

**Has the Global Economic Crisis Deepened Gender Inequality
in the Turkish Labour Market?**

*Küresel Ekonomik Kriz Türkiye İřgücü Piyasasında Cinsiyet
Eřitsizlięini Derinleřtirdi mi?*

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Has the Global Economic Crisis Deepened Gender Inequality in the Turkish Labour Market?*

Küresel Ekonomik Kriz Türkiye İşgücü Piyasasında Cinsiyet Eşitsizliğini Derinleştirdi mi?

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Özet

İşgücü piyasalarında cinsiyet eşitsizliği, tüm dünyada olduğu gibi Türkiye işgücü piyasasında da önemli bir sorun olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Zaman zaman yaşanan krizler işgücü piyasalarını ve özellikle kadın işgücünü olumsuz yönde etkilemektedir. 2007 yılında ABD’de başlayan küresel ekonomik kriz tüm ülke ekonomileri gibi Türkiye ekonomisini ve işgücü piyasalarını da 2008 yılının özellikle ikinci yarısından itibaren ciddi bir şekilde etkilemeye başlamıştır. Bu çalışma, küresel ekonomik krizin Türkiye işgücü piyasasında yaşanan cinsiyet eşitsizliğini daha da derinleştirip derinleştirmedini ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu amaçla TÜİK verilerinden hareketle yapılan araştırma sonucunda, küresel ekonomik krizin Türkiye işgücü piyasalarında cinsiyet eşitsizliğini derinleştirmede ancak eşitsizliği de azaltmadığı görülmüştür.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Küresel ekonomik kriz, işgücü piyasası, cinsiyet eşitsizliği, Türkiye.

Abstract

Gender inequality in the labour market is an important problem that occurs in the Turkish labour market as it does in all over the world. Economic crises occurring several times affect the labour market in a negative way especially in the female labour force. The current global economic crisis which started at USA in 2007 started to affect the economy seriously and labour force of Turkey from the second half of 2008 like other world economies. This study aims to put forward whether or not the global economic crisis deepened gender inequality in the Turkish labour market or not. According to result of the study using data of the Turkish Statistical Institute, the global economic crisis has not deepened the gender inequality in the Turkish labour market; but it has not provided to decrease the inequality, either.

Keywords: Global economic crisis, labour market, gender inequality, Turkey.

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Introduction

Gender inequality in the labour market is a subject that has been researched and discussed in recent years, especially in developed countries. Some studies on gender inequality in the labour market were carried out in Turkey, particularly after the 90's, and those studies showed that women in Turkey meet gender inequality in the labour market (Kasnakoğlu and Dayıoğlu, 1997; Çolak and Ardor, 2001; Cudeville and Gürbüzler, 2007).

As seen that besides structural problems, sporadic economic crises affect the labour market and female labour negatively. The 2007' economic crisis that arose in the USA, just as it influenced country's economies throughout the world, has started to affect the Turkish economy and labour market from the second half of 2008.

Disadvantaged status of women in the labour market brings women to the forefront in the process of economic crisis. The weak position of the women in the Turkish labour market think of us that woman will be more affected by the global economic crisis in Turkey.

This study aims to put forward whether or not the global economic crisis deepened the gender inequality in the Turkish labour market. The main areas where gender inequality is seen in the Turkish labour market are labour force participation rates, unemployment, and wage levels. Since statistical data about wage levels is not available, assessment will be made on labour force participation, unemployment and employment rates. Even though it is still too early to evaluate the effects of the crisis, it is possible to see the first effects of the crisis by evaluating the last three years. Thus, it will be possible to suggest suitable measures and policies in order to eliminate gender inequality in the labour market immediately.

In this study, firstly a literature summary will be made about the subject, later the effects of the global economic crisis on the Turkish labour market will be evaluated from the point of gender inequality.

1. Gender Inequality in the Labour Market

Gender inequality is one of the important problem in labour market and discussing in recent times. The fact that women having the same qualifications with men are exposed to discriminatory treatments in terms of involvement in employment, jobs, positions, wages, advancement, promotion, designation and dismissal within labour market and as well as many material and moral opportunities demonstrates the presence of discrimination and hence inequality against women on various levels of employment (Mercanlıoğlu, 2009: 41).

