

THE BARGAIN BETWEEN YOUNG WOMEN'S LABOUR AND
CAPITAL
AN UNEMPLOYMENT ANALYSIS THROUGH STATE, LABOUR
MARKET AND FAMILY

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ABSTRACT

THE BARGAIN BETWEEN YOUNG WOMEN'S LABOUR AND CAPITAL AN UNEMPLOYMENT ANALYSIS THROUGH STATE, LABOUR MARKET AND FAMILY

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The unemployed is not nonsexual. Rather, the sexuality of unemployed is socially constructed. The unemployed both young and female do not struggle equally with unemployed both young and male for open positions in the labour market. On the one hand, unemployed young woman seeks a job through the criteria determined in a way that it shall not constitute any challenge for the dominance of men and capital due to the roles provided to herself within society. On the other, by his/her hiring and firing practices, employer reproduces both these criteria and his/her own interests consequent of these. Depending on her social and economical characteristics, unemployed young woman enters a bargain, more precisely a struggle, through these criteria and interests of capital to make a place for herself in labour market. State with its new right applications and regulations, labour market with a neo-liberal approach ensuing from the process since 1980s, family by mechanisms provided by patriarchal system are a party to and identifiers of this bargain or struggle process. This study scrutinises the reasons of young women's unemployment as part of this unequal bargain and struggle. Study provides a feminist analysis set in which young women's unemployment or the employment bargain between young women's labour and capital is considered through state, labour market, family and, the articulation mechanisms amongst them are examined with regards to the unification between capitalism and patriarchy. This analysis set reframes reasons of young women's unemployment with segregation, crowding and employment creation challenge.

Key words: Neo-liberalism, economic restructuring, gender-based segregation, gender-based crowding, unemployment.

ÖZ

GENÇ KADIN EMEĞİ VE SERMAYE ARASINDAKİ PAZARLIK DEVLET, EMEK PİYASASI VE AİLE BAĞLAMINDA BİR İŞSİZLİK ANALİZİ

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İşsiz cinsiyetsiz değildir. Aksine işsiz cinsiyeti toplumsal olarak kurgulanmıştır. Hem genç hem de kadın olan işsizler, hem genç hem de erkek olan işsizlerle emek piyasasındaki açık pozisyonlar için eşit olarak mücadele etmezler. Bir tarafta işsiz genç kadın toplumda kendisine biçilen rolleri dolayısıyla erkeğin ve sermayenin hakimiyetini sarsmayacak şekilde, belirlenmiş kriterlere göre iş arar. Diğer tarafta işveren işe alma ve işten çıkarma pratikleri ile hem bu kriterleri, hem de bu kriterlerin bir sonucu olan kendi çıkarlarını yeniden üretir. Genç işsiz kadın sosyal ve ekonomik özelliklerine bağlı olarak bu kriterler ve sermayenin çıkarı üzerinden emek piyasasında kendisine bir yer açabilmek için bir pazarlığa, daha doğrusu bir mücadeleye girer. Devlet yeni-sağ uygulama ve düzenlemeleri ile, emek piyasası 80 sonrası sürecin getirdiği neo-liberal anlayış ile, aile ataerki sistemin kendisine sunduğu mekanizmalar ile bu pazarlık ve mücadele sürecinin bir tarafı ve belirleyicisidir. Bu çalışma, bu eşitsiz pazarlık ve mücadele çerçevesinde genç kadın işsizliğinin nedenlerini irdelemektedir. Çalışma, genç kadın işsizliğini veya sermaye ve genç kadın emeği arasındaki istihdam pazarlığını devlet, aile, emek piyasası çerçevesinde ele alan ve bunlar arasındaki eklemlenme mekanizmalarını kapitalizm ve ataerkillik arasındaki birleşme çerçevesinde açıklayan feminist bir çözümleme seti sunmaktadır. Bu çözümleme seti genç kadın işsizliğinin nedenlerini katmanlaşma, kalabalıklaşma ve istihdam yaratma güçlüğü ile yeniden çerçevelendirmektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Neo-liberalizm, ekonomik yeniden yapılanma, toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı katmanlaşma, toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı kalabalıklaşma, işsizlik.

To all young women struggling and bargaining for finding a place in the labour
market...

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This study is a feminist study. It examines main reasons of young women's unemployment in urban areas and in private sector. This examination focuses on reasons and also includes reconceptualization and reconstruction of existing gender blind theories, approaches and discussions about the issue within a feminist standpoint. It considers young women's unemployment with regards to the articulation mechanisms amongst state, labour market and family *-in macro level-*. Moreover, it examines these articulation mechanisms' implications on labour-capital matching process/the employment bargain between employers and young women *-in micro level-*. This analysis is leaned on the unification between capitalism and patriarchy and it is assumed that the continuity of this unification in both public and private spheres gives rise to young women's unemployment.

1.1 The Area and Scope of the Study

Unemployment and employment, especially employment and unemployment of women and young people, is a pending problem discussed globally in developed and especially in developing countries. Labour market indicators point at the fact that young people face with higher risk of being unemployed than adults (almost 3.8 times more in developing regions) and young women are the most vulnerable group. Researches and statistical evidences indicate that young women face greater difficulties than young men, and even than other women, in terms of seeking, finding, accepting and holding a job and being re-employed when they lose their jobs. ILO (2008) determines employment challenges and policy implications in developed and developing regions for young people: for developing economies, poverty and lack of decent employment, agricultural sector's being primary sector, low educational attainment, low quality education and training, mismatch in supply and demand of young labour, unrealistic demand for public sector employment are deemed as employment challenges of young population. For developed economies, increasing incidence of temporary jobs, young people's insufficient job experiences leading to high turn-over rates, skilled versus unskilled dichotomy and social exclusion of minority groups (ILO GETsY, 2008:8-10) are considered as difficulties that young people face in accessing employment opportunities.

Although these implications point at crucial indicators of unemployment, they should be interpreted in relation to the paradigm shift in approaching unemployment since 1980s. This paradigm considers unemployment in relation to human capital of labour, failure and preferences of unemployed and rigidity of labour market regulations. Especially, when young women's unemployment comes on the scene, their low educational level, job experience, work commitment, their job priorities and women-related labour market regulations are presented as obstacles to their employment. It is estimated that active labour market policies, flexibility, flexible employment patterns and entrepreneurship solve this challenge. However, this study insists on *employment creation challenge* of implemented economic policies and considers unemployment in relation to the structural adjustment process and its articulation with patriarchy. Although it is argued that export-oriented industrialization increases economic growth, economic growth generates investment and investments create employment opportunities for women's labour, this equation has been falsified especially by the structural adjustment experiences of developing economies and high unemployment rates among young women in those. In this context, the examination of young women's unemployment can not be oversimplified to examination of labour market and economic policies in general and unemployment experiences of men. Because, labour market is not gender neutral as argued by economists. The gender gap in labour market indicators, in employment creation and in discrimination has become an important strategy of global restructuring of economies since 1980s reflecting the articulation between capitalism and patriarchy.

Women's, especially young women's unemployment rates are on the rise in both developed and developing countries¹. This gender gap in unemployment rates typically fall into supply and demand side causes: Supply side explanations focus on individual characteristics; a group with higher unemployment rates expected to have fewer marketable attributes and lower productivity than a group with lower unemployment rates. Demand side explanations relate to structural economic conditions, country's development strategy and cultural norms that results in differing demands for male and female labor (Seguino, 2004:1). Unsurprisingly, the focus of unemployment explanations and policies are limited to supply-side dimensions and macro-economic policies, patriarchal norms and their articulation with

¹ Young women's unemployment rate that is 12.3 % in 2008 has increased to 13.2 % in 2009 in the World. In developed economies it has increased from 12.2 % to 15.6 % within same years. On the other hand, in developing countries young women's unemployment rate is higher than developed regions that is around 15 % in 2008 and 20% in 2009. However, in Middle East the rates are around 30 %. Indeed, young women's unemployment rates that is 30.8 % in 2008 has risen to 30.9 % in 2009 (ILO GETsY, 2010:63).

each other are ignored or covered. However, gender relations and the function of gender ideologies are very crucial to understand high unemployment rates among women and young women despite their key role in the global economy. This implies the fact that labour market is not self-regulated as argued. Rather, the gender gap in unemployment rates should be interpreted as an evidence of the complex interaction of economical, social, cultural, political and ideological dimensions with the operation of labour market.

As it happens in other developing countries, implemented structural adjustment policies, unemployment in general and youth and women's unemployment in particular are the most important problems in labour market in Turkey. Unemployment has become structural by chronic economic crises and employment creation challenge since 1980s. Moreover, the fact that unemployment of young people in general and young women in particular has presented an emergency to be resolved in Turkey, which is different from other developed and developing countries is associated with *demographic transition*. As estimated from population projections, adult population's volume in Turkey will steadily increase by the year 2025 and labour supply will gradually increase, as well. It is estimated that this progress will be maintained for 20-25 years in Turkey and it will be a 'demographic windows of opportunity' for the country. More importantly, if investment and production as well as employment rates/creation are not regulated accordingly, the unemployment rates among the young population will be irrevocably increased in Turkey, and consequently, this 'opportunity' will mean higher unemployment rates in Turkey (Erdayı, 2009:55; Özar & Ercan, 2004:201).

The direction of the process will be much more decisive for young women's labour market position in Turkey because young women represent the most vulnerable group in labour market indicators such as employment, unemployment, duration of unemployment, institutional job searching and labour force participation rates. However, what makes young women's unemployment critical is their higher labour force participation rates than other women in older ages, especially in urban areas. Moreover, their higher education level, higher labour force participation rates among educated group and intensification of unemployment among educated young women make the issue much more important in an atmosphere in which youth and women's unemployment is discussed with regards to human capital and active labour market policies. All these dimensions force us to look at and restore the beginning of the problem. As emphasized by Ecevit (2008), as in all other developing countries, unemployment rates among women in urban areas, where unemployment is

frequently seen throughout Turkey, are so high, thereby affecting the nature of this challenge which has not simply demonstrated impacts on the employable population, but rather on ‘women oriented’ and even ‘young women oriented’ population, which requires a relevant evaluation and consideration.

Labour market indicators point at the intensification of women’s and young women’s unemployment in urban areas. Notably, the non-agricultural unemployment rates in urban areas are very high for young women’s labour force. Therefore, this study focuses on examining main reasons of young women’s unemployment in urban areas. ‘Women’s nearly full employment as unpaid family workers in rural areas’, ‘elimination of rural production and rural employment’ by virtue of implemented agricultural policies since 1980s, ‘migration from rural to urban areas’ and ‘increasing labour force participation tendency among second generation young women from migrant families’ make young women’s unemployment a much more intricate problem in urban areas. On the other hand, this study focuses on exploring main reasons of young women’s unemployment in private sector. It is due to the fact that private sector is less regulated and controlled than public sector and the level of discrimination is much more visible.

This study not only aims to examine reasons of the gender gap in unemployment rates, but also provides an exploration of the gap in young women’s and older women’s unemployment rates. As young women’s unemployment rates are also higher than older women, this study tries to capture the characteristics that differentiate these two groups’ labour market position from each other. The study also argues that unemployment experiences of young women are not similar. In fact, young women is not a homogenous category, rather, their age, educational background, marital and motherhood status have important implications on their job seeking, finding and accepting practices, on the one hand, and on employers’ hiring and firing decisions, on the other.

1.2 Significance of the Study

Although women’s unemployment, especially young women’s unemployment, is on the rise both in developed and developing countries, it has been a neglected issue in traditional sociological and economical theory for a long time. It can be interpreted as the reflection of the malestream configuration of traditional theory that trivializes women’s unemployment with regards to gender-based division of labour. This trivialization is based on the separation

of public and private spheres. This separation imposes that women should be at home and women are responsible from domestic duties differently from men who are responsible from breadwinning. As family wage earned by male-breadwinner becomes inadequate to sustain family with regards to the destructive effects of structural adjustment process on livelihood, many women has begun to flow into the labour market and women's unemployment and employment has become a burning problem in public policy. The effects and importance of feminist movement and struggle on it can not be ignored.

However, the critical point here is that political and theoretical discussions, detailed and examined in following parts of this study, are still being carried out within the context of patriarchal ideological premises. However, higher unemployment rates of women and young women are associated with the articulation between patriarchal values and capitalist logic, and without challenging this articulation, it is impossible to provide a comprehensive approach to women's and young women's positioning in labour market and reasons of their unemployment. Moreover, the labour market experiences of the men vary from those of women and only the gender oriented employment policies to be established may strengthen the positions of the women in the labour market. This study argues that explanations and proposed policies have a poor chance of success if they are outcomes of gender-blind efforts. In this context, it is considered that such a study within the framework of the feminist standpoint, introduced in 1.3, would contribute to feminist reconstruction of gender-blind unemployment explanations and conduce to establishment of substantial gender sensitive social and political offers and openings.

On the other hand, although employment and unemployment of women and young women is one of the most important problem in labour market, the issue has always been ignored in Turkey's agenda and oversimplified to the general employment and unemployment discussions. The examination of women's and youth's employment and unemployment is considered in subsections of development plans, subtitles of reports and subquestions or subdiscussions of academic studies. Though there are reports and studies which consider young women's unemployment, in Turkey, with a feminist approach and that combine with state, labour market and family with regards to the articulation between capitalism and patriarchy, no academic study devoted to the examination of young women's unemployment is available yet. In this context, it is considered that such a study would fill this gap and contribute to the road map of a gender-sensitive employment strategy. Indeed, as emphasized by Ecevit (2008), Turkey is not only lack of *national employment strategy* but also *young*

population's and women's employment strategies. Finally, the examination of young women's unemployment requires special standpoint that governments has not realized yet.

The barriers to participation and employment for women come from two main sources: from the larger culture and families, and from the state and employers. How and to what extent these different factors contribute toward explaining gender differentials in participation and employment rates still not well understood. (Miles, 2002:413)

Following the emphasis of Miles, by positioning young women's unemployment in the operation of patriarchal capitalist state, family and labour market, this study designates ideological, economical and institutional dimensions as the addressee of the problem and enables to explore how young women bargain with employers for employment within these articulation mechanisms.

1.3 Methodology

The methodological approach pursued in this study is feminist standpoint. Feminist methodology is corollary of incompetency of traditional methodologies in reflecting and examining the experiences of women. In traditional social sciences, analysis is based upon men's experiences and traditional methodologies are male-centered in explaining the social reality through ignoring the oppression of women. However, feminist standpoint insists on making women's experience apparent and, as emphasized by Harding (1987:7), it designates "women's experience as a main 'scientific resource' in the feminist analysis". According to feminist standpoint approach, by this way one can see "things from the perspective of not only privileged (men) but also the oppressed women" (Smith, 1987, as cited in Abbott, Wallace & Tyler, 2005:374) and the knowledge of social reality is less partial and less distorted. This perspective implies that "those who do not actively struggle against the exploitation of women in everyday life are unlikely to produce social science research about any subject at all that is undistorted by sexism and androcentrism" (Harding, 1987:12). In this context, different from malestream methodological approach, this methodology is both political and ideological since it aims to resolve the social and economic circumstances that subordinate and exploit women.

In contrast to traditional social sciences' insistence on positivist and quantitative methods to fulfill objectivity and value-free knowledge, feminist standpoint emphasizes on qualitative research methods. It is argued that; "So that the women (and men) who are the subjects of

research can be ‘heard’ and so that it becomes possible to see and understand the world from the position of the research subjects” (Abbott, Wallace & Tyler, 2005:368). According to Mies (1983, as cited in Çakır & Akgökçe, 1996:50), there is a paradox between the theories and methodologies of social sciences and political aims of women’s movement in that if women’s studies will be applied for women’s emancipation, it is impossible to do them without criticizing positivist and quantitative methodology of social sciences. It is because of the fact that if women’s studies are applied by this old methodology, they will turn into an instrument of oppression.

