train them for jobs with a higher market value, such as electrician and carpenter (KSGM³, 2015). At universities, female students constitute more than half of the students studying in non-technical areas such as language and literature (63.6 per cent in 2012-13) and art (53.7 per cent in 2012-13). Furthermore, their enrolment percentage portrays a gradual increase in the social sciences and applied social sciences, while the males' dominance in technical sciences is still prevalent (ÖSYM, 2007; YÖK, 2014-15; TUIK, 2014). In general, the employment of women with vocational school and higher education has increased significantly in the recent years and as a general trend, it can be stated that "education" plays a primary role in improving women's position by increasing their employability in better paid jobs with social security (Tan et al., 2008).

Women in Management

As part of the modernization project of the Republic, professionalization of women carried a significant importance. Beginning with the early years of the republic, middle- and upper-class families placed a high importance on the education of their daughters in highly prestigious professions. During the 1980s, Turkish women started to perceive their careers with a more individualistic motivation rather than as a

³Prime Ministry General Directorate on the Status of Women

duty for national development (Healy, Özbilgin and Aliefendioğlu, 2005) and continued to pursue education and careers in highly prominent professions.

The percentage of Turkish women in high-status professions can be considered to be of a high ratio, even in comparison to many other industrialized western countries. In relation to some of the prestigious professions, for example, 42 percent of architects, 40 percent of lawyers, and 43 percent of academics are women in Turkey in 2014 (KSGM, 2015). As Table VI shows, in 2014, in urban areas, 21 percent of employed women are regarded as managers, professionals, technicians and associate professionals (TUIK, 2015), and this is an area where women are most concentrated (Tan et al., 2008).

Table VI: Percentage of employed population by occupation (2014)

(Population over 15 years of age)

	Managers	Professionals	Technicians and associate professionals	Clerical support workers	Service and sales workers	Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers	Craft and related trades workers	Plant and machine operators and assemblers	Elementary occupations
Male	6.6	7.4	5.7	5.6	18.5	14.1	17.4	12	12.7
Female	2.4	13.9	4.7	9.5	17.9	22	5.5	3.1	21

Source: TUIK, Household Labour Force Survey Results, 2014

Nevertheless, the success of women in prestigious professional occupations is not reflected in the same proportions to decision-making positions. Only 2.4 percent of women are employed in managerial positions and there are no statistics available on demographic characteristics of these women managers or on minority women managers. While women frequently work in high-skill and technical professions, their representation drops sharply in high-level managerial positions (Kabasakal 1998; 1999). The same situation is not observed for men. In 2014, 7.4 percent of employed men work in professional occupations and 6.6 percent of them were regarded as managers (TUIK, 2015). On the other hand, 13.9 percent of employed women are professionals, and this ratio is only 2.4 percent in management positions. As seen in Table VI, a very high percentage of all

professionals are women (45.4 percent), while women constitute only 13.9 percent of managers in 2014 (TUIK, 2015).

The trend is similar in the education sector where women have high representation rates. Although women make up 58.6 percent of the primary school teachers, 53.9 percent of the junior, and 46.4 percent of the high school teachers employed by the Ministry of Education in 2014, only 14.6 percent of school principals are women (KSGM, 2015). Furthermore, only 2 of the 81 (2.5 percent) provincial administrators of the Ministry of Education are women in the same year. In higher education, while 43 percent of all academics are women, this ratio decreased to 29 percent among full professors and there are only 12 women rectors (6 percent) in 176 universities (TUIK, 2015).

Women are not represented at decisional and discretionary power positions in labour unions despite the fact that labour unions are institutions that examine the problems of female workers, propose strategies to eliminate discrimination, encourage participation of women in decision-making positions, and promote equal opportunities (KSGM, 2008). In 2008, there were no female managers on the board of directors of workers' confederations and only five of the chairs of the 91 labour unions (5.4 percent), and 32 of the 481 board of directors (6.6 percent) were women. Labour unions in the public sector portrayed a relatively better situation; five of the chairpersons of the 51 labour unions (9.8 percent) and 26 of the 325 centre managers (8.0 percent) were women (KSGM, 2008).