The leading factors bringing about gender discrimination in working life and gender inequalities in labour market are traditional and cultural attitudes. Thus, the feminist theory attributes the discrimination and inequality experienced in labour market and the disadvantaged position of women to the patriarchal system and the "secondary" role of women given by this system in the society and family (Barrett, 1995; Steeves, 1999; Donovan, 2005; Eisenstein, 1979). The patriarchal mentality based on material grounds reveals itself most via the forms of control over labour force of women (Hartmann, 2006). The gendered division of labour based on patriarchal mentality makes a division between private and public sphere and gives women home as their working area and all domestic tasks. It also allots all tasks outside home to men and hence creates a prejudice against assessment of jobs as male or female tasks (Einsenstein, 1979). The primary indicator of gender discrimination in working life is the perception of jobs as female-male tasks.

Gender-based social structuring and patriarchal mentality are important factors that determine the demand on female labour force in labour market. Patriarchal mentality is influential on recruitment attitudes of employers regarding which sectors and tasks are suitable for women. Hence it limits the employment possibilities of women (Toksöz, 2012: 9). Also, women discrimination in education causes them to experience discrimination and inequality in labour market (İçli, 1997; Tan et al., 2000, UNICEF, 2003).

Gendered division of labour reflecting the differentiation between female and male labour force regards women as people who give birth, look after and grow and who don't have a productive identity (Toksöz, 2012: 5-6). Due to gendered division of labour, women and men are condensation on certain sectors and jobs. Women in labour market work in low-paid employment under worse working conditions without social security because of disadvantaged position of women in such fields as education and experience. This situation creates gender inequalities in labour market. (Hoffman and Everett, 2005: 275-276; Barrett, 1995: 152) As mentioned by Toksöz (2012), these conditions strengthen the inferior position of women in the labour market and also preserve the material foundation of patriarchal system.

2. Gender Inequality in the Turkish Labour Market

The studies on social based gender inequalities and indexes developed to demonstrate these prove that women are not equal with men. Gender inequality has seen in developing countries more than developed countries. (TÜSIAD and KAGİDER, 2008: 118; ITUC 2009a; Hausmann et al., 2009; Hausmann et al., 2010).

The Global Gender Gap Report published by the World Economic Forum states that gender inequality is seen in all countries analysed for the report however in some countries this problem is far more serious. In the report listing the countries for the social gender gap Turkey was listed as 129th among 134 countries in 2009 and as 126th among 134 countries in 2010 (Hausmann et al., 2009; Hausmann et al., 2010). This shows that Turkey is one of the countries in which social gender inequality is heavily experienced.

The main problems creating inequality between men and women in the labour market in Turkey are as follows: the low participation levels of women in the labour force, higher unemployment rates of women compared to men, lower employment levels of women, and women working in underpaid and unsecured jobs.

The participation of women in the labour force in Turkey is quite low and it is continuously decreasing. When this participation is compared with the 27 EU countries (64.3% by 2009) women participation to the labour force is too low (European Commission, 2010: 165). In Turkey, by 2009, the participation rate of men in the labour force was 70.5% whereas it was 26% for women and by 2010 the rates were 70.8% for men and 27,6% for women. Figures show that the participation rate of women in the labour force in Turkey is one third of men. While male employment levels drop insignificantly for women, this level has been decreasing continuously. This decrease is related to the employment decrease in agriculture. Especially with migration from villages to cities, women working in agriculture as unpaid family workers leave the labour force and head for housework due to the employment decrease in agriculture. (Toksöz, 2007: 18). This situation stems from women being illiterate and inexperienced. In addition, their cultural values, which accept their

participation in the labour, are inappropriate together with the adverse conditions of the labour market (Tansel, 2002).

The study carried out by Kasnakoğlu and Dayıoğlu (1997) showed that labour force participation of women living in cities is rather low and continues to decrease. Also a small part of women in the labour force meet high unemployment rates. The results of this study show that schooling is an important fact limiting labour force participation of women (Kasnakoğlu and Dayıoğlu, 1997: 116).