Within this scope, feminist standpoint challenges the objectivity principle of traditional social sciences in which the research constructs a hierarchy between the researcher and the researched as a kind of knower and the knowable relation. It is perceived as “an excuse for a power relationship” (Stanley and Wise, 1993:167) in feminist methodology and it is argued that by offering the ‘subjectivity principle’, feminist analysis produce a more complete and ‘undistorted’ knowledge. Because, feminist research is non-hierarchical, reflexive and based on interaction (Fonow and Cook, 1991). It perceives involvement as a necessary and inevitable parts of research. It is “necessary because the researcher must and does identify with the women she is researching, and inevitable because she is a part of what is being researched – she is involved” (Abbott, Wallace & Tyler, 2005:369).

This study considers unemployment as a form of gender-based discrimination and insists on political and ideological nature of young women’s unemployment. It argues that without adopting feminist standpoint approach, it is impossible to bring young women’s differentiated unemployment experiences and the reasons behind it into open. Young women’s unemployment experiences are blurred and blinded by malestream configuration of public and private spheres and without involvement and interaction capturing hidden and implicit dimensions of young women’s job seeking, finding and accepting and employers hiring and firing practices is an unavailing effort.

1.3.1 Research Questions

This study aims to indicate how contemporary capitalism and patriarchy articulate with young women’s unemployment and questions how the unification between capitalism and patriarchy structures the articulation mechanisms among state, labour market and family giving rise to the gender gap in unemployment rates. As a feminist study, gender gap in

unemployment rates goes beyond a situation assesment in the context of this study. In other words, this study problematizes this gender gap in unemployment rates and questions patriarchal capitalist reasons behind it. Because this study insists on the fact that the problem is unproblematization and trivalization of the gender gap in labour market indicators. In this context, the research questions of this study can be classified into two main problems. The first problem concerns concentration of unemployment rates among young women's labour rather than young men and the second problem questions the reasons of high unemployment rates among educated young women.

Why unemployment rates of young women are higher than that of young men in labour market in Turkey?

Regarding, almost all labour market indicators –labour force participation, employment, unemployment, duration of unemployment, applying official job searching channels- young women are the most vulnerable population in Turkey². Especially in youth unemployment rates the gender gap is cut a swath. Why and how is this so? In order to tackle with this problematic, this study examines both non-feminist and feminist explanations about the issue and stresses on the importance of feminist standpoint in terms of providing a gender-sensitive comprehensive understanding of young women's unemployment experiences. As such, it questions and challenges young women's unemployment in terms of their human capital, commitment to work, turn-over rates, job priorities, selectivity, duration of unemployment, job seeking tools and mechanisms and expensiveness of women's labour which are commonly presented as different/particular characteristics leading to gender gap in unemployment rates.

Why unemployment rates of educated young women are higher than that of educated young men?

Moreover, labour market indicators point at educated young women's more disadvantaged position in employment than educated young men³. In this context, this study questions the characteristics that differentiate educated young women's labour market position from educated young men in terms of human capital investment, selectivity, disliking a job tendency, skill mismatch, school to work transition, vocational education and training and

² For details, discussions and statistical data see 3.6.

³ For details, discussions and statistical data see 3.6.

job creation performance of applied economic policies. Those dimensions' gendered impacts on young women's job seeking, finding, accepting and employers' hiring and firing practices are questioned and examined.

1.3.2 Research Method

This study uses quantitative research methods in exploring the reasons of differentiated unemployment experiences of young women and young men. In addition to the official documents and the statistical references, the research method carried out in this study is semi-structured in-depth interview data collection technique. The reasons of choosing this technique in data collection is based on 3 interrelated factors: 1. In-depth interview technique is the most substantial way of capturing the implicit ideological dimensions of the problem. In this study, unemployment is considered as a form of patriarchal capitalist discrimination reproduced by employers', state's, family's and –voluntarily or involuntarily- young women's practices; 2. In-depth interview data collection is the most suitable technique to capture perspectives and perceptions of the parties of labour-capital matching process. Unlike male-stream quantitative methods, in-depth interview method enables researcher to create a closeness with the respondents to gain insight into the world of them and to create an atmosphere in which they propound their detailed perceptions and experiences; 3. Moreover, research experience of this study points at the fact that in-depth interview technique is an *awareness raising process* in itself. It enables respondents to consider their position from a gender perspective that they have ignored before.

In the context of the study, in-depth interviews were conducted both with unemployed young women and employers. It is the factor that empowers the comprehensiveness of the study in examining the reasons of young women's unemployment. By this way, the hiring and firing perceptions and praxis of employers and praxes and perceptions of unemployed young women – in job seeking, finding and accepting- are reflected and cross-checked. Moreover, by this way, the study takes the issue out of restrictiveness of labour-capital matching process or partial understanding of the nature of the problem -solely from employers or young women's view points- and gives chance of revealing the decisiveness of the articulation between capitalism and patriarchy reproduced in the operation of family, state and labour market in young women's employment process.

The interviews were conducted between March - June 2010 with a group of 48 people composed of 32 young unemployed women and 16 employers. Tape-recorder was used

during the interviews. When it was asked them whether or not they would be disturbed by the presence of a tape recorder, non of the respondents said no. Each interviews lasted from 30-90 minutes depending on the free time of the interviewee. Young women's interviews lasted shorter than employers. It was due to the fact that young women were reluctant to show time flexibility in terms of coming earlier and going late.

Questions posited to young unemployed women are related to their working history identifying their unemployment status (*first time job seeker, job leaver or redundant*), their perceptions about working, their perceptions and reasoning about young women's unemployment, their job searching, finding and accepting experiences, their way of job searching and their job priorities. On the other hand, the questions posed to employers are related to economical, political, social and gender related factors that designate young women's hiring and firing processes and their perceptions about the reasons of young women's unemployment. All questions are derived from theoretical discussions and research questions of the study. Moreover, the questions posed to young women and employers are consistent and interlocking with each other that enables cross-checking of their perceptions and experiences.

In-depth Interviews with Young Unemployed Women:

Since it is very difficult to access specific group of unemployed people who are between the ages of 15-24 and women, the interviews were conducted with the help of institutions. Thanks to İŞKUR officials' guidance and support, the first 17 interviews were realized with young women in İŞKUR's 5 different vocational training courses (3 young women from cosmetician expert course, 4 young women from computer programmer course, 5 young women from auto-cad course, 3 young women from baby-sitter course and 2 young women from call-center customer services course). The names and addresses of courses were provided by İŞKUR and showing İŞKUR as a reference made it easy to gain consent of the courses' administrative officials for conducting study in their course and with their students.

However, statistical evidences indicate low rates of young women applying İŞKUR for finding a job and the limited number of unemployed benefiting from these vocational training courses. Thus, remaining 15 interviews were conducted with 6 young women participating KPSS course in Kızılay (due to its being central district of Ankara) –due to accessing intended unemployed young women-, 5 young women in SHÇEK's Nato Yolu

Social Center –to access young women having financial and social difficulties- and 4 young women accessed by snowball technique -to access discouraged and hidden unemployed young women. In this context, it can be said that those young women are the most visible, accessible and intended part of unemployed young women due to their efforts to find a job by attending courses, applying social institutions and organizations. It is an intentional preference of this study intending to challenge young women’s commitment, passivity, reluctance and dilatoriness in job seeking and working, which are perceived as reasons of their unemployment.

Statistically, young women are defined as a group between the ages of 15-24. In the context of the study, it was tried to access unemployed young women in different ages to prevent intensification of interviews in some age groups. However, the interviewed young women are intensified in age 24 (11 young women) and the number of young women in younger ages are systematically decreased. Moreover, there are any women between the ages of 15-19. It may be an outcome of these groups that represent the group in high school education.

In the light of theoretical discussions and statistical evidences, the main dimensions in examining reasons of young women’s unemployment are education level, marital and motherhood status. With regards to young women’s educational level;

TABLE 1. The Number of Young Women by Education Level

Education Level	Number of Young Women Graduates
Primary School	5
Secondary School	14
<i>General High School</i>	9
<i>Vocational High School</i>	5
University	13
<i>4 Year University</i>	6
<i>2 Year Vocational College</i>	7

The numbers indicate that young women are intensified in secondary and university level education in the study. It is a deliberate preference. Indeed, *educated young women’s unemployment* is the main characteristic of young women’s unemployment in Turkey and statistical and theoretical evidences reveal the concentration of unemployment among young women graduated from high school, vocational high school and university.

On the other hand, as mentioned above, other important dimensions of young women’s unemployment are their marital status and motherhood status. In the context of the study,

interviews were conducted with 20 bachelor, 3 engaged, 7 married and 2 divorced young unemployed women. As marriage age is high in urban areas and rising among young generation, the concentration of the group in bachelor category is unsurprising. Differentiation of marital status into 4 groups has practical importance in study. Indeed, it reveals and enables to compare the effects of families (generally fathers), husbands, fiances and even boyfriends on unemployment experiences of young women. On the other hand, 6 young women have children. Except from Sevda, who has 2 children, young women have 1 child. 5 of these young women are married and the remaining one is divorced. The critical point here is these children are pre-school children; and the eldest one of them is five years old.

Finally, young women in this study are living in different parts of Ankara; Elmadağ, Altındağ, Sincan, Mamak, Çankaya, Keçiören and Yenimahalle. If their family profiles are considered, families are nuclear families composed of mother, father and children. Bachelor women are generally living with their families. There is only one exception, Zehra, who is living alone and whose family is living in a different city. One of the critical point is Sevda and Burçin, divorced women, are living with their families after divorce and they do not have any effort to live by themselves. Generally, mothers of young women are housewives and fathers are generally working or retired. There are only 11 young women whose mothers are working or retired. There are 13 young women who, or whose families, have a migration story. The families came from different parts of Turkey; Yozgat, Çankırı, Çorum, Kastamonu, Erzurum, Kars, Muğla, Nevşehir. The mothers of those women, who have a migration story, are generally housewives. There are only 4 mothers who are/were working after migration. The critical point here is, parallel to the theoretical discussions, the second generation young women migrants are much more ambitious towards working and have strong desire to work.

In-depth Interviews with Employers:

As mentioned above, this study is mainly focused on examining young women's unemployment in private sector. 16 in-depth interviews were conducted with employers in different firms functioning in private sector. As it is difficult to arrange appointments with employers due to their sensitivity of confidentiality, the employers were reached by the help of TÜSİAD, TÜGİAD and ANGİKAD, the representatives of employers.

As firms in Ankara is generally small scale and the centre of commercial activities, business operation is İstanbul, 6 of 16 interviews were conducted in İstanbul. The interviews were realized both with the employers of small scale and large scale firms carrying on a business in service, industry and construction sectors. The big firms/holdings could carry business activities in more than one sector and generally they have additional sub-firms. In this context, the interviewed 16 firms provide a large spectrum of trading activities and job opportunities that young women can be employed.

TABLE 2. Firms' Status by Line of Business and Sector

NO	LINE OF BUSINESS	SECTOR
Firm 1	Restaurant	Service
Firm 2	Glass Material Production	Industry
Firm 3	Ship Building	Industry
Firm 4	Petrol Exploring, Production and Hotel	Industry + Service
Firm 5	Hotel	Service
Firm 6	Pharmaceutical Industry and Representation	Industry + Service
Firm 7	Construction Engineering – Project Development	Construction + Service
Firm 8	Lighting Material Production and Marketing	Industry + Service
Firm 9	Construction	Construction
Firm 10	Insulating Material Production and Marketing	Industry + Service
Firm 11	Law	Service
Firm 12	Real Estate	Service
Firm 13	Textile and Retailing	Industry + Service
Firm 14	Telecommunication Operator Service and Marketing	Service
Firm 15	Construction and Petrol Station	Construction + Service
Firm 16	Telecommunication Material Production and Marketing	Industry + Service

1.3.3 Limitations of the Study

One of the important limitation of this study is the limited numbers of initial studies devoted to the issue despite young women's being the most vulnerable parts of unemployed population in Turkey. Though there are some reports and academic studies following feminist path, their focus is not particularly on the reasons of women's and young women's unemployment, the issue is considered or mentioned in subsections as subdiscussions or subquestions and generally get lost in the shuffle. Especially, the situation of young women is disregarded and reduced to general discussions about women's labour market position. In this context, this ambiguity longer the duration of inchoative stages before the field work and

general time frame of this study. Moreover, it enlarges the scope of the study and accordingly, brings the risk of non-disclosure.

On the other hand, this study was conducted in economic crisis conditions. Although findings are in accordance with the premises of feminist theoretical explanations, the effects of economic crisis are implicit in the findings of this study. In other words, it is very difficult now to demarcate the effects of economic crisis from young women's and employers' perceptions, experiences, sensitivities and emphasises.

Moreover, as mentioned in 2.5, although this study perceives so-called volunteer homemakers as unemployed and aims to indicate obligatory and compulsory nature of unemployment for women, it does not adequately reflect the experiences of discouraged young women who are at home busy with domestic chores but unemployed in reality. However, intensification of interviews in the educated, visible, accessible and intended part of unemployed young women generates advantage of questioning young women's difficulty in finding a job despite their education level and efforts and it enables to challenge approaches insisting on young women's quiescence in job seeking process.

And finally, with regards to interviews with employers, employer's sensitivity of confidentiality generated a difficulty in arranging appointments. Although the problem was solved with the support of institutions representing employers, it created a limitation in selecting sectors and line of business.

1.4 Plan of the Study

In the context of the study, the reasons of young women's unemployment is examined within seven main chapters. In *Chapter one*, which is an introduction, the aim, area, scope, significance and limitations of the study has been introduced, methodological standpoint, research questions and method of the study has been clarified.

The following part of the study, *Chapter two*, focuses on examining theoretical approaches through which women's and young women's unemployment have been theorized and conceptually clarified to construct a background for further discussions. Examination of theoretical approaches to women's unemployment are grouped into non-feminist and feminist approaches to propound the insufficiency of non-feminist examinations or to stress

on the importance of feminist standpoint. After clarifying theoretical and conceptual frameworks, the chapter proceeds with the introduction of the model of the study.

After examining main theoretical approaches and introducing the model of the study in Chapter two, *Chapter three* focuses on resetting these examinations to their places in gendered restructuring processes having been experienced since 1980s. Discussions provide a closer look at the economic restructuring process and its gendered implications on women's labour market positions within the scope of globalization, structural adjustment policies (SAPs), flexibility and New Right or Neo-liberal arguments. Chapter three finishes with the examination of Turkey's structural adjustment experience and its reflections on labour market indicators and young women's employment and unemployment.

Chapter four blends theoretical and conceptual frameworks, introduced in Chapter two, with gendered implications of structural adjustment process in Turkey, discussed in Chapter three, and examines main reasons of young women's unemployment. This examination considers existing gender-blind explanations about the issue and challenges them in the direction of feminist standpoint. The examination is based on the model of the study, discussed in Chapter two, in which reasons of young women's unemployment is leaned on entwined patriarchal capitalist processes of state, labour market and family -in macro-level. In accordance with the model, the chapter provides examination of the reproduction of patriarchal capitalist premises in state's official documents and regulations, employers' hiring and firing practices and young women's job seeking, finding and accepting processes, in micro-level as well.

Chapter five focuses on labour-capital matching process or the bargain between young woman and employer. Young women's decision of having a paid work outside, their work commitment, dimensions of their job seeking, finding, accepting process, their job priorities, on the one hand, employers' employment practices and approaches to employment and unemployment of young women, on the other hand, are examined, discussed and reflected to each other. However, reasons of young women's unemployment can not solely be examined within the bargaining process between young woman and employer. In fact, young women's unemployment is a structural problem and the reasons of young women's unemployment and the decisive role of institutions on it can not be exhibited adequately without discussing operations of these institutions reproducing and pursuing patriarchal capitalist premises about women's employment. In this context, *Chapter six* traces the reasons of young

women's unemployment in job searching process, human capital discussions, macro-economic policies and debates, state's and family's approach to young women's unemployment and mainstream configuration of trade unions.