Women managers in the public sector

In Turkish bureaucracy, in 2015, women constitute 36.5 percent of all bureaucrats, yet only 9.8 percent of upper level decision makers are women. Table VII illustrates the percentage and number of women holding some managerial positions in foreign affairs and public administration in 2015. At the level of ambassadors, there are 32 women out of 229 (13.9 percent), while women's representation in provincial public administration was almost non-existent. There are only two women assigned to the position of governors, 10 deputy governors, and 17 district governors (KSGM, 2015). The representation of women at managerial ranks decreases sharply as they go up in the hierarchy from supervisory and middle levels to upper executive positions. While women constitute 13.5 percent of department chair and 10 percent of

deputy director generals, this ratio drop to 0.4 percent among director generals as of 2015 in the Turkish public sector. In addition, there is only one woman deputy minister (4.1 percent) in the 24 ministries that exist in the Turkish bureaucracy in 2015.

Table VII: Women in managerial positions in some occupations in the public sector (KSGM, 2015)

	Women	Total	Women %
Ambassador	32	229	13.9
Director general	1	156	0.6
Governor	2	81	2.4
Deputy minister	1	24	4.1

Source: Prime Ministry General Directorate on the Status of Women, 2015

Women managers in the private sector

Although there is no census data that portrays the percentage of Turkish women managers in the private sector, there are some international reports which provide country comparisons regarding the situation of women in leadership positions. One of the prominent reports about worldwide gender equality is “The Global Gender Gap Report”, published each year following 2006. In the Global Gender Gap 2014 Report, it is stated that Turkey has experienced a steady improvement of its overall score since 2011 and since 2006, all of its sub-index scores have improved. Yet Turkey is still the lowest performing country from the OECD on the overall index, with a rank of 125th among 142 countries in 2014. The country is part of the twenty lowest-ranked countries on the “legislators, senior officials and managers” indicator. (Global Gender Gap Report, 2014). This is in line with previously mentioned statistics that the relatively better ratios in women’s representation in professional jobs were much worse when it comes to managerial and decision making positions.

Several studies (Koca and Öztürk, 2015; Nalbant 2002; Örucü, Kılıç and Kılıç, 2007) show that factors related with low levels of women’s representation in senior management positions reflect gender-role stereotypes. In general, there is a perceived incongruity in society between the qualities associated with women and successful managers (Sümer, 2006). Sümer’s study shows that women

are perceived to be lower on task-orientation and emotional stability than both men and successful managers, and these attributions may be among the factors that act as barriers to women's advancement to executive and strategic decision-making positions. Similarly, Koca and Öztürk's (2015) study in Turkish sport organizations show that management is stereotyped as a masculine domain and in line with role congruity theory it is perceived as requiring agentic characteristics. Consequently, employees working in sport organizations have a general preference for male sport managers and male employees in particular have negative attitudes toward female managers.

As part of the conflicting roles of women professionals, the role of mother and wife conflicts with career roles. A study compared 20 female and 20 male Turkish white-collar workers and finds that marriage has a negative effect on women's careers (Kabasakal 1998; 1999). Similar findings are reported by Aycan (2004) which suggested that men had more negative attitudes towards women in management (that is, believing that they are not suitable for managerial jobs) due to women's family-related roles and responsibilities. In her study among male and female managers working in several business organizations, Aycan (2004) finds that societal attitudes towards women in management are slightly positive. Both male and female respondents are moderate in their beliefs about women's competencies to carry out work and family responsibilities with success and have doubts about women's assertiveness, intelligence and willingness to become successful business leaders. In addition, Aycan's study (2004) points to a discrepancy between the actual and the ideal, in such a way that while respondents doubt the competencies of women, they think that women's status in work life and their advancement opportunities should be improved. This can be explained by the System Justification Theory (Jost and Banaji, 1994) which suggests that women internalize societal values that disadvantage them to justify their low status.

For Turkish women in managerial and highly prestigious professions, the conflicting roles of wife, mother and career result in these women facing different dynamics compared to women in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs or to other career women in more developed countries. Turkish women in high-status jobs, and who come from a privileged background, are in a more advantageous position in reconciling the conflicting demands of their career and home duties by delegating the housework and child-rearing responsibilities to low-paid domestics. Given the fact that wages paid

to domestics in developing countries are relatively low, professional women with a high socio-economic background can easily employ at least one domestic at home. In addition, Turkish society is characterized by high levels of family collectivism (Kabasakal and Bodur, 2002; 2007), where there is high interdependence between members of large families, and it is common practice that grandmothers and aunts take on part of the housework and child-rearing responsibilities.