The studies reveal that, 72 % of women are still out of the labour market and the remainder generally work in low status jobs or in what are considered to be traditional female jobs (Çağlar, 2009). Field research and data analysis done based on the social gender view shows that social division of labour stands as an obstacle in front of the demand for the female labour force. The care of children, elderly, handicapped and sick, together with the other members of the family and the housework is mainly supplied from the free labour force of women. While this gender-based social division of labour strengthens the idea that “women care for the home and family while men work outside and earn” it also pushes women out of the labour market. It is stated that women in the labour force do not work in equal levels and conditions as men do (www.kadinininsanhaklari.org, 2010).

The Turkish society values, gender division of labour and absence of nursing house and baby nursery decrease the women’s labour force participation in Turkey. Even though high educated women in cities can buy caring services so they can take part in the labour market, low educated women meet this need within the extended family (Çağlar, 2009).

In addition to these factors, social gender-based inequalities in education, economic growth without creating employment, contraction-privatization in public sector, inequality in wages, low wages, failure in maintaining partial work opportunities, the high possibility of unregistered jobs, long work hours, and finally legal inadequacies about work also affect the participation of women to the labour market in a negative way (Küçük kalay, 1998: 40; TÜSİAD and KAGİDER, 2008; World Bank, 2009).

Turkey is far behind the EU and candidate countries from the point of female employment with 22,3% in 2009 and 24% in 2010. According to the 2009 data, the average in 27 European countries is 58.6% (European Commission, 2010: 165).

The presence of ‘female job’/‘male job’ distinction in Turkish society creates important differences in sectors where males and females are being able to work. Most employed women, work in the agriculture sector. This is followed by the service sector and the industrial sector takes the last place. Also most of the working women begin to work at a very early age, leaving from their jobs at early ages and again most of them work with low wages without social security (Ecevit, 2010: 8).

Besides female employment and labour force participation rates being low in the Turkish labour market, their documented unemployment rates are also high. By 2009, the female unemployment rate in Turkey was 14,3% whereas the male unemployment rate was 13,9%. The rates were 13% for females and 11.4% for males in 2010. These figures show that the unemployment rate was higher for women and this condition gains a distinct quality in times of crisis (Karagöl and Akgeyik, 2010: 14). When we check female unemployment in urban areas, the rate is quite high (18,7%) compared to male unemployment (12,6%). This indicates that unemployment mainly affects females in urban areas.

The only places where male unemployment is higher than female unemployment are the rural areas. The reason for this is these; women work as family workers without a cost and they are evaluated as 'employed' rather than 'unemployed' in the Household Labour Force Survey (TÜSİAD and KAGİDER, 2008: 149).

When we study the unemployment rates in 27 EU countries, the average unemployment rate of women is 8.8%, whereas the average unemployment rate of men is 9% (European Commission, 2010: 165). When the unemployment rate of women in Turkey is compared with the rate in 27 EU countries, it is seen that unemployment in Turkey mainly damages women.

One of the most important areas where inequality is seen in the labour market is earnings inequality between men and women. Unequal payment for the equivalent job or women concentrated on low-paid jobs due to occupational separation based on gender may be the result of this earning inequality. The mentality suggesting that women only provide additional earning to the family and men are the real earning provider legitimate lower payment to the women before the public (Toksöz, 2007: 44).

Women who got the opportunity to enter the labour market in Turkey are employed in low paid jobs, i.e. they cannot get the same money even though they do the equivalent work as men. Studies show that especially in the private sector, there is a remarkable gap (50%) in the average wage between women and men. This gap is still present despite factors like education and experience being equal (KEİG, 2009: 15). This inequality decreases the desire of women to work and they turn to being housewives.

In a study researching the earnings gap between women and men in Turkey by using the data of 2002 Household Budget Survey data, was determined that the mean earnings of females were 52.95% of the mean earnings for males. Thus serious gender discrimination is put forward (Kiren and Üçdoğruk, 2007).

It is mentioned in a 2006 World Bank report that the earnings gap between women and men continues to increase. In the report, it is stated that the mean earnings for male wage and salary workers increased 22% from 1988 to 2002, whereas female earnings increased by 12%. It is also calculated that female employees earn between 78 and 83 percent of men (World Bank, 2006: 54).