Finally, in *chapter 7*, the previous discussions and findings of the study are summarized, overviewed, blended and implications of this study is introduced.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to examine theoretical approaches in which reasons of women's unemployment are theorized and to clarify conceptual framework of study to construct a background for further discussions. Theoretical approaches to women's unemployment are grouped as non-feminist and feminist approaches, in order to expose gender blind or patriarchal nature of non-feminist explanations. In this context, after sounding and challenging unsatisfactory points in non-feminist explanations, chapter goes on with propounding standpoint of this study and discussing different feminist theoretical approaches to young women's unemployment. As a final point, the chapter ends with introducing the model of the study.

2.2 Non-Feminist Approaches to Women's Unemployment

Non-feminist approaches to women's unemployment, composed of Human Capital Theory, Parsonian Functionalism and Preference Theory, have the same structure of argument in that they take household as an economic unit, emphasize on women's position in the family, explain women's unemployment as a result of this position and consider this configuration functional both for its members and for society as a whole (Schultz, 1981; Becker, 1981; Walby, 1990). Although non-feminist approaches acknowledge inferiority of women's labour in labour market, this inferiority is not explored within the scope of patriarchal power relations or not approached as an area of struggle. Rather, non-feminist approaches affirm or reproduce women's secondary position in labour market and trivialize their unemployment towards functionality of gender-based division of labour.

2.2.1 Parsonian Functionalism

Family is considered as an organic unit essential to survival of society by Parsonian Functionalism as it provided a secure environment for the procreation and rearing of young species. "Within the family, women were regarded as being best suited to carrying out

‘expressive’ roles such as caring, while men focused on ‘instrumental’ roles, such as breadwinning. The division of labour was considered functional for both the family and society more generally” (Rees, 1992:23). In other words, without challenging the division of labour between men and women, functionalist sociologists argued that it was necessary for women to undertake expressive roles composed of physical and mental servicing of men and children and it was socially functional for men to undertake externally oriented instrumental roles such as breadwinning (Walby, 1990:30; Abbot, Wallace & Tyler, 2005:237).

Within this scope, although Parsonian Functionalism explains women’s lesser involvement in paid work as a result of their primary position in the family (Walby, 1990:30), Parsonian Functionalist premises do not challenge division of roles between men and women as homemaker and breadwinner, rather, by perceiving this division as socially functional, these premises reproduce women’s exclusion from labour market and trivialize women’s unemployment. Indeed, discussing women’s unemployment within the scope of Parsonian Functionalist approach leads to the assumption that women’s unemployment is functional for society as working is not women’s primary responsibility.

2.2.2 Human Capital Theory

Human Capital School define human capital as total of persons abilities that they can sell to an employer. “It is a concept similar to skill, but broader, since it includes not only training and qualifications, but job experience as well” (Walby, 1990:29). The starting point of Human Capital School is questioning women’s being paid less than men in labour market. According to Human Capital Theory “people get paid according to their value to their employer” (Walby, 1990:29) and women’s having lower wages than men is explained by their having less skills, lower labour market experiences and fewer qualifications than men as a consequence of sexual division of labour or *traditional division of labour* between men and women (Mincer and Polachek, 1974).

In the same manner, Human Capital School explores women’s unemployment or employment by their low human capital. According to Human Capital Theory, education and training are perceived as significant determinants of employment and earning and it is assumed that acquiring necessary skills, qualifications and trainings would enhance women’s employment and earning capacity (Mitra & Singh, 2006:779). It is also argued that women’s investment on their human capital is obstructed or interrupted by their responsibilities in

household generating disadvantage for them in employment. As argued by Rees (1992:23), “As men accrue more experience in the workplace, they develop competitive edge. As women concentrate on nurturing, and therefore have time out of the labor force, they inevitably amass fewer marketable skills than men”. In other words;

Women’s work as carers of children (and also husband and elderly parents) precludes their acquisition of as many qualifications and as much labour force experience as men. This is partly because of the actual time spent in these tasks, which entails women leaving labour market for several years. It is also because of the expectation of performing such work means that women are less likely to spend time acquiring qualifications, since they expect to spend less time using them. (Walby,1990:29)

However, Human Capital School’s emphasis on domestic responsibilities as an obstacle to investment on human capital does not include a challenge to traditional division of labour. As highly influenced by Parsonian Functionalism, examined in 2.2.1, traditional division of labour is considered as functional for sustaining the family and society by Human Capital Scholars. It is the reflection of the Human Capital School’s argument that labour market outcomes are the consequences of rational choices. This means that the household, not the individual, is the unit of decision making; that there is a household work strategy, not one of the individuals, and in this household, as an economic unit, one of its members concentrate in domestic work and one on paid work is more efficient than both spouses to do some of each (Walby,1990:29-30). In this view, individuals and their families make analogous decisions regarding human capital investments and women’s low human capital is their individual choices and preferences (Mincer & Polachek, 1974:317). Accordingly, in its own premises, human capital approach reproduces women’s inferior situation in human capital and hinders women’s chance of employment by presenting it as functional and rational choices of women and family and by legitimating families’ and employers’ male preferences in human capital investment.

Human Capital Approach emphasizes on women’s discontinuous working patterns as an obstacle to their human capital investment and employment. Although it is acknowledged that discontinuity in labour force participation obstructs women’s investment on their human capital, as it is seen as rational and functional for society and the preferences of women, it is not problematized by this approach. According to Mincer & Polachek (1974), women’s, especially married women’s and mother’s, discontinuous labour force participation or their withdraw from labour market reflects the way women plan their life in a different way

compared with that of men affecting their decisions about education, training and occupational choice. In this context, it can be said that human capital approach legitimates employer's reluctance towards providing on-the-job training opportunities to women workers due to their discontinuous labour force participation. In fact, in accordance with the claims of Mincer (1962), the human capital school contends that women receive less on-the-job training, making them less valuable to employers and therefore more likely to be fired or not hired. In other words, human capital school proves employers' assumption that women will have a lower degree of attachment to the firm than men, and prefer to train male workers who will wish to work continuously. Women's lower degree of training is said to cause them to be less productive than men, resulting in their lower average wages (Sinclair, 1991:5).

In line with this argument, taking women's discontinuous working history as a starting point, Polachek combine Human Capital Theory with Occupational Segregation argument. According to Polachek's segregation theory while women are out of labour force, their job skills are usually depreciating rather than appreciating. Within this scope, in accordance with the premises of Polachek;

Women choose occupations for which their lesser skills will give them the best rewards, in which they are least penalized for their intermittent work patterns. Women's occupations are considered to require fewer skills than are men's and to attach fewer penalties to interrupted work histories. (Walby,1990:31)

However, according to England's analysis (1982), Polachek's explanation of occupational segregation, based on human capital theory, is not supported. England argues that (1982:358), "there is no evidence that plans for intermittent employment make women's choice traditionally female occupation economically rational"; Second, "women with more continuous employment histories are no less apt than other women to be in predominantly female occupations"; and finally she concludes that "human capital theory has not generated an explanation of occupational sex segregation that fits the evidence".

On the other hand, explaining occupational segregation as a functional and rational choice of women legitimates women's exclusion from male-intensive occupations and conceals patriarchal nature of employers' decision making about employment. When division of labour is acknowledged as functional or not taken into account as an area of patriarchal power relations or struggle, employers' discriminative hiring and firing practices towards women are legitimated or validated, women's chance of employment in labour market is

restrained and women's unemployment is trivialized. As emphasized by Walby (1990:32), "the neglect of institutionalized power relations which structure the labor market unequally for men and women lies at the heart of the failure of human capital theory and its related sociological equivalents".

2.2.3 Preference Theory

Preference theory is developed by Hakim for examining the dimensions of women's attitudes towards work, especially their labour force participation patterns with regards to women's polarized behavioural patterns in labour market. According to Hakim (1995:29-30), "feminist sociology has gone on to create a new sets of feminist myths to replace the old patriarchal myths about women's attitudes and behaviour", composed of women's rising employment, sex differential in commitment and work orientation, employment stability among women and part-time workers, childcare problems and sex-differentials in turn-over rate. In this context, evaluating or exploring Preference Theory's premises about women's position in labour market is important as women's work commitment or work orientations, turn-over rates and childcare problems are discussed as dimensions of unemployment. Hakim's Preference Theory assumes that;

Female population divides into two fairly equal sectors. The first group of women are committed to career and therefore, invest in training and qualifications, and generally achieve higher grade occupations and higher paid jobs which they pursue full time for the most part. The second group of women give priority to the marriage career, do not invest in what economists term 'human capital', transfer quickly and permanently to part time work as soon as a breadwinner husband permits it, choose undemanding jobs 'with no worries or responsibilities' when they do work and are hence found concentrated in lower grade and lower paid jobs which offer convenient working hours with which they are perfectly happy. (Hakim, 1995:434)

In this view point, although it is accepted that employers perceive female labour in a different light from male workers such as they are perceived to be less-career conscious, with weaker or no commitment to paid work, less likely to seek training and promotion, less-likely to approach their job with a long term perspective and unwilling to take on responsibilities at work that would compete with their domestic responsibilities, this perception is not interpreted as employers' prejudices, rather it is considered as an outcome of a feminist myth insisting on the assumption that women's work commitment is the same as that of men.

Furthermore, Preference Approach points at the fact that differentiation of women's work commitment is contributing to occupational segregation in which women who appreciate their traditional role and are less committed to their jobs intensify in especially part-time jobs in labour market. From this point of view, women's part-time job preference can not be perceived as an unwilling choice imposed on women, rather it should be interpreted as an outcome of their work commitment (Hakim, 1995). Therefore, in contrast to the premises of feminist sociologists who have argued that women's employment patterns are the outcomes of structural factors determining women's job priorities and choices, the exclusionary tactics used by men, or gendered ideologies which are patriarchal in essence, it is argued that women positively choose low-paid, low-status part-time work that fits with their domestic and familial roles with regards to their work commitment, which they themselves see as a priority. However, explaining occupational segregation and women's job priorities as their individual preferences conceal patriarchal nature of occupational segregation and employers' discriminatory practices against women's labour. Moreover, perceiving women's vulnerability in human capital investment as an outcome of their preferences also obscures patriarchal and compelling nature of division of labour between men and women.

Within the scope of Preference Theory, the problem of childcare as a barrier in women's employment and labour force participation is considered as another feminist myth. By supporting her argument with findings of different studies, such as Humpries & Rubery's study (1992), Hakim argues that childcare and childcare cost have only limited impact on women's work decisions. According to her (1995:438), "all women respond to the economic costs of labour force withdrawal; only women with no work commitment (who actively prefer a homemaking role) are influenced by financial pressures and the job convenience factors". In this context, women's turn-over rates or discontinuous working histories, one dimension of which is lackness of childcare provisions in labour market, is explained by women's different work commitment. Indeed, according to Hakim (1995:448), "women have high turn-over rates than men due to different work orientations, not because of female dominated are organized by employers so as to produce artificially high turn-over rates". In this context, Preference Approach legitimates women's exclusion from rewarding jobs and being discriminated by employers by reasons of women's quitting tendency and additional cost it charges.

Of these, the most important behavioural difference was women's higher rates of absenteeism, higher labour turnover and lower employment stability with one employer, all giving rise to additional costs for employers. Employers' investment in the on-the-job training offered a lower return for female workers, who were less likely to stay with the

firm, due to more job-hopping to leaving workforce for domestic reasons; there were also the extra recruitment costs of replacing workers who left. (Hakim, 1999:442)

Accordingly, from Hakim's point of view, women's position in labour market - women's labour force participation, employment and unemployment- is voluntarily chosen by them or a matter of free choice. In other words, "Hakim's argument implies that there is neither capitalism nor patriarchy, nor any structure that affects women's labour force participation. Rather, women make their own choices; they decide about their work career" (Atasü-Topçuoğlu, 2005:41). Although it can not be assumed that all women are career oriented, women's inferior position in labour market, their discontinuous working history, gender-based occupational segregation and unemployment can not be explained as outcomes of women's individual free choices. Indeed, explaining women's inferiority in labour market as their preferences reproduces unequal gender based division of labour, hides or legitimates employers' discriminatory practices against women and reproduces male dominance in rewarding, stable, full time jobs reproducing male control over women's labour. Moreover, as supported by study of Crompton & Le Feuvre' (1996), without considering life courses of women and socially constructed expectations shaping their orientations to work, it can not be assumed that women's quitting their jobs due to their difficulty in coping with conflicting demands of work and home and preferring less rewarding jobs, such as part-time jobs, are outcomes of their being less career-oriented or having less work commitment. Rather, the patriarchal ideological structure determining norms and values and shaping 'preferences' should be taken into account. Otherwise, without challenging patriarchal structural bases of women's unemployment, as implied by the premises of Preference theory, the reason of their unemployment is remained to their free, rational and functional preferences and choices.

2.3 Theoretical Standpoint of the Study: Why Feminist Standpoint?

Pursuant to discussions about unsatisfactory and gender-blind nature of non-feminist approaches, the perspective of this study is based on an assumption that reasons of young women's unemployment can not be examined and explained by gender-blind theoretical explanations and methodological approaches. This study strongly emphasizes that without taking into account of the criticisms that feminists have made of traditional sociological theory and reformulating these theories to take account of feminist perspectives, "sociology will continue to produce only limited accounts of the social world which feminists have argued, are complicit in the subordination of women" (Abbott, Wallace & Tyler, 2005:17).

From this starting point, this study also disapproves or challenges gender-blind explorations of young women's unemployment due to their reproducing patriarchy in which women's and young women's unemployment is both trivialized and normalized, in which male dominance in both public and private sphere is both refreshed and strengthened.

As patriarchal premises are implicit in non-feminist theoretical approaches, theoretically, unemployment has long been seen as a problem related to men. Despite unemployment rates of women and young women are generally higher than that of men's, women's unemployment experiences which can not be reduced to men's experiences have been still excluded from explorations. As emphasized by Bruegel (1979:14), "unemployment amongst women is newer considered the personal and social problem which male unemployment is" with regards to the ideology in the form of the notion that a women's place is in the home. In this context, this study insists that any kind of analysis explaining women's unemployment by simulating their unemployment experiences to men's will reproduce patriarchal premises, the main reason of women's unemployment, and fail to provide strengthening solutions for women's position in labour market. Therefore, this study leans its perspective on challenging and reconstructing patriarchal premises in traditional theory in the light of feminist theoretical and methodological premises. Indeed, feminism is not just an inclusion of women to analysis, rather it is deconstruction and reconstruction of traditional theories and methodologies which go beyond adding women to analysis. The main patriarchal premises implicit in traditional gender-blind approaches can be formulated as;

- 1- All women are married. If they haven't been married yet, they will get married at the end; similarly, all women have or will have a child.
- 2- All women are/must financially depend on their kinsmen (their father or husband or brother).
- 3- Women are/ must be in the status of 'housewife'; their productive capacity makes them specialize in this status.
- 4- Women's labour force is not productive in industry sector (in this point it is not clear whether they are less productive than men or least of all).
- 5- Women are irrational. They are out of being economic unit. Therefore, they are unreliable in making true economic decisions. (Pujol,1995:18-26, as cited in Serdaroğlu & Özkaplan, 1998:9-10).

It is clear that starting from these premises contributes and reproduces women's subordination in employment and unemployment. Accordingly, feminist standpoint assumes that without deconstruction and reconstruction of entire system of knowledges (Gross, 1986:196), the reasons of young women's unemployment can not be revealed.