In her study based on a series of in-depth interviews with top and middle level managers, Aycan (2004) indicates that respondents do not report any particular barriers (nor support) in their organizations because of their gender. Yet they indicate that they had “to convince ‘themselves’ first that it is okay not to personally fulfill domestic duties, but instead to get assistance from family or paid help” (Aycan 2004:473). One of the most serious difficulties they face in their organizations is in getting into social and communication networks in male-oriented organizational contexts. Studies on the characteristics of the few women who are able to move up to senior managerial positions show that senior women managers come from a privileged background (Kabasakal 1998; 1999; Arbak, Kabasakal, Katrinli, Timurcanday, and Zeytinoğlu, 1998). It is likely that the elite background of women helps in overcoming the lower status associated with femaleness and provides the prestige that is required for the execution of power and influence in executive positions (Kabasakal 1998; 1999). That may be why women in executive positions do report that they experience no major barriers in organizational contexts despite the fact that they experience many difficulties in getting into networks and convincing themselves and others that they can balance their work and home responsibilities (Aycan, 2004).

Women in politics

Turkey is one of the first countries to grant women the right to vote and to be voted for. Women were given political rights in the 1930s – the right to vote and to run in municipal elections in 1930 and in national elections in 1934. Turkish women were granted these rights much earlier than their counterparts in many industrialized western countries. However, parallel with the above arguments that women are scarce in executive positions, the proportion of women elected to the Turkish Parliament has been very low. While the ratio of women parliamentarians was below 5 percent in all elections before 2007, in the

2007 general election it reached 9.1 percent, 14.4 percent in the 2011 election and in the June 7, 2015 election it was 17.8%, the highest figure up to now. One of the major reasons behind the significant jump in the representation of women in the Parliament in the more recent elections can be attributed to the gender policy of one political party (HDP), which has an ethnic-based, leftist orientation (Elmas-Arslan, 2014). HDP provided women a substantial opportunity at all layers of the party, including the co-leader position. In the June 7, 2015 election, 32 of the 80 parliamentarians from this party were women (40 percent). However, the number of women in the Parliament has recently decreased again (from 98 women to 76 women - 13 per cent) during the elections of November 1, 2015. The more traditional parties, including the governing party have much lower percentages of women in the Parliament, in line with the general attitudes and stereotypes prevalent in society about women's decision making role.

Women parliamentarians in Turkey carry mainly an "elite" background (Güneş-Ayata, 1994). An elite background is also common amongst women ministers who took posts in cabinets. The first women minister was assigned in 1971. There are no women presidents in the history of the Turkish Republic yet, whereas there is only one Prime Minister, Tansu Çiller, who served in this post in the mid-1990s. In the 2000s, the cabinets included only one or two women ministers, which is the case for the cabinet in power in 2015, where there was only one women minister who was responsible for issues concerning women and family.

Although political parties in Turkey have nominated more female candidates for the more recent 2009 and 2014 local elections, there has been little progress so far in the representation of women in local politics. Only 3 of the 30 (10 percent) mayors of greater municipalities, and 40 of the 1381 mayors (2.8 percent) elected in the 2014 local elections are women. Furthermore, just 10.7 percent and 4.8 percent of municipality council members and provincial general council members are women in Turkey in 2014. The reasons for the little progress made in local politics on the part of women include huge expenses of standing as a candidate, male domination in politics, and the prevailing cultural image of local administration as a "man's business". Another reason is that politics is associated with images in women's minds, such as lies (28 percent), unfulfilled promises (27.3) and corruption (12.6 percent), according to a survey conducted in Ankara (Özerkmen, 2008).

Women Entrepreneurs

Turkey is a country where the women are less likely than men to engage in entrepreneurial activities. Although TUIK statistics show that there has been a significant shift from unpaid family work to regular and self-employment between 2000 and 2013 for women (Table III), the ratio of male to female entrepreneurs in Turkey is the one of the highest among the efficiency-driven economies. According to the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor⁴ (GEM)'s Total Entrepreneurial Activity (TEA) index (2012), Male TEA rates are 2.43 times higher than female TEA rates. This finding indicates that the measures taken to stimulate entrepreneurship in Turkey have not paid off for women as much as it has paid off for men.