Wage discrimination is only the tip of the iceberg when equal opportunity for women and men in Turkey is taken into consideration. In reality, the alienation of women from the work force is more important. In a study in which the data of the 2003 Household Labour Force Survey is used, the average gender wage gap was 25.2% in favour of men among the wage earner population. This gap is not as bad as it seems when it is compared with some European countries (France, Italy, Greece and Spain). However, wage discrimination in Turkey appears as a bad indication of gender discrimination in the labour market (Cudeville and Gürbüz, 2007).

3. Economic Crisis and Its Effects on Women Labour

The reaction of women to the economic crisis is ambiguous. There are two hypotheses explaining the reaction of employees to economic crises and to the structural transformation process. The first one is a discouraged worker effect. According to this hypothesis, in times of high unemployment, the courage of the worker is broken to the point where the worker leaves the labour market and can return actively by seeking work when the economic

conditions are improved. The other hypothesis is an added worker effect. This hypothesis is valid when the head of the family is unemployed in the time of economic recession and other members of the family (especially the wife) enter the labour market in order to increase family income (Doğrul, 2008).

In times of economic crisis, since the income of the family decreases, services which can be bought from the market are undertaken by women at home. Thus, women who take care of the housework and the members of the family find themselves in a situation where they accept any job in order to compensate for the condition of their spouses who are unemployed or who have lost some part of their incomes. Even the first laid off are women in times of economic crisis. In some sectors, men whose earnings are relatively high with social security are laid off and replaced by women who are low-paid. This shows us that sexist inequality and domination relations between women and men present transitivity and complementarity between the domestic labour and paid employment outside of the house (KEİG, 2009: 8).

As mentioned by Toksöz (2009), the impacts of crisis, when examined from the social gender perspective, differs according to such a great number of factors as developed countries, features of gendered division of labour and welfare state practices. The impact of crisis on women is different from one country to another and it is seen that social-based gender discrimination increases the impacts of crisis on women greatly (AWID, 2009). When women are compared with men, some restrictions in terms of their working sectors and conditions are seen. This disadvantaged situation causing social-based gender inequalities gets much heavier together with the crisis and renders female labour force much more fragile (ITUC, 2009b: 20).

Along with the studies on the impacts of crisis on women, ancient crisis experiences in Russia, Latin America and Eastern Asia put forward that women are affected by crises disproportionately in terms of social-based gender inequalities (UNIFEM, 2005: 8-9). By reasons of the crises, it is seen that women have been influenced by dismissals, loss of subsistence means, excessive responsibilities and risk of social and domestic violence and also the rate of female labour force participation has increased. During crisis periods, women begin to work in informal economy due to their lower education levels and qualifications as well as patriarchal structure (USAID, 2000; Seguino, 2009; Ertürk, 2009).

The global crisis causes stagnation or regression in the rate of female labour force participation and employment in developed countries. But in developing countries, crisis causes increasing in the rate of female labour force participation. On the other side, there is a significantly upward trend in precarious employment of women in such developing countries as Turkey (Sosyal-İş, 2010).

In most countries having experienced economic crisis particularly from mid-1980s, it is witnessed that the female labour force participation has increased considerably and it has been passed through the period called as labour feminization. While the need of capital for class-unconscious and cheap labour force lacking social security is regarded as a reason for this increase, it is well-known that women's wish to compensate the decreased household income, to reduce poverty occupies mainly a significant place within subsistence strategies. Considered as added worker effect, this situation was witnessed in Latin America crisis encompassing Argentina, Brazil and Mexico and in Eastern Asia crisis involving Indonesia

and Philippines in mid-1990s and the rates of female labour force participation increased (Ecevit, 1997; Toksöz, 2009; Urhan, 2009).