On the other hand, by affirming patriarchal premises, gender-blind explorations do not perceive women's unemployment as a kind of discrimination as well. In line with the classification of Niemi & Lloyd (1975), detailed in 2.5.3, this study perceives discrimination in two dimensions, direct and indirect discrimination. By this way, reasons of young women's unemployment are ruptured from its patriarchal essence, reeked every part of society and reproduced in every practices of individuals. However, following the definition of Cockburn (1991:6, as cited in Eyüboğlu et al., 2000:7), patriarchy as an alliance of social relations based on material foundation, including menwise hierarchal relations in its structure, presenting a solidarity amongst men and providing men to power of controlling women, is not only implicit in sexuality and family relations but in whole parts of society including production. Patriarchy is structural rather than casual, prevailing rather than local, permanent rather than temporary and have tendency of reproducing itself. In this context, by adopting Cockburn's definition of patriarchy (1991), this study tries to follow traces of young women's unemployment not only in employers' discriminatory practices but also in its institutional dimensions that make family, state, economy and young women as addressees of young women's unemployment discussions.

Finally, another important characteristic of feminist standpoint is it's combining theory and practice or its articulating social and political. Although its form is varied by the confronted hegemonic structure, gender inequalities are sources of exploitation and areas of contestation and struggle. In this context, this study explains young women's unemployment towards feminist theoretical explanations, examining suggestions of different theoretical explanations and points at the importance of political activity in breaking patriarchal barriers in front of women's empowerment.

2.4 Feminist Approaches to Women's Unemployment

After introducing standpoint of this study, in this subsection different feminist theories' approaches to young women's unemployment are examined to construct theoretical basis for further discussions.

2.4.1 Reformist Approach to Young Women's Unemployment

Reformist approach is represented by Liberal feminism. Within the frame of Liberal Feminism, women's entrance to public sphere, their employment and labour force

participation, is critical. According to liberal feminists, “women’s unequal position is a result of artificial barriers to women’s full participation in the public sphere (beyond the home and the family), and hence their inability to fulfill their potential as human beings (as men’s equals)” (Abbott, Wallace & Tyler, 2005:32).

In that vein, with regards to employment and unemployment, Liberal Feminist approaches to work have essentially focused on identification of barriers to women’s full access to opportunities in the labour market. “Campaigns have centered on legislation; for example, equal pay and the removal of more obvious forms of sex discrimination in education and employment” (Rees, 1992:25). Within this scope, young women’s unemployment is designated as a matter of young women’s unequal access to opportunities and discrimination in labour - capital matching process. It is assumed that it can be overcome by legal regulations -including access to education, employment opportunities, job searching channels and institutions- enabling young women to compete equally with men for employment opportunities in labour market. Liberal Feminist approach reduces the struggle against gender-gap in unemployment rates to legal regulations.

Although legal legislations’ implications on improving women’s position in labour market should not be ignored, as emphasized by Rees (1992:25), “Liberal Feminism offers no fundamental challenge to the status quo; rather, it seeks to secure equal access for women to the existing system”. In other words, “their faith in legislation and education as the ‘solutions’ to gender discrimination ignores invisible, structural or cultural constraints that might defy such practices” (Abbott, Wallace & Tyler, 2005:33). Moreover, in a society in which gender perspective is not dominant or mainstream and in which deconstruction of patriarchal system is not a main aim, regulations, perceived in the interests of women, would be main tools of women’s subordination in the labour market. As argued by Briar (1997:177);

...even policies promoting equal treatment for men and women at work still produce unequal outcomes when the realities of most women’s domestic responsibilities are wilfully ignored by legislations. We have also seen the use of generic and inclusive language increasingly being used to disguise discrimination. For example, discussion by policy-makers of the caring responsibilities of ‘parents’ almost invariably refers to mothers, since fathers are increasingly expected to work hours that are incompatible with parenting.

This implies the necessity of challenging existing patriarchal system and its’ operation in whole society in policy making to improve women’s position in private sphere.

On the other hand, implementing *positive affirmative action* measures such as quotas for increasing or encouraging women's employment is on the agenda of Liberal Feminism offered as tools of breaking barriers in front of women's entrance to labour market and employment. As emphasized by Tong (1989:29), welfare liberal feminist conceives positive affirmative action measures as a kind of so-called reverse discrimination. However, in accordance with the general criticism at Liberal Feminism, Positive Affirmative Action Measures are also criticised with regards to their inability to attack patriarchal ideological configuration of existing system. For instance, women's low human capital as a reason for their unemployment is seen as their lackness rather than the system, and it is assumed that affirmative action will restore this situation by giving priority to them in vocational training courses of national employment institution. In other words, as argued by Rees (1992:25),

Positive Action Measures more generally are on the whole predicated upon the belief that if women cannot gain access to the organization, or its upper reaches, then there must be specific barriers which inhibit their progress: These are often construed as being located in women's own attributes, or lack of them, rather than in the structure of the organization itself. Appropriate training or the accomodation of domestic commitments through rearranging hours, are perceived as potential solutions. They leave the issue of power relations between men and women in the organization and in the home, and the matter of the domestic division of labour, untouched.

Shortly, discussions point at the fact that although effectiveness of legal regulations, including positive affirmative action measures, are not neglected or blamed, it is clear that they can be a starting point, a plaster applied to the young women's unemployment, but can not be a main struggle form.

2.4.2 Gendered Aspects of Capitalism and Young Women's Unemployment

Marxist Feminism theorises women's position in labour market and home by focusing on capitalist relations and emphasizes on family as a key site of women's oppression. According to Marxist Feminist premises "capitalist labour processes facilitate and reinforce patriarchal relations through penetrating households" (Allen & Wolkowitz, 1987:12). As capital and private poverty are perceived as causes of women's oppression, Marxist Feminist perspective see women's liberation in women's becoming wage workers like men and their joining with men in the revolutionary struggle against capitalism. By recognising capitalism as the root of women's oppression, it is believed that the end of capitalism will end the seperation between private and public implying the end of oppression of both men and

women (Hartmann, 1981:3-4). In this context, Marxist Feminist Approach deflect women's struggle against patriarchy to struggle against capitalism and designate men and women as stakeholders in this struggle.

Capitalism may thus be redefined as a dynamic and shifting patriarchal socio-economic system, which controls and exploits subordinate men by giving them privileges relative to women, including the ability to control and exploit women in the paid workforce, through heterosexual relationships and in the family. In this system, both men and women, and their children, are constrained by women's economic dependence on men. In these circumstances, the most revolutionary action working men could take would be to refuse to be bribed and instead to work alongside women to change the system. (Briar, 1997:174)

In other words, Marxist Feminists redefine capitalism within the frame of patriarchy, acknowledge male dominance and superiority in labour market and invite men and women to collaborate with each other to end capitalist system, the root of oppressions. It is the reflection of the argument that patriarchy, the oppression of women by men, is perceived as by-product of the capitalist mode of production, capital's domination over labour (Zaretsky, 1976; Walby, 1990; Rees,1992). Although Marxist accounts of gender relations in labour market are important in conceptualizing these within the relations between capital and labour, "they all ultimately fail for this same reason –the over-concentration on the capital-labour relation at the expense of a theorization of gender as an independent source of inequality" (Walby, 1990:38). Marxist Feminists have said little about women's oppression by men, "when Marxist Feminists speak about women's oppression, they argue that capital is the primary oppressor of women as workers and men are, at most, the secondary oppressors of women as women" (Tong, 1989:63).

Familism: Family As a Key Site of Women's Oppression

Marxist Feminist perspective emphasises on concrete, structural aspects of social organization and finds bases of women's oppression in family and domestic division of labour. Marxist Feminists argue that women's role in the family benefits capitalism in three basic ways:

1. Women perform domestic labour on an unpaid basis, and provide care for the current (and increasingly the previous) generation of workers;
 2. Women's also reproduce and socialise the next generation of workers;
 3. Women consume the goods and services produced by capitalism'.
- (Abbott, Wallace & Tyler, 2005:36)

In this context, Marxist Feminist analysis of the relationship between family and capitalism claims that bourgeois nuclear or monogamous family in which men are designated as breadwinner and women as homemaker was formed as a part of the strategy of the ruling class to maintain control over the economic surpluses by dominating male control over women (Engels, 1940, as cited in Walby, 1990:70). In other words, the family is considered to benefit capital by providing a cheap way of production and reproduction activities. “It is cheap because women as housewives do this for no wage, merely receiving main tenance from their husbands. Thus, capital benefits from the unequal sexual division of labour within the home” (Walby, 1990:4).

In this sense, women’s and young women’s labour force participation, unemployment and employment is not an urgent problem for capitalist, waiting for solution. Rather, women’s remaining at home is in the interest of capitalist due to women’s integration to capitalist production and contribution to capital accumulation behind doors of their home by bearing and rearing of the next labour force and servicing the needs of existing male workers. Moreover, ‘familism’ generates important implications on women’s employment process or employers’ decision-making about hiring and firing. As mentioned by Glass & Kawacci (2005:81),

Traditional gender ideologies may influence would-be employers in their decisions about hiring and firing, and promotions. Thus, many women may be forced out of the labour force as a result of discriminatory practices by employers, who believe that men, not women, should support families through paid work.

In other words, the *de facto* position of women in the family and gender-based domestic division of labour is in the benefit of capitalist system, reinforces or legitimates discrimination against women in labour market and trivializes women’s unemployment as a social problem.

Reserve Army of Labour Thesis

In traditional Marxist account reserve army of labour is described as a device to suppress labour’s demand in labour market through the availability of a pool of workers. The logic of reserve army is easy; as capital accumulated or in order to accumulate, certain workers are discarded out of employment into a reserve army and recruited again when the need arose (Bruegel, 1979:12; Rees, 1992:26).

Although traditional Marxist theory is gender-blind, according to Marxist Feminists, the extension of women's involvement in wage labour make them an important part of what Marx saw as the industrial reserve army. Following the arguments of Beechey (1977, 1978), it is based on an assumption that women's labour is drawn in or thrown out of labour market in response to the labour market conditions with regards to their secondary status in labour market as an outcome of their role in the family. As argued by Elson & Pearson (1986:78),

The main characteristics of this secondary status are that women's rates of pay tend to be lower than those of men doing similar or comparable jobs: and that women tend to form a 'reserve army' of labour, easily fired when firms want to cut back on their labour force, and easily re-hired when firms want to expand again. This tends to be explained in terms of 'women's roles in the family' or 'women's reproductive role. In a sense this explanation may be true, but it is ambiguous in that for many people 'women's role in the family', 'women's reproductive role' is an ahistorical fact, given by biology.

It is the reflection of implicit patriarchal premises in capital accumulation. As argued by Walby (1990:35), "married women in particular can be used in this way because they have somewhere to go and something to do when employers no longer need their services". In other words, a married woman who lost her job or wants a job, but is unable to find one may 'disappear' from unemployment rolls into the home, where she can busy herself with family and home and whose unemployment does not generate a reaction in society. In this way, by using women's role in the family as a base, employers can easily use women's labour as a 'last in first out' input for production in periods of restructuring and downsizing process (Fernandez- Kelly, 1994).

Although Marxist Feminist examination of gender relations is critical with regards to its giving clues of the articulation between capitalism and patriarchy, as indicated by studies of Bruegel (1979), Walby (1989), Rees (1992), reserve army of labour thesis does not provide a full and clear account of differentiation of experiences of women and men labour in labour market on the ground of more emphasis on capitalist power relations than patriarchal power relations. Moreover, it is argued that there is no evidence for women's being reserve army of labour (Bruegel, 1979) and the expansion of service sector, women's intensification in it, implies that women's low-paid and part-time employment, relative to men's, has been protected them from redundancy in recession times (Rees, 1992; Fine, 1992). In this context, it is argued that "in essence gender segregation is a major stumbling block to the conceptualization of women as a reserve army" (Rees, 1992:27). In other words, in seeking explanations for women's employment and unemployment, an important starting point

should be occupational segregation, given the rejection of the reserve-army hypothesis and segregation should be perceived to be a major source of women's inequality in, not just of employment (Fine, 1992:70).

2.4.3 The Articulation of Capitalism and Patriarchy and Young Women's Unemployment

Socialist Feminist Perspective is largely the outcome of the insufficiency or incompetency of Marxist Feminist examination of gender relations or Marxist Feminist explanations of women's oppression in labour market. As emphasized by Hartmann (1981), employment, unemployment and patriarchal relations in labour market can not be understood in terms of capitalism alone because patriarchy predates the rise of capitalist system. In other words, by following Zetkin's lead,

Many contemporary Socialist Feminists have become convinced that living in a class society is not only, or even primary, cause of women's oppression as women. As Socialist Feminists see it, traditional Marxist Feminists are able to explain how capitalism caused the separation of the workplace from the homestead and why homestead activities were gradually devalued; but they are unable to explain adequately why capitalism assigned *women* to the homestead and *men* to the workplace. (Tong, 1989:174)

On the other hand, Socialist Feminist perspective considers women's oppression in labour market as an outcome of continuing articulation of two interlocking systems, capitalism and patriarchy and it tries to formulate the relationship between them. According to this approach, these two systems are exploitative systems reinforcing and supporting each other (Hartmann, 1990:148). As patriarchy is designated as a system can not be equalized to capitalism, according to Dual System and Unified System feminists, struggling against inequality between women and men is something more than struggling against inequality generated by capitalist system. "An end to capitalism, they argue, will not lead automatically to the emancipation of woman (hence, gender inequalities in socialist and communist societies) – women also need to fight to free themselves from control by men" (Abbott, Wallace & Tyler, 2005:28).

In this context, socialist feminist account of women's oppression tries to reveal how the articulation between capitalism and patriarchy determines who fill particular places in labour market and bases its analysis largely on introducing *gender-based occupational segregation*.

The socialist feminist examination of women's position in labour market and gender based segregation are important standpoints for this study. Indeed, the examination of reasons of young women's unemployment in this study is based on Socialist Feminist perspective of the articulation between capitalism and patriarchy in an unified system approach. In contrast to dual system theorists, unified system theorists such as Eisenstein, Young and Jaggar, do not conceptualise capitalism and patriarchy as separate systems, rather as a unified body. In order to provide a unified configuration, unified system theorist uses one conceptual stance to explain all dimensions of women's oppression, such as Young used the concept of 'division of labour' and Jaggar used 'alienation'.

Using one concept derived from economic relations to examine women's subordination does not provide a comprehensive explanation due to its reducing patriarchy to capitalism while trying to unite it with capitalism. However, unified system theorists are right in their insistence on the fact there is no space in capitalism free from patriarchy. Accordingly, unified system theorists examination of women's oppression in the unity of capitalism and patriarchy is a valuable analytical tool to understand special form of patriarchy in contemporary capitalist societies. Within this scope, as this study focuses on the reasons of young women's unemployment in a capitalist society, the relationship between capitalism and patriarchy is perceived as a unity.

From Exclusion to Segregation: Segmented Labour Market Theory

At the beginning, women's oppression was discussed in relation to women's exclusion from public sphere or paid employment and women's labour force participation and employment are perceived as emancipatory by feminist theorists of Liberal and Marxist Feminism. However, women's increasing labour force participation unveils that women's oppression can not be overcome by disposing their exclusion from public sphere. In fact, women's exclusion from organized power, certain jobs and occupations in labour market or segmentation of labour market through gender with regards to the articulation between capitalism and patriarchy sustains and reproduces male dominance in both public and private sphere. As argued by Walby (1990, as cited in Bradley, Erickson, Stephenson & Williams, 2002:85), "there has been a significant shift from private forms of patriarchal control, exercised by individual men in families, to public forms, embedded in the structural arrangements of paid employment and the state".

Although men have no longer able to exclude women totally from labour market, Walby's examination does not imply that male control over women's labour in private sphere is overcome and transformed to public patriarchy. Rather, according to Walby (1986:86, as cited in Fine, 1992:55,56),

Struggles over female employment have usually resulted in one of two outcomes: the exclusion of women from the area of employment in question; or the segregation of women into jobs which are separated from those of men and which are graded lower. Segregation is often the result of the struggle when patriarchal forces have been insufficiently strong to exclude women altogether.