Previous research on entrepreneurship suggests that entrepreneurs may be motivated by two major factors while consider initiating a new business. Some start their business to take advantage of external opportunities (i.e., opportunity entrepreneurship) while others become an entrepreneur as they do not have the other real sources of income (i.e., necessity entrepreneurship) (Jennings and Brush, 2013). The GEM (2012) data show that, in Turkey, 68 percent of the male and 64 percent of the female entrepreneurs start their business with opportunity motives (i.e., pulled by the business opportunities), whereas 30 percent of male and 33 percent of female entrepreneurs act with necessity-motives (i.e., pushed to the entrepreneurship). Empirical studies provide support these figures by showing that that women entrepreneurs in Turkey are affected by both pull and push factors in their self-employment decisions. These may include external factors such as gender discrimination and mobbing (Özdemir, 2010) as well as personal preferences/expectations such as working independently and flexibly (e.g., Kutanis and Bayraktaroğlu, 2003; Maden, 2015), being productive and creating employment opportunities (e.g., Çetindamar, 2005; Maden, 2015), gaining a social status (e.g., Yılmaz, Özdemir, and Oraman, 2012), meeting the family needs and having higher financial gains (e.g., Nayır, 2008).

With respect to the demographic profile of women entrepreneurs in Turkey, Household Labour Force Statistics demonstrate that in 2013, 74 percent of employer and self-employed women were married as compared to 90 percent of men in the same employment category (TUIK, 2013). On the other hand, 18 percent of women entrepreneurs were divorced or widower as compared to 2 percent of men. These figures may reveal that divorced or widowed women are pushed to start their own business to make a

⁴The Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) is an international research study that annually assesses entrepreneurial activity, aspirations and attitudes of individuals across a wide range of countries.

living for their family (Özar, 2007). Household Labour Force Statistics also show that women entrepreneurs were in average less educated than men (72 percent attained only a primary school education or below). This figure contradicts with Çetindamar and her colleagues' (2012) findings which demonstrate that except for graduate education (masters or PhD); in Turkey, women who attained a higher level of education are more likely to engage in entrepreneurial activity as compared to men.

Enterprises of women entrepreneurs are distributed across various sectors and differ in sizes and assets in Turkey. Turkish women entrepreneurs have founded and managed enterprises in almost all industries including international trade, information technology, advertising, and manufacturing (Cindoglu, 2003). However, in line with the international evidence revealing that (a) businesses led by women tend to be over-represented in the services sectors and under-represented in manufacturing, extraction, and business services (e.g. Kelley et al., 2011) and that (b) women entrepreneurs are more likely than men to establish hybrid ventures to achieve both social as well as economic objectives (Hechavarria et al., 2012), women entrepreneurs in Turkey mostly operate in service sector (Hisrich and Öztürk, 1999; Ufuk and Özgen, 2001a,b; Yılmaz et al., 2012) with hybrid ventures.

Women entrepreneurs cope with many difficulties in starting up and maintaining their business in Turkey. Entrepreneurial role tends to be perceived as a stereotypically masculine effort in Turkish society that causes women to suffer from both open and hidden discrimination (Karataş-Özkan, İnal, and Özbilgin, 2010). Obtaining financial support is another important obstacle faced by women entrepreneurs in Turkey, again having connections with gender-stereotyping and discrimination (Hisrich and Öztürk, 1999; Özar, 2007; Maden, 2015). The interaction between business and family life and the stress/anxiety that women suffer due to the conflict between their domestic and business lives act as an important "personal" barrier for entrepreneurship (Maden, 2015). Many scholars suggest that multiple roles of women entrepreneurs as a wife, mother, housewife, and business owner (Karataş-Özkan et al., 2011; Özar, 2007; Özgen and Ufuk, 1998; Maden, 2015) put extra pressure on them as they try to achieve a solution that satisfies the needs of all individuals that they should care (Ufuk and Özgen, 2001a).

Starting with 1990s, Turkish governments and non-governmental organizations started to support women entrepreneurs by offering business set-up financing at reasonable rates, organizing training activities, and providing business support services to those women who want to start up businesses. Prime

Ministry General Directorate on the Status of Women (KSGM) is one of the governmental units that conduct and fund research projects with a policy orientation; cooperate with other public institutions and women's associations; and increase awareness and consciousness through the mass media about women's problems. Small and Medium Enterprises Development Organization (KOSGEB) is another organization that encourages women entrepreneurship by providing technical, managerial, and marketing support to small and medium enterprises (SMEs). This organization organizes applied entrepreneurship trainings for general and specific target groups including women and charges no fees for these trainings (Maden, 2015).

Other organizations such as TUSIAD (Turkish Industry and Business Association) and TOBB (The Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey) draw attention to the important role of women entrepreneurs for the Turkish economy in different platforms. TOBB has a specific unit for women entrepreneurs, named Women Entrepreneurs Council, which set general policies about the women's entrepreneurship and provides advises. Finally, an important non-governmental organization that supports women entrepreneurship is KAGİDER⁵ (Women Entrepreneurs Association of Turkey). KAGİDER carries out a number of projects, provides incubation and mentorship support, and arranges training programs for the (potential) women entrepreneurs. KAGİDER has also close relationships with the regional/international women organizations and established sustainable project partnerships with different global institutions like the World Bank (WB) and the International Finance Corporation (IFC).