The economic crises experienced in developing countries force mostly families to seek a second income. And most employed women, work in informal economy. In such countries as Asia and Africa, women constitute the social segment affected most by restructuring of economic crisis and production. It was seen in Indonesia under the impact of 1997' Asia crisis that 1/3 of the poor families in cities and nearly half of families in rural areas tried to earn money by extra works as the work load and poverty of women increased (Michel, 1995; Rocha and Grinspun, 2001; Gladwin, 1993). In Equatorial Region where women were affected most by the economic crisis, the number of families in which single person was working before the crisis was reduced from 49% to 34% and the number of families in which three or more people were working before the crisis was increased from 10% to 32% (Moser, 1989; Stallings and Weller, 2001). When men lost their jobs and couldn't find job in economic crisis in Africa, it was observed that the women begin to work in informal sector in order to contribute to household income (Federici, 1995).

The difficulties created by crises in lives of women in late capitalized countries, Öztürk (2009) points out that crises make the position of women worse in almost all late capitalized countries. This study mentions that the position of women is getting worse compared to men in such countries as Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Mexico having similar structure with Turkey where social-based gender inequalities appear in labour market and "neoliberal" economic reforms increase poverty.

4. Global Economic Crisis and Its Effects on Gender Inequality in the Turkish Labour Market

The financial crisis which started in the United States turned into a global financial crisis and global recession (decrease in growth rate, increase in unemployment) in a short time (Hiç, 2009: 1-5). Its effects had been noted all over the world and in the Turkish economy by the second half of 2008 (Togan, 2009: 7).

Turkey experienced many problems in the financial sector due to the regulations after the 2001 crisis. Turkey's growth rate had already started to deteriorate after 2005, and Turkish economy has been deeply affected by the crisis when we consider the employment losses and the growth in the unemployment rate. (Aydoğuş, 2009: 34-47). That is to say, the reel segment of Turkey has greatly taken its share of crisis.

According to the results of the 2008 Labour Statistics and Labour Force Costs study done by the Turkish Confederation of Employer Associations, the global economic crisis brought to the economy serious losses in production, sales, investment and export and the income loss in industry affected the worker employment and payoff abilities of enterprises negatively. However, in this study it is stated that the tendency towards employment and wage decreases in this crisis is weaker than previous experiences, and it is accepted lower compared to the decrease in production. The reason for the employment decrease in the enterprises which participated in the study is identified as the decline in the recruiting rate. It is also seen that enterprises are doing their best in order not to lose their experienced workers (TİSK, 2010: 1-5).

The global economic crisis creates different effects on women in the labour market around the world. While the labour force participation and employment rate of women in

developed countries in the labour market show a tendency to lag or decrease, the same situation shows an increase in developing countries. Yet the global unemployment rates indicate a dramatic increase in all parts. On the other hand, there is a significant increase in the unsecured employment of women (Sosyal-İş, 2010: 27).

The main areas where gender inequality is seen in Turkey are participation in the labour force, unemployment, and wages. Due to there being no statistical data about wage levels, the relationship between the crisis and wage inequality could not be analyzed. For that reason assessment will be made below on three areas (labour force participation, unemployment and employment). For this assessment, the Turkish Statistical Institute Household Labour Force Statistics for 2004–2010 are used. In analysis, accepting that the global economic crisis started to affect the Turkish economy by the second half of 2008, this paper aims to put forward whether or not gender inequality is deepened or changed in 2008, 2009 and 2010.

In this study in order to calculate the index showing the gap of attainment levels of females and males, initial labour force participation rates, employment rates, unemployment rates and wage levels are converted into female/male ratios. These ratios indicate a value between 0 and 1, whereby the gap decreases when the value gets close to 1 and increases when the value gets close to 0. In other words, 1 indicates equality, getting close to 1 indicates a decrease in inequality, getting close to 0 indicates an increase in inequality. So the desired equality indicator is 1 (Hausmann and et al., 2009).

4.1. An Evaluation from the Point of Labour Force Participation

From 2004 to 2010, the labour force participation gap of women and men is dramatically high. This means that it is far from 1, showing the equality. The 0.34 gap in 2007 increased to 0.34 in 2008, to 0.37 in 2009 and to 0,39 in 2010 together with the economic crisis. This means that female inclusion increased in the labour force in 2008, 2009 and 2010. This increase lowered the gap between women and men. Since the desired situation is to reach as close to 1, a little decrease in the gap is important.