In this context, it can be assumed that men's dissatisfaction with their women's working is ongoing and they use every particular tool provided by patriarchy to impede their women from entering to public sphere. Men's dissatisfaction with their women's working is based on a fear of losing their control over their women's labour. As argued by Elson & Pearson (1986:84), the fact that a working wife will be subject to the authority of other men who are not in any family relation to them may be powerful reason for a husband wishing to confine his wife to the home. This dissatisfaction gives birth to another patriarchal or gendered control mechanism, *getting permission*, obligating women to get permission for working from a man. In fact, as summarized by Serdaroğlu & Özkaplan (1998:10), women's labour force participation and employment is restricted by reproduced patriarchal premises which assumes that 'women's job searching should depend on 'household decision' (Becker, 1981:46), (accordingly, job searching is not an individual decision for women anymore), 'women's working outside of the home obstructs their performing their domestic tasks and rearing their children properly' (Marshall, 1930:721), 'women who have child under the age of 3 should be dismissed from factories. Mother's working should be banned and women workers' wages should be decreased' (Jevons, 1904:167-172; Pigou, 1960:188). It is the reflection of the fact women's position in the working life is still being evaluated in the same manner; by giving priority to their motherhood and housewife roles which are considered as their primary socially accepted duties. In this context, this perspective legitimates men's deeming women suitable to inferior jobs, excluding women from 'their' jobs and emphasizing how women are different from men due to their "natural" roles as wives and mothers. This perspective enables men to preserve their advantaged position in the society as well (Reskin, 1991, as cited in Kardam & Toksöz, 2004:170).

In addition to their fear of losing their control over their women's labour, men's efforts to exclude women from labour market or male hostility against women's employment is an

outcome of their fear of losing their dominant and advantage position in labour market as well. Especially in periods represented by ongoing high unemployment and low employment rates, working women are perceived as a threat to dominance of men and evaluated as practicing unfair competitive practices against men for employment in spite of their necessity of earning income (Eyüboğlu et al., 2000:10). This perception makes women the guilty of high unemployment or low employment rates and becomes a means of excluding them from employment opportunities by means of gender-based division of labour.

That male workers viewed the employment of women as threat to their job is not surprising, given an economic system in which competition among workers was characteristic. That women were paid lower wages exacerbated the threat. But why their response was to attempt to exclude women rather than to organize them is explained not by capitalism but by patriarchal relations between men and women: Men wanted to assure that women would continue to perform the appropriate tasks at home. (Hartmann, 1990: 159-160)

Therefore, male workers have played and continue to play a crucial role in maintaining gender based division of roles in labour market to maintain their power over women both in public and private sphere. Gender-based division of labour propounded as a reason of women's exclusion from public sphere becomes a reason of women's exclusion from advantages in public sphere or their segmentation into inferior positions in labour market.

Walby (1990:53) makes a critical distinction between segregation and exclusion: "the exclusion strategy is aimed at totally preventing women's access to an area of employment; the segregation is a weaker strategy aimed at separating women's from men's work and at grading the former beneath the latter for purposes of remuneration and status". It is the reflection of the fact that "patriarchal ideology labels workers through their role in the family" (Elson & Pearson, 1986), and employers' decision making about employing a woman is based on domestic division of labour and male breadwinner model. Despite their heavy participation in the labour market, women have been seen as secondary workers, often unable to commit themselves fully to their jobs and to pursue their careers because of double role as workers and main providers of care for the household. As emphasized by Benston (as cited in Tong, 1989:53), "when women are working outside the home, they must somehow manage to get both outside job and housework done (or they supervise a substitute for the housework). Women, particularly married women with children, who work outside the home simply do two jobs; their participation in the labour force is only allowed if they continue to fulfill their first responsibility in the home. Equal access to jobs outside the home, while one

of the preconditions for women; as long as work in the home remains a matter of private production and is the responsibility of women, they will simply carry a double work-load” contributing to their segmentation and discrimination in labour market. In other words, as argued by Bruegel (1979:14), “ideology in the form of the notion that a women’s place is in the home may well contribute to greater vulnerability of women to unemployment”.

Marxist Feminist conceptualization of Segmented Labour Market theory is developed by Beechey (1977,1978). She determines two main markets within labour market as primary and secondary markets differentiated in terms of wage rates, working conditions and social rights and indicates women’s segregation into secondary labour market of unskilled, unsecure and unimportant jobs. Although Beechey’s examination is important to reveal gender based segmentation, she does not give clues of reasons for and mechanisms of segmentation. On the other hand, Cockburn (1988) considers segmentation in relation to patriarchal ideology implicating in capitalist economic practices. Cockburn (1988) points at systematic gendering of labour, occupations and jobs and reproduction of patriarchal culture in capitalist workplaces generating segmentation and hierarchy among labour. According to her “in the culture produced at the capitalist workplace, women are stereotyped as unambitious, generally preferring traditional jobs, not so eager for promotion” (as cited in Atasü-Topçuoğlu, 2005:56) giving base to employers discriminatory practices against women and propounded as a reason for their unemployment. However, Cockburn (1988) perceives women’s inferiority or gender inequality as an outcome of capitalist relations and undermines or ignores the decisive role of patriarchy in enculturation.

In this context, it is clear that examination of women’s inferior position in labour market requires an unified system perspective in which it is handled as an outcome of the articulation between capitalism and patriarchy. Mills (2003) elaborates the boundaries of Marxist Feminist examination and considers gender based segmentation within the scope of the articulation between capitalism and patriarchy. According to Mills (2003:42);

Yet today, more than in any previous era, the gendered and ethnically segmented labour pool upon which capitalist accumulation depends encompasses every corner of the globe. Considering the wide range of settings and diverse labour practices to which they contribute, it is clear that patriarchal ideologies and related gender inequalities are significant, even constitutive, features of the global economy. In complex and multifaceted ways, gendered hierarchies help to produce segmented and flexible global labour force. However, the ways in which hegemonic gender meanings structure the lived experiences of actual women and men vary widely.

According to Miles (2003), women's status as wives and mothers justifies their lower wages and job insecurity and employers take advantage of gender definitions in segmenting the labour market, and by doing so they also reproduce the culture of work in which women are subordinated. Configuration of gender-inequality in the articulation between capitalism and patriarchy points at employers' role in reproducing male dominance in labour market. In other words, it reflects "the role of men as capitalist in creating hierarchies in the production process in order to maintain their power. Capitalist do this by segmenting the labour market (along race, sex, and ethnic lines among others) and playing workers off against each other" (Hartmann, 1990:147).

In a Marxist feminist account, "employers are seen to segment the labour market as a part of a divide-and-rule strategy. This prevents the homogenization of the proletariat and their ability collectively to resist the demands of capital" (Walby,1990:38). Segmentation of labour market through gender also reflects the invisible handshake between capitalism and patriarchy functioning in the interest of individual man and employer. Indeed, "employers benefit from the 'hegemonic capacity of patriarchal norms to define women's labour as not only 'cheap' but also socially and economically worthless" (Mills, 2003:43). This socially and economically worthless labour force has become crucial for global capital accumulation (Wright, 1999; 2001, as cited in Mills, 2003). In this context, employers do not hesitate to reproduce patriarchal premises in their decision making about employment and conducting a strategy "suitably qualified women are allowed access the employment opportunities in the labour market only after the available men have been appointed" (Briar, 1997:171). This implies that the capitalism is the creator of empty places in the labour market but it is patriarchy determining who will fill those empty places. In other words, as mentioned by Hartmann (1981:13);

Patriarchy is not simply hierarchial organization, but hierarchy in which particular people fill particular places.

This placement is in the interest of general male labour and employers, cleared by the discussions in chapter 3 and 4.

Gender-based Occupational Segregation: Ideological Configuration of Women's Jobs - Men's Jobs

Previous discussions reveal that while the absolute exclusion of women from paid work is diminished, their segregation into particular parts of labour market has decline only a little. "Women are gaining access to the public sphere of paid employment, but are subordinated to men within it" (Walby, 1990:59). In this context, women's disadvantaged position in employment or their restricted employment opportunities in labour market is based on gender based occupational segregation representing an ideological designation of jobs and occupations in relation to patriarchal and capitalist premises. Socialist Feminist scholars points out the segmentation of labour market both horizontally and vertically. *Horizontal segmentation* means that women are segmented across the labour market into a relatively narrow range of occupations. *Vertical segmentation* refers to the way in which, within these categories, women tend to be concentrated in relatively low paid, low status occupations. "Both types of segmentation combine to concentrate women into the lowest strata of a narrow range of occupations, particularly non-manual, low-skilled service sector work in which women (across all ethnic groups) tend to be over-represented" (Abbott, Wallace & Tyler, 2005:241).

Feminists have also argued that within horizontal patterns of segmentation, "*occupational segmentation* means that men and women are often concentrated in different occupations within the same sector, and within those occupations tend to perform different functions (even within the same jobs)- *functional segmentation*" (Abbott, Wallace & Tyler, 2005:241). It is the reflection of the fact that segmentation not only restricts women's employment opportunities to certain jobs, occupations and sectors, but also supresses their opportunities in an individual firm by restraining their opportunities into particular levels in the firm. Indeed, horizontal occupational segregation, determination of jobs as women's and men's, can be seen in same firm; women are employed in some department and men are employed in others and vertical segregation, on the other hand, indicates women's being exposed to different manner, behaviour and appretiation than male colleagues in the same firm in spite of their same qualifications (Eyüboğlu et al. 2000:13).

Within this scope, Hartmann (1990) argues that occupational segregation is the present outcome of the ongoing interaction of two interlocking systems, capitalism and patriarchy generating a vicious circle for women. According to her (1990:147-148),

Job segregation by gender is the primary mechanism in capitalist society that maintains the superiority of men over women, because it enforces lower wages for women in the labour market. Low wages keep women dependent on men because they encourage women to marry. Married women must perform domestic chores for their husbands, men benefit, then, from both higher wages and the domestic division of labour. This domestic division of labour, in turn, acts to weaken women's position in labour market.

Accordingly, as emphasized by Walby (1990:56), women's position in employment is determined by their position in the family or family significantly structures women's employment decisions due to the fact that women's employment decisions are constrained by her domestic circumstances. Women are obligated to prefer and search for jobs perceived as proper to their position in the society or in the family and "the fact women seeking employment are largely limited to 'feminine' occupations narrows their options for occupational mobility and raises the rate of female unemployment" (Niemi & Lloyd, 1975: 198). Moreover, as patterns of horizontal and vertical segregation are perceived as rigid and enduring by feminist scholars (Walby, 1990; Crompton & Sanderson, 1990; Rees, 1992), its impacts on women's gendered job seeking practices, job priorities and job preferences can not be overcome by education, qualifications, skills, age, marital status and so on.

Discrimination Approach: Crowding Hypothesis

On the other hand, the factor restraining women's employment opportunities in labour market is not only women's being obligated to search for women's jobs but also employers' discriminatory employment practices reproducing this segmentation. Crowding hypothesis is developed by Bergmann to explain both the low level of wages and high level of unemployment of women. It is based on a link between occupational segregation and lower earnings in female dominated jobs and higher unemployment rates of women. According to Ferber & Lowry (1976:224-225), "The strength of this hypothesis is that it explains the disadvantaged status of the women in the labour market in the presence or absence of market imperfections". According to this argument, as female labour force participation rises, they are crowded into a small number of women's occupations, as more women enter the labour market, the crowding intensifies, leading to further female unemployment (Niemi & Lloyd 1975; Ferber & Lowry, 1976).

Within the scope of Bergmann's Crowding Hypothesis, occupational segregation is perceived as an outcome of employers' discriminatory practices against women in their

hiring practices. According to Crowding Model, employers discriminate against women by excluding them from occupations considered as 'men's work'. Since these jobs are reserved for men, relatively few women are hired into these positions. Given that the demand for women in these jobs is limited, they are crowded into other occupations, typically referred to as 'women's work' (Sorensen, 1990:56; Beller, 1995:356). Therefore, employers' hiring practices set up barriers to the entry of women, reduce the demand for women relative to men which in turn reduces women's employment or reinforces their unemployment. In this context, as argued by Sorensen (1990:56), this theory predicts that because of discrimination, women and men are segregated into different occupations and those doing 'women's work' earn less than those doing 'men's work' even though all workers are equally well qualified for both jobs. As emphasized by Ferber & Lowry (1976:224), crowding hypothesis is only one of the explanation founded in the literature can account for both existence of the differentials in female and male unemployment rates and its upward trends. Unfortunately, this model does not have a complete formulation of the discrimination process. Moreover, it is unable to capture employer's possibility of showing reluctance or discriminatory practices towards employing women in even women's jobs in conditions of high unemployment rates.

2.4.4 Patriarchal Sexual Attacks and Young Women's Unemployment

It can be argued that another important dimension generating occupational segregation is the possibility of being exposed to sexual attacks in workplaces. Sexuality and sexual attacks are generally considered as a subject matter of Radical Feminism. Although radical feminist scholars have written only a little on paid employment, they have made important contributions to understanding physical and sexual attacks against women in workplaces as indicators of male power over women or as a means in which men subordinate and control women at work (Collinson & Collinson, 1996; Mackinnon, 1987; Ramazanoğlu, 1987). Indeed, as argued by Walby (1990:52), radical feminists' emphasis is important due to its' reflecting patriarchal sexual practices' effects on gender patterns of employment.

Cockburn argues that (1990, as cited in Abbott, Wallace & Tyler, 2005:264) "men actively employ a number of tactics, including sexual harassment, to offer active resistance to moves towards sexual equality in work organizations". Indeed, Stanko (1988) emphasizes on the significance of sexual harassment for occupational segregation and indicates that women in areas of work traditionally occupied by men are more likely to report sexual harassment than those in the traditionally female areas of employment. Unsurprisingly, the risk of being

exposed to sexual harassment in male-intensive working environment makes women gravitate to women's jobs and sexual harassment becomes a means of maintaining occupational closure against women, as well as a more generally pervasive form of control. Accordingly, as argued by Walby (1990:52),

Sexual harassment acts both control women with work and to exclude women from certain types of work. The exclusionary effect is possibly the most dramatic. This is when sexual harassment is used by men to prevent women from entering a field of employment which has previously been all male.

On the other hand, physical and sexual attacks' effect on women's employment is not limited to workplaces. Rather, women are at risk of being exposed to physical and sexual attacks in all parts of public sphere and the fear of being exposed to sexual and physical attack has important implications on women's job seeking and accepting process (Ramazanoğlu, 1989; Walby, 1990). As emphasized by Walby (1990:52), "the threat of physical force may also be relevant, in that fear of it often prevents women walking in public spaces after dark, with consequence effects of access to jobs which require this, such as shift work". It reflects the fact that "women are aware of the consequences of their behavior in public and private and they act to minimize the possibility of violent / sexual attack" (Abbott, Wallace & Tyler, 2005:287).

Accordingly, radical feminists emphasize on the fact that "men were able to control women through the use of physical and sexual violence in the home, and to use violence, or threat of violence, to control women in public sphere" (Tong, 1989:65). Moreover, as government interventions or state is perceived as inherently patriarchal and dominated by men and men's interests (Mackinnon, 1987, as cited in Abbott, Wallace & Tyler, 2005:34), radical feminists do not perceive sexual and physical attacks towards women as a problem that can be solved by legislations. Basically, although radical feminist account of sexuality provides important clues of women's restrictive chances of employment in labour market, it neglects the articulation between capitalism and patriarchy and highlights the power relation between men and women in private sphere rather than labour and capital in public sphere (Rees, 1992:31).

2.5 Conceptual Clarifications

After examining main theoretical approaches to young women's unemployment and before starting to examine main features and reasons of young women's unemployment, three main concepts should be redefined within the scope of feminist standpoint for constructing a base for further discussions. In this context, this part of the study aims to clarify its stance to what is *unemployment*, what is *working* and what is *discrimination*.