Country Legislation

Turkish women have enjoyed extensive social and political rights since the beginning of the Turkish Republic. The principle of the equality of women and men has been adopted in the Constitution and in the early laws of Turkey.

In the last two decades, it has been realized that laws in practice are insufficient for ensuring social and political rights of women in Turkey. Accordingly, there have been recent legal changes introduced to improve the social status of women in Turkey. Significant legal changes regarding women's equality took place in the Turkish Civil Code in 2002 and in the Turkish Penal Code in 2005 (Özden, 2006) to increase

⁵The discussion about KAGİDER was compiled from the information in organization's website, www.kagider.org.

women's equal participation in social, economic and political life. Reforms to the Turkish Civil Code have granted women and men equal rights in marriage, divorce and property ownership. The amendments in the Constitution make up the most important part of the reforms directed towards women.

In addition to the laws that influence the general status of women in society, there are two sets of laws that cover the employment-related issues of individuals in Turkish society (Zeytinoğlu et al., 2001): The Constitution and the Labour Law. According to the latest Turkish Constitution, which was accepted in 1982, all individuals are equal before law, irrespective of language, race, colour, gender, political opinion, belief, religion and sect, or any such consideration. Under the Constitution, every individual has the right and duty to work and no one shall be required to perform work unsuitable for her/his age, gender or capacity. Minors, women and persons with disabilities shall enjoy special protection with regard to working conditions. Every individual has the right to work in public service and no criteria other than merit shall be taken into consideration for employment in the public sector.

Turkey has recently taken the equal opportunities for women in employment issue under legal guarantee by incorporating provisions regarding equal participation of women into the Labour Act. In the New Labour Act, effective as of 2003, employers must not make any discrimination, either directly or indirectly, against an employee in the conditions of her employment contract due to the employee's gender or maternity; and gender, marital status, family responsibilities and pregnancy shall not constitute a valid reason for termination of the contract (KSGM, 2009). Besides, provisions regarding sexual harassment in the workplace and part-time work are also included in the Law for the first time. Turkey has also signed the Istanbul Convention (the first comprehensive international convention on reducing systemic violence against women) in 2011 and put it in action in 2014, which frames violence against women as 'part of a wider pattern of discrimination and inequality' and 'structural violence' and establishes comprehensive standards to eliminate gender-based violence. However, despite significant legal improvements, it is not possible to say that gender equality has been reflected completely in employment practices in accordance with these changes.

Initiatives Supporting Women in the Workforce

In the last two decades, there have been a number of Governmental, non-governmental and professional initiatives to support women in the areas of education, employment and entrepreneurship.

Turkey has recently participated in many international conferences and has signed many international agreements to support women in the field of education. Some of the objectives regarding women are to increase the ratio of literacy among women to 100 percent, to decrease the maternal-child mortality by 50 percent, and to remove the reservations included in the Charter for the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). Turkey, by increasing compulsory education to eight years, has taken a significant step to resolve girls' access problems in education; targeting to make the schooling rate reach 100 percent for girls and boys. Since 2003, there has been a series of new initiatives and national campaigns by non-government organizations (NGOs) and these have been very successful in boosting the enrolment of girls (KGSM, 2009).

Since the 1980s there has been an increase in the number of voluntary women institutions established in Turkey. Through the mobilization of the general public, these women's institutions have played a significant part in consciousness-raising endeavours on women's problems, opening more centres for helping women who were victims of violence or abused. The Foundation for the Advancement and Recognition of Turkish Women, The Women's Shelter Foundation of Purple Roof, The Flying Broom, the Association of Women's Rights Protection, Women's Solidarity Foundation, the Association for the Support and Training of Women Candidates are just a few names among more than 150 voluntary women's organizations working nationwide. The number of Women's Studies Centres set up in universities has reached 13 and a Woman's Library was founded. Finally, a number of projects were put into practice by governmental and NGOs to support professional and entrepreneurial skill development for women including Project Supporting Women Entrepreneurship, Professional Development and Employment Project for Girls and Women, Women's Professional Empowerment Project, and Microcredit Project for Women Entrepreneurs (KSGM, 2009).