As it is mentioned above, the unemployed head of the family in crisis terms, force women to enter the labour market. Thus, despite having a wide potential and working capacity, too many women face unemployment. Women find themselves in a situation accepting every possible job in order to cover their spouses who are unemployed or have a decrease in their income. Even with the first laid off being women in times of crisis, men who are relatively highly paid and working in secured jobs are replaced by women as a cheap labour force. This means that in crises some women can be employed and enter the labour market with added worker effect and some are recorded as unemployed.

The previous studies that were conducted in this respect in Turkey support this conclusion, too. In Kızılırmak's (2005) study on women in Turkey, it is seen that the supply of married women to labour force has added worker effect. Women are participated in labour force in order to compensate the income loss arising from their spouses' unemployment. Moreover, it has been discovered in that study that those women have the tendency to acquire a permanent paid-employment rather than self-employment or temporary paid-employment.

A longitudinal study between the years 2000-2010 revealed that the married women increased their labour force participation and working hours as a response to their spouses' job losses (Karaođlan and Ökten, 2012).

Table 1: Gender Labour Force Participation Gap

Years	Labour force participation rate (%)		Female-to-male labour force participation ratio [(2) / (1)]
	Male (1)	Female (2)	
2004	70,3	23,3	0,33
2005	70,6	23,3	0,33
2006	69,9	23,6	0,34
2007	69,8	23,6	0,34
2008	70,1	24,5	0,35
2009	70,5	26,0	0,37
2010	70,8	27,6	0,39

Source: Turkish Statistical Institute (2011), Household Labour Force Survey, [www.tuik.gov.tr]

4.2. An Evaluation from the Point of Employment

A serious inequality is present between female and male employment rates in Turkey. By 2008 and in the following years there has been a continuous increase in female employment whereas there is a decrease in male employment, especially after 2008. On the contrary, a decrease has started from 2008 along with continuing gender inequality. The economic crisis in 2008, expected to affect Turkey, nevertheless has not affected the female employment negatively, which is notable. The gender gap in employment rates was 0.33 in 2007, and that rate increased to 0.35 in 2008, to 0.37 in 2009 and to 0,38 in 2010. Yet the employment gap between women and men in the Turkish labour market is far from 1, which would indicate equality. Contrary to expectations, this crisis has not deepened this inequality; instead, it has a minor positive effect.

Table 2: Gender Employment Gap

Years	Employment rate (%)		Female-to-male employment ratio [(2) / (1)]
	Male (1)	Female (2)	
2004	62,7	20,8	0,33
2005	63,2	20,7	0,33
2006	62,9	21,0	0,33
2007	62,7	21,0	0,33
2008	62,6	21,6	0,35
2009	60,7	22,3	0,37
2010	62,7	24,0	0,38

Source: Turkish Statistical Institute (2011), Household Labour Force Survey, [www.tuik.gov.tr]

The reason for that can be explained by women entering the labour market by added worker effect in crisis times which has been explained above. Increasing number of women seek income-generating works in order to compensate their household income decreased due to unemployment of men in Turkey. While the decrease in male employment has occurred primarily in industry, the increase in female employment has been seen in agriculture. Agriculture, the traditional production area, is still the main employment area for women who begin to work for contributing to decrease household income (Toksöz, 2009: 26).

During the global economic crisis, the female employment in the Turkish labour market seems to be increased at a limited level. At this point, it is important that under which conditions the increasing employment of women takes place. The world experience shows that the jobs through which women are participated in the labour market to compensate for the decreasing household income is generally in low-paid, precarious and informal jobs (Toksöz, 2009: 26). To understand the quality of jobs, it is required to examine the employment status of the employed people, occupation groups and registration to any social security institution.