2.5.1 Gender-Blind Configuration of the Unemployment: Hidden Unemployment

Like in many countries throughout the world, The Turkish Statistical Institute (TÜİK) uses ILO's definition of unemployment to provide comparable rates⁴. According to ILO-unemployment, the youth unemployed comprises of people *between the age of 15-24* who were not employed during the reference period who have used at least of the search channels for seeking a job during the last three months and were available to start work within 15 days. As emphasized in studies of Bruegel (1979), Rosenman (1979) and Le Feuvre & Andriocci (2005), this study insists that ILO-unemployment does not provide a comprehensive and inclusive account of unemployment and expels many unemployed people, especially women, from the status of unemployed.

Firstly, the reported unemployment rates do not include *discouraged labour*, who want a job but are not looking for one for a variety of reasons. Discouraged labour is defined as "persons who are available to start a job but are not seeking a job because of not knowing where to search, or believe no job is available for him/her in the region" by TÜİK (Turkey's Statistical Yearbook, 2007:152). Unsurprisingly, women's labour intensifies in discouraged labour status and is excluded from unemployed rates in relation to their patriarchal positioning in society. As argued by Rosenman (1979:20), women who wants a job but unable to find one 'disappear' from unemployment rolls into the home where she can busy herself with family and the home. If she is not actively seeking work, she is considered out of the labour force and will not be defined as unemployed. On the other hand, reported unemployment rates do not acknowledge '*unpaid family workers*' as unemployed as well. In other words, the inclusion of discouraged labour to unemployment rates does not solve all

⁴ According to definition, the unemployed comprises of "non institutional working age population who are not employed (for profit, as casual employee, paid or unpaid and not having any job attachment with either of these forms) and has utilized at least one of channels for seeking job and are available to start job within 2 weeks covered" (Turkey's Statistical Yearbook, 2007:152).

the problems of gender distortion of the measured unemployment rate. As stated by Seguino (2002:4), “women are also more likely than men to work as ‘*unpaid family workers*’ during economic hard times, when paid jobs are unavailable. Because this disguised unemployment goes unreported, the female unemployment rate is probably higher than the data indicate”.

In this context, in order to surmount the restrictiveness of ILO unemployment, Tansel & Taşçı (2004) suggest a broad definition of unemployment challenging ‘job searching requirement’. According to Tansel & Taşçı (2004:5), “in developing countries, the conventional job-search channels may not be very relevant in the urban labour markets where labour absorption is low, and in the rural markets where self-employment and unpaid family work (especially for women) are relevant”. As these conditions are largely observed in Turkey, Tansel & Taşçı (2004:6) drop the requirement of searching for a job, exhibit how usage of *broad definition* increases women’s unemployment rates in the urban locations and emphasize on very high levels of hidden unemployment among urban women in Turkey.

Gendered distortion of measured unemployment rates of women is not just a statistical failure but it clearly reflects patriarchal ideological premises. Women’s job seeking behavior is girded with their position in patriarchal society and makes their unemployment invisible. Indeed, women’s active job searching is restricted either by their domestic responsibilities or social patriarchal pressures from neighborhood perceiving women’s job seeking as husbands’ failure of earning family wage and as a threat for male labour force especially in the periods of economic crises. Moreover, as argued by Bruegel (1979:15) and Le Feuvre & Andriocci (2005:54), in a conditions of restricted unemployment, childcare facilities, transportation provisions, women who would otherwise work may not consider themselves to be looking for work or give up searching and so wouldn’t therefore be counted as unemployed in surveys. Within the scope of discussions, detailed and clarified in following parts of the study, it is important to realize, then, that “these statistics may only measure the tip of the iceberg and that, especially among women, there is likely to be a considerable amount of “hidden unemployment” (Rosenman, 1979:20-21).

Although it was conducted mainly with officially unemployed young women, this study emphasizes on the fact that women, especially married women, at home who are compulsorily unemployed but not counted as unemployed in statistics should not be neglected in unemployment discussions. As determined in Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver’s study (2000:9), unemployed women should be considered into two groups:

1. Unemployed: searching for their first job; searching for a job from the time leaving their last job; making a pause in working career voluntarily at least one year after leaving their last job and now searching for a job; working irregular and searching for a job;
2. Not Searching for a job: volunteer / compulsory unemployed women who do not label themselves as unemployed, who do not attempt to enter labour market due to socio-economic and cultural reasons, who are not allowed to enter or who draw back from labour market compulsorily or voluntarily.

This kind of perception of unemployment enlarges the scope of ILO-unemployment and gives chance of examining and challenging patriarchal nature of young women's unemployment. On the other hand, this study insists on the fact that unemployed young women are not a homogenous group. Rather, it is diversified in itself. Indeed, following Rosenman's classification (1979:21), unemployed women can be diversified as;

- People who have lost a job and either expect to be recalled or are permanently laid off,
- People who have left a job for whatever reason,
- People who are entering the labor force for the first time,
- People who are reentering the labor force after a period that may vary from several weeks to several years of not working.

This kind of perception diversifies unemployed women in itself and gives chance to examine different unemployment experiences of young women in different unemployment status. It is especially important for examining women's unemployment and its patriarchal compulsory nature. Although they are not recognized as unemployed officially, these classifications indicates that all women who left their jobs, gave pause to their working career, are not seeking for a job or give up searching and who are not actively seeking can not be counted as volunteer homemakers. This study perceives so-called volunteer homemakers as unemployed, tries to reveal patriarchal nature of unemployment experiences of young women in different unemployment status and aims to indicate obligatory and compulsory nature of unemployment for some women.

2.5.2 Definition of Work

Problematizing young women's unemployment purports a positive perception towards women's working and employment. This study implies that young women's participation to working life contributes to their empowerment, represents an important step to overcome patriarchal barriers in society and enables them to be organized. However, in order to examine patriarchal nature of unemployment, the concept '*work*' or '*working*' should be

reformulated within the scope of feminist standpoint. As argued by Abbott, Wallace & Tyler (2005:231);

Sociologists tend to divide people's lives into 'work' (paid employment), 'leisure' (the time when people choose what they want to do) and 'obligation time' (periods of sleep, eating and other necessary activities). Feminists have pointed out that this model reflects a male view of the world and does not necessarily fit the experiences of the majority of women. This is partly because unremunerated domestic labour is not recognised as work – it is 'hidden' labour- and partly because many women participate in few leisure activities outside of the home.

Within the scope of Marxist Feminist *Domestic Labour Debate*, all women are considered as employed as domestic workers and “the domestic labour debate took place in reaction to this tendency to see women's work in family as an ideological rather than an economic activity and vigorously asserted the material significance of women's domestic labour for capital” (Walby, 1990:71). Indeed, James & Dalla Costa (1973) argued that housework created both value and surplus value with regards to the fact that “the work that did in the household was necessary for workers to be able to go and do their jobs in the factories and offices, and so was essential to the workings of economy” (Walby, 1990:72).

Accordingly, as emphasized by Ecevit (2000), it is necessary to treat the concept *work* with a caution. Because, according to her (2000:119), this concept lost its broad meaning in capitalist production relations and it is almost used only for practices performed for market. By this way, working disguises in a meaning which is almost always practiced outside of the home, having money equivalent in return, expressing 'visible', 'valuable' and 'instrumental' practices. By defining working like this, all kind of jobs, performed by women inside of the home or outside of the home without money equivalent are not considered as work or working and, thereby, kept 'invisible', 'unvaluable' and made 'trivialized' in the interest of capital. In this context, although working or being employed is perceived as working for market, this study does not neglect women's other productive and reproductive activities outside of the market articulating to capitalist production process and contributing to capital accumulation. Moreover, the study tries to examine the restrictive role of women's productive and reproductive domestic responsibilities inside of the home in women's employment which is generally examined within the scope of so-called objective dimensions of labour market.

2.5.3. The Definition of Discrimination

In accordance with the examination of Niemi & Lloyd (1975), in which unemployment differentials that exist between women and men is explained with the term discrimination, this study perceives young women's unemployment as a matter of gender-based discrimination in labour market. According to Niemi & Lloyd (1975:194);

The concept of discrimination in economics includes both direct market discrimination which results from non-objective behavior on the part of men in the evaluation of women's economic contribution, and indirect discrimination which occurs in the socialization and educational process and affects the kind of market choices women and men make. Not surprisingly, all economic literature on discrimination has focused on the former aspect.

Accordingly, in line with the arguments of Niemi & Lloyd (1975), as patriarchy is perceived as an ideology reeked in whole parts of society and in every practices of individuals and institutions, unemployment is perceived not only an outcome of discriminatory practices of employers against women but also an outcome of reproduction of patriarchal premises both in public and private sphere. In other words, in accordance with the model of this study, introduced in 2.6, in this perception discrimination is defined as reproduction of patriarchy both in public and private sphere in which family, state, economy as institutions, employers and young women as agencies become performers and reproducers of discrimination and addressees of young women's unemployment discussions.

2.6 Concluding Remarks and Model of the Study

This study is based on an argument that without challenging and examining the nature of gender based differentiation of experiences by appealing to feminist standpoint and critical approach, it is impossible to provide a comprehensive account of young women's unemployment. In other words, this study insists on the fact that explanations, not challenging and reconstructing patriarchal ideological structure and its components or contending with the inclusion of women to analysis will reproduce existing patriarchal system and women's vulnerable position in it. Thus, this study builds its arguments on Feminist Standpoint to examine reasons of young women's unemployment.

Moreover, this study leans its examination heavily on *Socialist Feminist premises* and considers the relationship between capitalism and patriarchy in *an unified system approach*

in which capitalism and patriarchy are considered as unified, embedded or articulated systems generating subordination and exploitation of women in both public and private sphere. If society is suspended for a second, it is clear that capitalism and patriarchy are *unified systems*, embedded with each other and representing *patriarchal capitalist labour market*. However, this picture should be considered as a special form that patriarchy take in capitalist economic system. Indeed, the existence of patriarchy or gender inequality can not be reduced to capitalist power relations, rather, patriarchy and patriarchal power relations predate capitalism and are experienced within other economic systems such as feudal and socialist societies. In other words, this picture can not be interpreted as patriarchy is an outcome of capitalism or *vice versa*, rather, patriarchy should be considered more than sub-structure or economic system.

Reviewed feminist theoretical approaches to young women's unemployment provide clues of reasons of young women's unemployment. However, previous discussions indicate that neither of them is sufficient to provide a comprehensive account of the problem. In this context, in the light of these theoretical explanations, this study examines reasons of young women's unemployment with its public and private sides and puts reasons of young women's unemployment into the articulation between capitalism and patriarchy. In other words, this study insists on the fact that the unemployment of young women is not directly the result of capitalist labour market, rather, patriarchal prerequisites reproduced both in public and private sphere reinforce and reproduce young women's unemployment in the interest of both capital and patriarchy. In order to reveal reproduction of patriarchal premises both in public and private sphere, this study considers young women's unemployment in a three-legged approach in which state (patriarchal state and gender-blind public policies), economy (patriarchal capitalist labour market and its institutions) and family (patriarchal configuration of family, gender-based division of labour and its effects on women's job searching) become addressee of young women's unemployment discussions. Moreover, by examining the labour-capital matching process, this study reveals macro level articulations mechanisms' implications on micro level labour-capital matching process and makes labour and capital as a part of discussion as well. By this way, it is assumed that reproduction of the articulation between capitalism and patriarchy in macro-level processes and its re-reproduction in labour capital matching process –its restrictive, suppressive effects on employers and young women's perceptions- will provide a comprehensive account of young women's unemployment.

The offered model is similar with ‘the gendered welfare states’ analytical framework developed throughout the 1990s by several European researchers. This model suggests that three dimensions of contemporary European societies, state, family and labour market need to be analysed together.

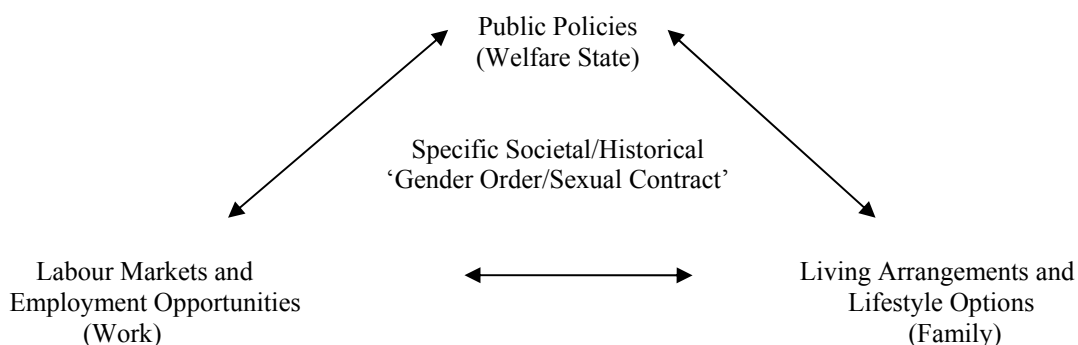


FIGURE 1: Societal Structures and The Gender Contract (Le Feuvre & Andriocci, 2005:15)

This model is particularly interested in the role of state -especially the transformation of welfare state- in maintaining and combating gender inequalities in labor market and understanding how state or public policies shapes the relationship between other two above-mentioned spheres. The model approaches the problem of women’s employment from women’s demand for a job and emphasizes the role of state policies in terms of encouraging women’s demand for a job. It is argued that “state policies can affect, notably, women’s demands for employment, the way in which women define themselves as active or inactive within the labour market, the costs and profits generated by the decision to take up paid work, given the costs of child care and other constraints” (European Commission, 1996:2, as cited in Le Feuvre & Andriocci, 2005:14). Moreover, it is argued that from this point of view, the question why job opportunities are not identical in different countries and why women’s employment aspirations and experiences also vary according to their societal and historical context can be explained.

Although this model is developed for explaining the relationship between women’s employment and public policies with regards to welfare state, offered three-legged approach can be used for examining the reasons of young women’s unemployment. Although this model emphasizes on the decisive role of state and public policies in women’s employment, in the context of this study, state and public policies can only be one part of the problem of young women’s unemployment. In fact, this study insists on the fact that the examination of

young women's unemployment requires considering and analysing all three spheres together and equally. Namely, young women's unemployment is approached as an outcome of the interaction/articulation among these three spheres and any of them can be main determinant or reduced to another. According to Pfau-Effinger (as cited in Le Feuvre & Andriocci, 2005:15), the gendered welfare state regime models need to be refined because women's employment patterns are not solely determined by state intervention in the labour market and childcare provision. In order to understand the variations in women's employment patterns, all 'gendered' aspects of society need to be analysed. Secondly, in the context of the study, the main problem is not only to encourage women's demands for a job (exploring women's special approach towards working, gendered aspects of job searching), but to examine the gendered dimensions of demand for women's labour as well. In fact, concentrating on encouraging women's job demands reflects a woman figure which lives out of patriarchal power relations and which is free to search, find and accept a job.