Although these Governmental and non-governmental initiatives have been quite effective in supporting women's labour, women in the private sector still need to overcome gender barriers in order to prove themselves successful in a male-oriented business culture. In order to understand if private organizations in Turkey apply any policies to enhance the status of their women employees, interviews with managers of two management consulting firms were conducted by the authors of this chapter (Kabasakal, Aycan and Karakaş, 2004). These two consulting firms have a wide customer-base and provide services in human resources applications. As reported by the interviewed managers, no firm

among their customers was identified as providing any initiatives to enhance the status of women in management. Therefore, introducing positive discrimination policies to advance women to managerial positions seems a viable option for corporations to overcome gender barriers and the glass ceiling phenomenon in business.

There are a number of contemporary initiatives in Turkey that support women in the workforce. First, Turkey sets the target of increasing the percentage of women's labour force participation up to 41% by 2023; outlining detailed strategies to achieve this in the report titled 'National Employment Strategy: 2014-2023'. Second, "Equality at Work Platform" was launched in 2012 as the biggest multi-stakeholder coalition on gender diversity in Turkey. Supported by most of the largest employers and civil society leaders, this task force has published 'Manual for Establishing Corporate Gender Equality' and has promoted 11 principles aimed at eliminating gender-based discrimination in the declaration of equality at work. Third, the Minister of Family and Social Policies has announced that the right to 16 weeks of paid maternity leave will progressively be extended to public servants.

The Future

In general, laws that influence the general status and employment-related issues of women are gender-neutral. Many recent changes have been made in the constitution, civil law and labour law in order to provide equal opportunities to women. Furthermore, there have been several Governmental, non-governmental and professional initiatives to support women in the areas of education, employment, politics and entrepreneurship. NGOs have been very successful in national campaigns geared towards improving the education levels of girls. Having said that, we suggest these initiatives and success stories are not a result of the women-friendly environment of Turkey, but rather as a result of women's creative capacities to overcome multiple patriarchal mechanisms operating upon them (McNay 2008).

The overall situation of women in Turkey does not currently portray a rosy picture. The Global Gender Gap Report 2014, published by the World Economic Forum (WEF), ranked Turkey 125th out of a total of 142 countries in terms of equality between men and women (Hausmann et al., 2014). In the economic participation and opportunity sub-index, this rank falls even further below to 132th out of 142 countries; making Turkey one of the lowest performing countries in the world (Hausmann et al., 2014). With women's labour force participation at 32% compared to 76% for men, Turkey ranks 128th on the

labour force participation gender gap. A recent U.N. report indicated domestic violence rates in Turkey were almost 10 times higher than in some European countries. In 2014, 286 women were killed and there were 60,000 cases of reported violence against women in Turkey (Interpress Report, 2014). Nevertheless, the women's movement of Turkey is very robust, resilient, and adaptive. The long-term prospects of Turkish women's conditions at work and in their lives seem to be brighter as women of diverse backgrounds, ages, and ideologies join forces and unite against all forms of injustice and oppression.

The political turn taking place in Turkey since 2010 has created a curious gender gap. While investing into the enhancement of women's presence in public life, the political figures of the ruling AKP have also made repeated statements about women's 'traditional' role in society; denying that men and women should be on 'equal footing' as this would be 'against their fitrat' (God-given nature/disposition). In recent work, Sehlükoglu (2015) discusses how anti-equality rhetoric echoes the deeply ingrained attitudes within Turkish society about gender equality. Turkish women negotiate with not single but multiple (nationalist, religious, secular, and aesthetics) patriarchal mechanisms in their everyday lives as they try to participate in the workforce. Reflecting women's aforementioned creative capacities, in many cases, women's agencies under multiple patriarchal mechanisms may not always present itself in the form of resistance (Sehlükoglu 2016), but in the form of manoeuvring around their roles in society as traditional homemakers and mothers.

Sustainable positive change in working women's conditions in Turkey also depends on system-wide changes and institutional initiatives. Governmental organizations, NGOs, as well as private organizations, need to be more active in promoting women's status in economic areas. Although some banks provide special credits targeted at women entrepreneurs, more advertising, less bureaucracy and improved conditions would help in extending credit to women entrepreneurs. Further, organizations can develop human resource practices targeted for employing and promoting more women under equal payment conditions. Private sector performance has been sub-standard in this matter and needs to be actively involved as a social responsibility project. Improving the status of Turkish women in all areas of life would contribute greatly to the well-being of society and would pay back with maximum returns.

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