Table 3: The Distribution of the Employed According to Occupation Groups

	2006		2007		2008		2009		2010	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Legislators, senior, officials and managers	11,7	3,0	10,9	2,9	10,7	3,3	10,8	3,2	10,5	2,9
Professionals	5,9	9,6	5,3	9,6	5,1	9,3	5,7	10,1	6,0	9,8
Technicians and associate professionals	5,8	7,7	6,4	7,7	6,6	8,4	6,0	7,4	5,6	6,8
Clerks	5,2	9,6	5,0	10,4	5,3	10,4	5,2	10,2	5,4	10,3
Service workers and shop and sales workers	12,8	9,1	13,3	9,8	12,8	9,8	13,3	10,1	13,1	9,9
Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers	15,1	35,0	14,8	33,4	14,9	32,0	15,9	31,5	16,1	32,6
Craft and related trades workers	17,8	6,1	17,9	5,3	17,5	5,1	16,5	5,8	16,7	5,9
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	13,1	4,2	13,5	4,3	13,3	3,7	12,2	3,1	13,0	3,6
Elementary occupations	12,4	15,7	12,8	16,6	13,6	17,9	14,3	18,4	13,6	18,2

Source: Turkish Statistical Institute (2011), Household Labour Force Survey
[www.tuik.gov.tr]

When the distribution of the employed according to occupation groups is examined, great majority of women in Turkey work in the jobs within agriculture sector and in services sector including education, nursing, cleaning (Uçar, 2011: 40). By years, nearly 50% of the women have worked in agriculture-stockbreeding- jobs and elementary occupations whereas this rate remains lower among men. Considering the years after 2008 when the global economic crisis occurred, there has been a significant increase especially in the rate of

women working in elementary occupations. Both agriculture-stockbreeding-related jobs and elementary occupations are generally the jobs that are in the low-paid occupational category. This situation demonstrates that the increase in the female employment is mostly in low-paid jobs.

Tablo 4: The Distribution of the Employed According to Employment Status

	Regular employee and casual employee		Employer		Self-Employed		Unpaid family worker	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
2006	61,7	50,8	7,2	1,3	25,7	12,5	5,4	35,4
2007	63,2	52,4	7,2	1,4	24,5	11,5	5,0	34,6
2008	63,9	53,2	7,5	1,4	23,8	11,0	4,8	34,4
2009	63,4	51,1	7,3	1,3	23,9	12,8	5,4	34,8
2010	64,9	50,7	6,9	1,3	23,0	12,8	5,1	35,2

Source: Turkish Statistical Institute (2011), Household Labour Force Survey, [www.tuik.gov.tr]

When the employment status of the employed in Turkey is examined, it is seen that the increase in employment during the crisis period has occurred in the group of self-employed and unpaid family workers. The unpaid family employment which is traditional employment form for women has become more widespread under crisis conditions. Also, there has been a significant increase in the rate of self-employed women since 2008.

The increase in self-employed women indicates that significant part of women participated in labour force due to crisis have been engaged in such economic activities as house cleaning, nursing or selling the goods they produce at home. Almost all of these works take place in informal sector (Gürsel et al., 2009). This situation is the same for the unpaid family workers, also.

As seen, the female employment has increased in precarious employment forms. The following table gives the rates of the employed people who aren't registered to any social security institutions in Turkey.

Tablo 5: Employed Persons Who Are Not Registered to Any Social Security Institution

	Not Registered		Male-to-female ratio [(1) / (2)]
	Male (1)	Female (2)	
2006	41,4	62,9	0,66
2007	40,1	60,7	0,66
2008	38,1	58,4	0,65
2009	38,3	58,3	0,66
2010	37,2	58,5	0,64

Source: Turkish Statistical Institute (2011), Household Labour Force Survey, [www.tuik.gov.tr]

As seen from the table, significant part of employed women in Turkey is not registered to any social security institution due to their original jobs. There is an important inequality between men and women in terms of registered employment. However, there has been a slight decrease in the rates of unregistered employment of women and men during the years after 2007 in Turkey. But, the rate of unregistered employment of men has decreased since 2010 whereas this rate has increased slightly among women. This situation demonstrates that the inequality has increased even if slightly. The increase in the rate of female employment as unpaid family workers and self-employed during the crisis can be regarded as the reason of this increase in inequality.