Accordingly, this study argues that the society with its both public and private spheres is patriarchal. The state is patriarchal capitalist state, the capitalism is patriarchal capitalism, the relations within the household or the configuration of the family is patriarchal and capitalist, indirectly. From this beginning, it is assumed that the articulation between capitalism and patriarchy is implicit in operations of these three legs and the articulation amongst them determines women's employment and unemployment. Moreover, the articulation amongst these three legs determines labour-capital matching process in micro level and is reproduced in employers decision-making about hiring and firing and young women's job seeking, finding and accepting process. Accordingly, the model of the study can be formed as:

REASONS OF YOUNG WOMEN'S UNEMPLOYMENT

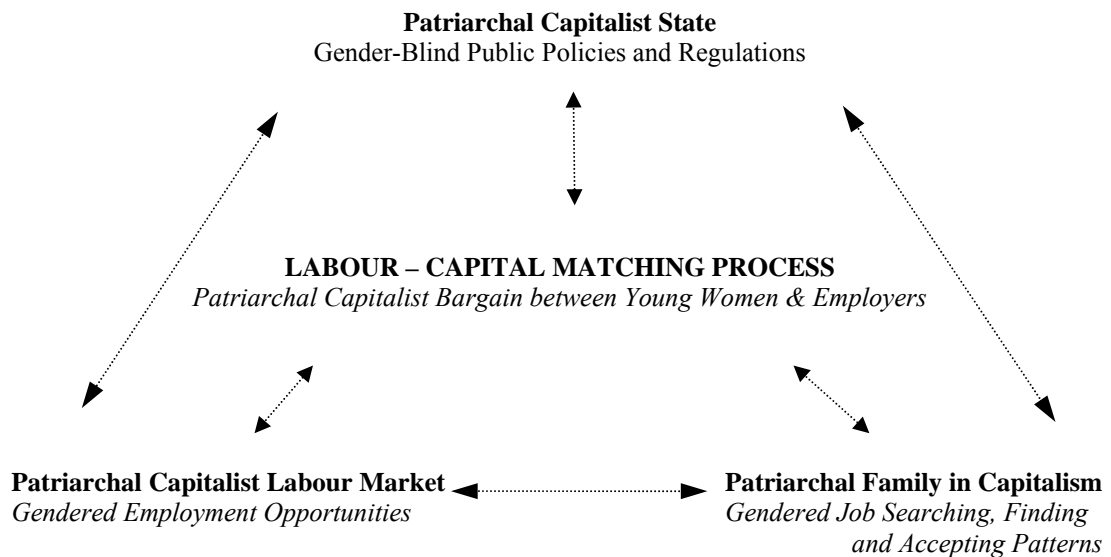


FIGURE 2: The Model of the Study

Therefore, the main aim of this study is to observe these interactions within feminist standpoint, evaluating young women's unemployment in its institutional, economical and private sphere-related dimensions and questioning the bargaining between young women and employers for employment with regards to the articulation between capitalism and patriarchy. However, it should be kept in mind that creating equilibrium between analysing patriarchy and capitalism is very important. In fact, focus more on patriarchy or emphasize more on the elements of capitalism unbalanced the analysis and create subjective, insufficient and patriarchal solutions.

CHAPTER 3

THE GENDERED NATURE OF WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT SINCE 1980s and ITS REFLECTIONS ON TURKEY'S LABOUR MARKET

3.1 Introduction

After examining main theoretical approaches and introducing the model of the study in chapter 2, this chapter focuses on resetting them to their places in gendered restructuring process having been experienced since 1980s. The restructuring process have been representing economic, ideological, social, cultural transformations generating destructive effects on women's and youth's labour market position, one of which is unemployment or employment challenge. However, feminist examinations indicate that the most vulnerable part of this restructuring process is young women whose position in labour market compensates both with capitalist and patriarchal power relations and whose unemployment represents an invisible handshake between capitalism and patriarchy reproduced in both public and private sphere. In this context, the following discussions provide a closer look at the restructuring process and its gendered effects on women's and young women's situation in labour market within the scope of globalization, structural adjustment policies (SAPs), flexibility and the New Right or Neo-liberal argument. The chapter finishes with subsection 3.6 which examines Turkey's structural adjustment experience and its reflections on women's and young women's employment.

3.2 Globalization, Economic Restructuring and Redefined Role of State

As defined by Moghadam (1999:367), "globalization is a complex economic, political, cultural, and geographic process in which the mobility of capital, organizations, ideas, discourses, and people has taken on an increasingly global or transnational form". It is clear that globalization has been made a common cause with economic restructuring since 1980s and it becomes much more impossible to separate globalization from restructuring process realizing in capital, product and labour markets. As argued by Ecevit (2000:122), the main characteristics of restructuring economies can be considered as reconstruction of production organizations and decentralization of production, usage of new technologies especially information technologies, internalization of production, liberalization of trade, acceleration

of capital movement, realization of labour-intensive production practices in developing countries instead of developed countries, flexibilization of production, fragmentation of labour markets and appearance of new employment forms which have generated gendered outcomes since late 1980s to the present time. Indeed, “gendered global production networks have grown substantially as a result of globalization processes and there are systematic linkages between the global expansion of production, trade and finance and the increase of women in these networks” (Pyle & Ward, 2003:461). As emphasized by Pyle & Ward (2003:466), “globalization can combine older and newer views of appropriate gender roles. Global organizations such as MNCs and the IMF use these social constructions to their advantage, citing ‘cultural sensitivities’, to restrict choices and access to certain jobs and to pay women less than men”. This implies the fact that women’s labour has become an important component of economic restructuring process and socially constructed gender roles are reinforced by economic, political, social, cultural and religious institutions in the interest of both capital and patriarchy.

On the other hand, although globalization is promoted as a positive process and welcomed warmly, in reality, it should be perceived as hidden, covert form of *imperialism*. In fact, globalization is a process requiring integration with global mode of production and obligating developing countries to *reconstruct* their labour markets and production processes in line with the interests of countries holding the control of global capital by intervention of international institutions to national policy making processes. Although global restructuring uses the language of liberalization and ‘free markets’, As argued by Pyle & Ward (2003:464);

These forms of economic restructuring have resulted from *deliberate* interventions by governments pressured by institutions such as MNCs, the IMF, or the World Trade Organization (WTO) and are not ‘free market’ strategies. This misappropriation of language obscures the realities that these institutions, fundamentally concerned with profits or payments of loans, dominate countries’ economies *and* formulate the mandates to ‘open’ and ‘liberalize’ an economy.

This argument indicates that governments are no longer autonomous in terms of making public policies: All public policies about employment, unemployment, health, education are organized in line with the recommendations of international pressure groups or institutions reproducing interests of capital and patriarchy. In fact, women’s labour market experiences since 1980s has revealed that the restructuring is based on a strategy in which the burden of restructuring is put on shoulders of women’s labour with regards to the articulation of capitalism and patriarchy.

However, as argued by Evans (1992:141), this can not be interpreted as the dismantling of state but reconstruction of its role. In fact, if we consider structural adjustment experience of Turkey, it can be observed that privatization constituted the framework of the first generation regulations through liberalization of trade and capital inflows and through deregulation of labour markets. The emphasis on the second generation adjustments, which is the continuation of the first generation adjustments, was different in terms of the function it provided for the state: The state, which is defined as *passive* in terms of the market rules in the first generation reforms, is transformed into an *active regulatory state (re-regulation)* which takes on the task of extending the market into all social spheres within the second generation reforms (Bağımsız Sosyal Bilimciler, 2005:4, as cited in Özkaplan, 2008:3). Accordingly, since state has become an important executive agency of global restructuring process, women's oppression and exploitation in labour market can be perceived as a fact which is produced and reproduced per governmental regulations bearers of capitalist and patriarchal power relations.

3.3 Structural Adjustment and Women's Employment

In developing countries, economic restructuring is based on implementation of Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) generating destructive outcomes for labour's, especially female labour's, position in labour market. According to Standing (1999:584), "there has been a crystallization of a global economic strategy, under the banner of 'structural adjustment', 'shock therapy' and other supply-side economic policies". At the beginning, the aim of the precautions taken as part of the reaccommodation policies was that the third world countries could be able to pay their debts and the related interests. International financial institutions undertook to provide financial support and credit for these countries and demanded the realization of the following conditions: 1. Export-Oriented Strategy; export oriented industrialization; 2. Regulations that shall enable the integration of domestic markets with world markets; 3. Cutting Public Expenditures; 4. Shrinkage of the State; 5. Privatization; 6. Abolishment of the limitations that prevent markets from actively operating (Deregulation); 7. Reducing domestic demand; 8. Reducing labour costs and weakening organization power in order to be able to compete. In 1980s, these policies were extensively used by the countries that are willing to overcome the payment balance crisis. (Ecevit, 1998:33). According to Türel (1997:45), this growth model, which was adopted after 1980, is a kind of model which "perceives globalization as the main propulsive force; adopts the competition as the implementation area of this force; places the growth onto technological development

grounds; deactivates the core organizations of labour and removes the state from the markets; transforms the education and health into a commercial merchandise, and commercializes the social security (it is not written on political papers but it is explicitly applied). Moreover, this model is a kind of model leaning its maintenance on the articulation between capitalism and patriarchy and generating subversive outcomes for women's position in labour market. Indeed, as emphasized by Beneria (1999:4), "the hardships of adjustment were unequally distributed, displaying not only a bias against specific group of people – mostly a class bias- but also a gender bias".

The implementation of SAPs brings aggravating effects into people's livelihoods. Indeed, "neoliberal policies being pursued through SAPs as clearly threatening the sovereignty of nation states; creating political unrest and instability; increasing poverty and impoverishment, and creating a situation of neo-colonization" (Lingam, 1992:2). When the countries adopted structural adjustment policies transferred their sources to the developed countries due to external debts and interests, they were not able to make the necessary local investments which are essential for stable growth. Production decreased, thus incomes decreased. Invaluable efficient sources remained inactive, and as a result of this, the quality of life of the majority of the population decreased. Among the main reasons for the decline in the quality of life were the decline in income per capita, high unemployment rate, decline in real wages, high prices of the fundamental consumer goods, and qualitative and quantitative limitations in public social services (Ecevit, 1998:33-34). These contradictions transformed poverty and unemployment into a structural problem being reproduced both in macro and meso levels. Moreover, women's, especially young women's vulnerable position in labour market; their high unemployment and poverty rates, their intensification in informal sector and atypical employment forms signalize a devastating outcome of restructuring for women's livelihood

One dimension of economic restructuring in developing countries or structural adjustment is '*privatization*'. In fact, a major component of the government's response to structural adjustment was to reduce the size of the public sector and expand the private sector. According to Onyejekwe (2004:27), "although usually done in the name of greater efficiency, which is often needed, privatization has mainly had the effect of concentrating wealth even more in a few hands and making the public pay even more for its needs". Its reflection on labour market is the elimination of public sector employment opportunities and systematic privatization of employment relations by deregulation. As argued by Standing

(1999:596), “in many parts of the world, the public sector had been a leading source of employment growth in the 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s, and in many countries (especially in industrialized and Eastern European countries) women have comprised a higher share of total public sector employment than private sector employment”. In this context, unsurprisingly, although privatization is resulted in a decrease in public jobs for both women and men, this transformation disproportionately hurts women and young labour, especially the educated ones. In fact, as emphasized by Miles (2002:415), the public sector has provided relatively more and better job opportunities, higher salaries and decent working conditions for women and due to educated women’s concentration in the public sector, such downturns disproportionately affect them.

In this context, discussions indicate that industrial restructuring and privatization adversely effect women’s chance of employment. In their study about the restructuring period in China in relation to women’s longer unemployment periods, Du & Dong (2008) emphasize on *the re-entry* challenge of women after losing their jobs due to privatization of the firms. According to Du & Dong (2008:4), it is due to the fact that “many laid off workers lacked the skills necessary to fill the newly created position”. In other words;

The problem of ‘skills mismatch’ was arguably more pronounced for displaced female workers since the planned economic regime offered fewer suitable jobs for women than men and hence women acquired fewer human capital skills from their pre-displacement experience than their male counterparts. While the growth of labour-intensive manufacturing production and tertiary industry create more jobs that are suitable for women, female workers displaced from state owned enterprises (SOEs) may experience difficulty competing with young female rural migrants for positions in these sectors. (Dong and Bowles, 2002, as cited in Du & Dong, 2008:4)

However, women’s re-entry challenge can not be solely explained by ‘skill mismatch’ and ‘Human Capital’. It is also an outcome of private sector’s hostility against employing women or employers’ discriminatory practices against women in private sector with regards to gender-based division of labour. As emphasized in Ali, Mustafa & Khouri’s study in Jordan (1990:48, as cited in Miles, 2002:415), “in the survey of 80 representatives private sector establishments, children and home responsibilities were cited as the major constraints to employing more women, followed by their lack of suitable business experience, followed by religious and social factors”. Moreover, another important dimension of employers’ discriminatory practices against women in private sector is based on employers’ reluctance to meet women-related obligations due to their labour cost sensitivity. As revealed in Mitra

& Singh's (2006:794) study in Kerala, the discriminatory practices of employers in the private sector leads to the growing trend among Kerala women "to find employment in the public sector where jobs are more secure and pay non-wage benefits such as pensions. However, jobs in public sector are scarce and have not kept up with the increasing demand". Shortly, studies reveal how privatization becomes a vicious circle for women: Woman who lost her jobs due to privatization is unable to find a proper job in private sector due to her human capital, family-based priorities and responsibilities and private sector hostility/employers' reluctance towards employing women, however, continues to try her chance in public jobs fitting with their priorities but no longer promising a future. The unsurprising outcomes of this vicious circle are either longer duration of unemployment or withdraw from labour market to the home.

Another important dimension of structural adjustment in developing countries is implementation of *export-oriented growth strategy* in economy. In the 1980s, in regard to changing global economy and implementation of structural adjustment policies or as a result of rising indebtedness, developing countries turned to *export - oriented growth strategy* in manufacturing and agriculture, promoted as a positive transformation generating opportunities for women's labour in global labour market (Seguino,2004:3). One of the most important developments that affect woman's labour is that export - oriented industrialization strategy applied in many developing countries in 1970s and 1980s increases the economic weight of labour - intensive production in which low - paid labour is used. This development quickly increased the women's participation in labour; and it was named as feminization of labour, and evaluated as a positive development which enabled that women could strengthen their status in both labour market and at their own houses.

However, feminist scholars (Ecevit, 1998; Standing, 1999; Moghadam, 1999; Lingam, 2005) have insisted on the fact that despite export-oriented model and globalization calls for women's labour, feminization of labour can not be interpreted as strengthening and empowering process for women's labour. As argued by Lingam (2005), the process is not only characterized by feminization of labour force but feminization of informal sector, feminization of poverty, feminization of survival, feminization of low paid production processes in manufacturing or proletarianization of women and feminization of unemployment with regards to the articulation between capitalism and patriarchy reproduced in all spheres of social life. According to Lingam (2005:9), -in accordance with the model of this study examined in 2.6-

Gender relations are embedded in family, market, religious and political institutions and the control imposed within one are usually accepted and promoted as legitimate by the other. The social construction of women's subordinate position is used by capital to divide and segment the labour force and treat women as inferior workers in the market place. Women's unequal position in the household mediates their participation in markets and substantially limits their capacity to respond to market opportunities.

However, the continued 'feminisation of the labour force' is associated and characterised with rising rates of female unemployment and the feminisation of generally insecure forms of employment (Elson & Pearson, 1986; Lingam, 1992; Moghadam, 1999; Standing, 1999; Pyle & Ward, 2003). As argued by Özkaplan (2008:6), this is the outcome of a process in which foreign trade have been deregulated and export - oriented industries have progressed but the relationship expected by the formal employment has not come true; informal employment rapidly increased in this period. The dynamics underlying this increase are that private sector chose informal employment for the cost minimization and this process was accelerated through shrinkage of public sector. In these conditions, "many young people experience difficulties in getting a foothold in the world of work. Even for those who do find work, the early career is often marked by turbulence entailing unstable jobs and multiple transitions between employment and unemployment" (Russell & O'Connell, 2008:2). Furthermore, as argued by Moghadam (1999:376), "in all regions, high unemployment represents the downside of economic gobalization, especially for women workers, who must content with not only class biases but also the gender biases of free-market economics". The feminization of unemployment, therefore, is a much characteristics of the global economy as is the feminization of labour. Discussions also point at the fact that although female labour has been invited by global economic restructuring process since 1980s, these women are not educated young women. As emphasized by Ecevit (1998:56), export - oriented industrialization does not either generate jobs in sectors in which young women's labour can be employed or contribute to the creation of new job opportunities in which young women can work. Even if there are jobs in urban areas that young women can work, these jobs are generally informal jobs and these are not in accordance with the skills and qualifications of educated young women, and such a situation fosters their unemployment rates and durations.