4.3. An Evaluation from the Point of Unemployment

With the global economic crisis, unemployment in Turkey has dramatically increased. Especially by 2008, an important increase in the unemployment rate both for men and women is evident. According to the studies, newly or re-employed women has a role in this increased unemployment. However employment figures show that while some women could find jobs, the majority of women have faced unemployment. As can be seen the inequality in unemployment rate between women and men is low and it is even close to 1, equality, in 2009. With a crisis, unemployment for men and women is increased. However, according to the previous year, the increase in male unemployment occurred higher than it was for females in 2009. In 2010 unemployment rate both for male and female has decreased, according to 2009 but the decrease rate in unemployment for males has been greater than that for female. Thus, the gender gap in unemployment rates in urban in 2010 has been increased some more according to the previous year.

Table 6: Gender Unemployment Gap

Years	Unemployment rate (%)		Male-to-female unemployment ratio [(1) / (2)]
	Male (1)	Female (2)	
2004	10,8	11,0	0,98
2005	10,5	11,2	0,94
2006	9,9	11,1	0,89
2007	10,0	11,0	0,91
2008	10,7	11,6	0,92
2009	13,9	14,3	0,97
2010	11,4	13,0	0,88

Source: Turkish Statistical Institute (2011), Household Labour Force Survey, [www.tuik.gov.tr]

As explained before, the unemployment in urban areas affects mainly female labour force in Turkey. The rate of female unemployment in urban areas is quite high compared to male unemployment. While there is no gap between women and men in general an unemployment rate in Turkey, we can see a gap between male and female urban unemployment rates. However, with the crisis, this gap has decreased slightly. The gender gap in unemployment rates in urban Turkey was 0.67 in 2007, and that rate increased to 0.70 in 2008 and to 0.75 in 2009. Thus it is close to 1, equality. This shows that according to the

previous year's data, the increased rate of male unemployment for urban areas is higher than female unemployment in 2009. In 2010 urban unemployment rate both for male and female has decreased significantly, according to 2009 but the decrease rate in urban unemployment for males has been greater than that for female. Thus, the gender gap in unemployment rates in urban in 2010 has been increased some more according to the previous year, so the gap rate went away from 1.

Table 7: Gender Unemployment Gap In Urban

Years	Urban unemployment rate (%)		Male-to-female urban unemployment ratio [(1) / (2)]
	Male (1)	Female (2)	
2004	12,5	17,9	0,70
2005	11,6	17,0	0,68
2006	11,0	16,4	0,67
2007	10,8	16,1	0,67
2008	11,6	16,6	0,70
2009	15,3	20,4	0,75
2010	12,6	18,7	0,67

Source: Turkish Statistical Institute (2011), Household Labour Force Survey, [www.tuik.gov.tr]

Conclusion

The results of this study indicate that as a result of the global economic crisis, female labour force participation and employment rates have an increasing tendency in Turkey. Also there is a similar tendency in the female unemployment rates.

An increase in the female labour force participation and employment rates in Turkey during this global economic crisis can be explained by the entrance of women into the labour market as a result of their spouses' unemployment or income loss. Furthermore, female employment as replacements of men occurs often, since women are accepted as a cheap work force in some sectors. However, some women who are beginning to work have the chance to find a job, while the others are recorded as unemployed. We should bear in mind that the increase in female employment alone is not important; the important thing is to be able to work in secured and well-paid jobs. But, the results of this study indicate that the increase in female employment in Turkey is mostly for low-paid and precarious jobs.

It is also seen in Turkey that the increase in female employment occurs in primarily in rural areas, in self-employment and unpaid family employment forms during the crisis period. That is to say, the female employment has increased in precarious employment forms along with the crisis. Also, during the years after 2008 when the global economic crisis emerged, there has been a significant increase especially in the rate of female employed in elementary occupations. This situation demonstrates that the increase in the female employment is mostly in low-paid jobs.

Consequently, it is possible to say that the global economic crisis has not deepened the gender inequality in the Turkish labour market; but it has not provided to decrease the

inequality, either. There is a great gap between women and men in the Turkish labour markets. Taking this situation into account, it is required to adopt the necessary policies and measures as soon as possible. It is the most important to implement the policies from the social-based gender perspective especially in the struggle against the increasing unemployment rates of women that labour force participation increases with the added worker effect during crisis times.

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