Accordingly, the process is the reflection of *formal* employment creation challenge/ reluctance of export-oriented model on account of gaining competitiveness in global markets and, on the other side of the coin, feminization of informal sector is the reflection of the articulation between capitalism and patriarchy rendering women's labour as an important component of capital accumulation by designating it as secondary, unskilled and dependent

labour. As emphasized by Mills (2003:43), this articulation is the reflection of the “hegemonic capacity of patriarchal norms to define women’s labour as not only 'cheap' but also socially and economically worthless”. This socially and economically worthless labour force has become crucial for global capital accumulation (Wright, 1999; 2001, as cited in Mills 2003). In this context, it is clear that accepting informal employment have become an obligation for many women on account of two options derived from capitalist logic and patriarchal positioning of women; either accepting informal employment opportunities or being unemployed.

The fact fostering the obligatory characteristic of these two on female labour –especially on less-educated female labour- is structural adjustment process’ destructive effects on families livelihood. As cleared by Cerruti (2000, as cited in Lingam, 2005:7), the remarkable increase in female labour force participation is a result of neither of improvements in the conditions of labour supply nor the diversification of the structure of occupational opportunities available for women. It is instead a response to the increasing unemployment and job instability associated with the implementation of structural adjustment policies implying the fact poverty and gender restrictions make women accept any work on any terms either at home or outside. In other words, structural adjustment policies cause attenuation in purchasing power of low-income families and prompt family members, who did not work before in the economic pressure, to seek for jobs outside their houses. However, if the features of women’s labour are not suitable for the labour market that will demand this labour or when women do not accept the working conditions imposed by this market, they experience unemployment (Ecevit, 2000:148).

On the other hand, Seguino (2002:12) emphasizes on the fact that “women working in informal sector are more vulnerable than men to unemployment, since men’s formal sector jobs tend to be more secure”. As clarified by Ecevit (2008:172), unregistered employment is a very important characteristic of women’s employment, and to be able to have a workplace within informal sector is somewhere to be sheltered for most of the women in the event that they can’t find a job within formal sector. However, wages paid under minimum wages, negative and unsafe working conditions and absence of any job security in such workplaces within the scope of informal sector leave women in difficult situations. In order to be able to compete with the international markets, these workplaces freely determine the quantity and quality of labour that will use depending on the changes in demand on the markets. This freedom results in dismissal of women who work informally when they are no longer

needed. In other words, because women accept to work for lower wages when compared to men and because there is no any economic cost of dismissal of these women during crisis periods when their labour is no longer needed, companies operating in informal sector prefer women and these are the reasons why women work in informal sector (Bolcan, 2006:38).

Although negative effects of informal sector are emphasized by government, even by employers, and although the measures taken in order to dissolve it have reflected on political documents and development plans, high rates of informal employment imply that governments have closed their eyes to informal sector. As seen in Ranis & Stewards' study (1999), it is the reflection of the neo-liberal principles in which informal sector is perceived as 'job creating machine' and approached as useful tool of market absorbing unemployed masses. Moreover, it is also the reflection of the perception in which informal sector is conceptualized as an isolated and autonomous sector in an economy. However, as emphasized by Atasü-Topçuoğlu (2005:32-33), "the informal sector is a production area like all other sectors; so its optimum amount of goods and services produced is determined by the demand in the market. The optimum level of production necessitates a certain quantity of labour, thus limiting the number of unemployed which can be absorbed by the sector". Therefore, with the pressures coming from neo-liberal markets, informal sector has a tendency of going beyond itself and it has caused flexibility debates as a guarantee for sustainable capital accumulation and a solution for unemployment.

Basically, discussions reveal that informal sector have become an important tool of global capital accumulation and can not be diminished but overlapped or clotted by flexibility and most recently by flexicurity. Indeed, borders between flexibility and informality, even the border between formality and informality is not clear and has been nebulized. In fact, decentralization of production caused separating line between formal and informal economies to be quite blurred although informal economy always plays a vital role by employing people moving to cities, in the modernization process of the developing countries (Portes & Castells, 1989). It is becoming more and more difficult to mention such a line separating these two sectors. The fact that the regulations which protect labour sector is increasingly abolished for the purpose of liberalization of markets also caused the 'informalization' of formal sector (Özar & Ercan, 2004:206). Accordingly, since flexibility is promoted as a panacea for women's and youth's unemployment and perceived as a job creating machine, young women's labour is condemned to informal, atypical employment patterns reproducing by the articulation between capitalism and patriarchy. Indeed, "the

informal economy emerges not as a residual category of the modernization process, but a sector that is embedded in the globalized economy holding the ‘wrong end of the rope’ due to its being in search of cheaper labor wage destinations” (Lingam, 1992:6).

If turned back to feminization of labour debate, the causes of feminization are complex however, it has heavily linked to *expansion of service-sector*. It is because of the fact that the countries in which there has been a decline in manufacturing and labour intensive jobs, service sector jobs have become an important area of women’s employment. However, feminist scholars approach expansion and feminization of service sector cautiously, especially in developing countries, by referring gendered aspects of structural adjustment. According to Ecevit (2000:124), while international division of labour were being shaped again after 1980 and women workers were losing their jobs in manufacturing industry in the developed countries, women found new job opportunities as a result of the growth of the service sector. Increasing job opportunities in the fields of health, social services and education and also in the field of tourism sector, where women are extensively employed, enabled women to compensate their losses that they experienced in the manufacturing sector. Women in developing countries focused on manufacturing industry workplaces that they were provided to them by the help of the international division of labour. This circumstance that seems to be in favour of women could not provide benefit to women due to two processes that are parallel to one another. One of these processes is deregulation in the markets, that is to say, the restriction of the scope of the protective legislation which is related to labour use; and the other one is the flexibilisation of labour usage. Especially young women are employed in the services sector. In terms of its characteristics, employment in the services sector includes a wide range of jobs that are much more complicated than the ordinary jobs and which requires to be qualified. In this sense, young women are employed in part time jobs or temporary jobs that have bad conditions and no proper job security (Temiz, 2004:73).

However, Fodor (1997, 1998) perceives women’s concentration or segregation in service sector as a safeguard for women in terms of unemployment. According to Fodor’s ‘revalued resources’ thesis (1997;1998), “occupational segregation may actually become a valuable resource for women in maintaining employment during the period of economic restructuring. By virtue of their disproportionate concentration in jobs undergoing growth, women may protected from job loss” (Glass & Kawachi, 1999:79-80). However, according to Bruegel (1979), it is important to recognize that this ‘protection’ is based on the cheapness of female

labour. Service sector may provide women a certain protection for unemployment in times of recessions. However, “with the development of micro-processors this protection likely to wear thin, since the advantages of women offer to capital -cheap and relatively docile labor-become less and less relevant” (Bruegel, 1979:19). Moreover, the type of work women do - low level, repetitive and boring- is probably more susceptible to rationalization and rationalization of office work and service work no longer protects women’s employment (Bruegel, 1979). It is the reflection of known patriarchal premises “revealing gendered division of labour based on assumptions about women’s ‘natural’ manual dexterity and their lack of aptitude for handling technology” (Webster, 1996:19).

Finally, another important dimension of structural adjustment is *deregulation*. Deregulation is generally defined as “reducing government regulation of everything that could diminish profits, including protecting the environment and safety on the job” (Onyejekwe, 2004:27). According to Eyrenci (1995), the term which is commonly used for the changes desired to be made on labour market regulations is called ‘deregulation’, but there is still a notion confusion on this matter. Flexibilisation is often used together with the term ‘deregulation’. ‘Individualisation of labour laws’, ‘relieving/saving labour laws from collectivism’, ‘relieving/saving labour laws from bureaucracy’ are some other terms used together with flexibilisation. In fact, what is desired from deregulation is that all relationships in business life can become bargainable between individuals/parties and that all legal rules/sanctions are abolished. It is based on a fact that “in order to have more exports and also to see that production has competitive global advantage there is a total deregulation of labour markets and withdrawal of protective labour legislations and weakening of the bargaining of trade unions” (Lingam, 1992:6).

As one of the most important aspects of deregulation debate, it is claimed that new employment opportunities will be created after the rigidities in the market will be abolished and unemployment will decrease; and it is attempted to legitimate deregulation process within this context. But, discussions above show that deregulation cannot be expected to create employment for women who are already employed in informal sector and whose number is too limited in trade unions, in other words, for women who contribute to global capital accumulation which is already a flexible labour. On the other hand, reducing the bargaining between capital and labour to individual agreements will deepen the exploitation of women in labour market who have been already out of bargaining and struggling agenda of trade unions. Indeed, as argued by Toksöz (2005:42), the existing patriarchal mentality in

trade unions causes alienation of women's labour from trade unions due to the fact that syndical policies and collective agreements do not take women's problems into account and the fact that problems special to women do not gain priority in trade unions' bargaining agenda. Even if they gain priority, they become easily dispensable subjects of bargaining process. Accordingly, the patriarchal premises, which are embedded in public and private spheres, exclude women from all kind of strengthening and protective mechanisms in order to maintain male dominance in society although women are the most vulnerable part of economic restructuring.

3.4 The Panacea of the Era: Flexibility Debate

Previous discussions on economic restructuring, especially on the deregulation, point at the flexibility debate; a debate implicated in structural adjustment in developing countries and promoted as a solution for all kind of labour market distortions, one of which is unemployment or employment creation challenge. As clarified by Ronaldo (2003:94-95), intense competition environment of global economy directed enterprises to be flexible within business process and business organization. Flexible production required much superior labour market flexibility which contradicts with the concept of secure and good jobs. Because, as stated by international institutions like OECD, flexibility of labour market will enable economic growth and economic growth will enable more jobs to emerge. As a matter of fact, it is set forth that the reason for the sharp increase experienced in the unemployment rate in European countries is the rigid labour market regulations which prevent flexibility that is needed by the enterprises. Therefore, temporary and part-time contracts are being increasingly used and this is propounded as a solution to the unemployment. Such a policy proposal means that unemployment will be decreased by the help of the increasing use of the temporary and part-time contracts in labour market. However, while developments were in contrast to this, instability and absence of job security in labour markets accompanied to the unemployment problem which is persistently ongoing in many countries in this period. While employees accept precarious employment which stipulates lower economic and social conditions for fear of high unemployment rate and losing their jobs, precarious employment is presented as a way to evade unemployment for the unemployed (Temiz, 2004:65).

Similar arguments are set forth in studies and discussions made within the context of women's employment. As argued by Ecevit (2008:173), it is claimed that strict regulation of working life will negatively affect women's employment. Best examples for this are

maternity leaves and nursing services that are required to be provided by the employers in workplaces. It is thought that less regulated and more flexible market will not be that much backward while employing women. However, the assertion stating that increasing costs of women's labour because of the provisions that protect working women prevent employers from employing women is not a strong assertion. A major part of women in labour are not protected by laws because they work informally. Majority of these women do not get high wages, they use less of their legal maternity leaves, they work overtime when needed, they also cannot struggle effectively in order to seek their rights. It is not wrong to say that the women employed in informal sector are subject to 'flexible' working from the first day they start to work. Under all these circumstances, it is a very low possibility that flexibilization can increase employability of women, and thus decrease high unemployment of women. On the other hand, handling the subject from such an aspect can obstruct to see the main obstacles in front of women's employment and it can also be misleading (Ecevit, 2008:173).

Within this context, the primary objective of flexibilization of production on global scale is to be able resist against fluctuations in product demand and in the market. Multinational companies began to use more flexible technologies, and on the other hand, they reduced the number of their full time employees. Also, they increased the number of employees who can perform part-time and temporary working. Cutting the costs by keeping the wages low, reducing the labour employed and using temporary labour more were adopted as the strategies that will facilitate the competition (Ecevit, 2000:124). In order to understand the relationship between flexibility and unemployment or its subversive effects on employment, *external flexibility* or *employment flexibility* should be understood well. In fact, numerical flexibility, also known as external flexibility or employment means that firms can easily and quickly determine the quantity and quality of labour according to economic and technological conditions and changes in demand in the markets. The less the firms meet with legal and union obstacles while recruiting and dismissing employees, the more they apply numerical flexibility. External flexibility means flexibilization of legal arrangements on the matters of recruitment and dismissals (Yalınpala, 2002:282).

It is related to deregulation and segregation of market as central and peripheral labour force. Indeed, flexible labour market discussions brought along the concepts such as core labour, which is used on the basis of enterprise/business, and environmental labour, which is employed when needed (such as part-time, temporary, seasonal labour), and it created a dual labour market. While labour intensive processes that do not require to be qualified are

performed on the peripheral parts of the labour market, capital intensive production processes that require to be qualified are performed on the central part. Peripheral labour is recruited according to the market conditions and employed temporarily by contracts and dismissed temporarily or permanently depending on the shrinkage in the markets (Belek, 2000:933, as cited in Yalınpala, 2002:280).

In accordance with the Marxist Feminist conceptualization of reserve army of labour and Socialist Feminist gender-based segregation arguments, examined in 2.4.2 and 2.4.3, this peripheral or secondary labour force is mainly composed of women and especially young women's labour. Indeed, as argued by Elson & Pearson (1986:78), "women tend to form a 'reserve army' of labour, easily fired when firms want to cut back on their labour force, and easily re-hired when firms want to expand again. This tends to be explained in terms of 'women's roles in the family' or 'women's reproductive role". In other words, with regards to the articulation between capitalism and patriarchy, women's positioning and domestic roles in patriarchal society make them employed in peripheral parts of labour market and trivialize or legitimate their unemployment on account of male breadwinner ideology and capitalist logic. It is because of the fact that "international capital relies on gendered ideologies and social relations to recruit and discipline workers, to reproduce and cheapen segmented labour forces within and across national borders" (Mills, 2003:42).

In this context, discussions reveal that flexibility is implicit in economic restructuring. Global or export-oriented formation of market does not give chance to rigidity and uses all tools it has to overthrow the barriers in front of competitiveness and capital accumulation. As argued by Pyle & Ward (2003:468);

When labour cost rise as workers seek to improve their conditions, MNCs combine several strategies to avoid higher costs: Automating or using new technologies, suppressing worker demands, moving to other countries with lower labour costs or establishing subcontracting networks with local manufacturers employing low-paid workers who can be terminated immediately. These corporate strategies typically have adverse effects on women's well-being.

As argued by Standing (1999:583), "the era of flexibility is also an era of more generalized insecurity and precariousness, in which many more man as well as women have been pushed into precarious forms of labour". However, he insists on the fact that the problem is much more intensive for women's labour. According to Standing (1999:596), "some of the most rapidly growing forms of flexible labor are increasing feminization in both senses of the term

– they are absorbing more women than men and involve less secure working conditions”. In fact, many young people do not have the sufficient employment opportunity, which is also the initiator of most risks. Therefore, increasing number of precarious employees work in informal and dangerous jobs. The employment status of women and men differ when precarious employment is considered from the point of gender inequality. Women are less likely to find a regular, salaried job when compared to men. Therefore, women find employment opportunities in insecure, unstable jobs and which is deprived of social security, when compared to men’s jobs. Especially, during economic crisis or economic stagnation, the first dismissals among the ones who have paid employment are the women. In this case, women are forced to work on their own or to lead themselves to informal economy (Temiz, 2004:71-72) or to work in part-time jobs which is recently seen as a way to increase women’s employment. As a matter of fact, the majority of women’s employment in many countries take place in part-time jobs, as an extension of flexibilization (Bruegel, 1979; Bradley, Erickson, Stephenson & Williams, 2002).

Requiring fewer work hours and providing more flexibility than full-time employment, part-time employment is presented as a solution for women’s double burden. It is also argued that women, especially married women, work part-time because they prioritize non-market activities than their activities in the labour market (Hakim,1995). “This group of arguments implies that part-time employment is transitional form of work and women will move back to full-time employment once the demand for childcare and or their orientation towards nonmarket activities changes” (Yu, 2002:496). In other words, this kind of perception assumes that women can move between part-time and full time employment at no cost. However, it is very hard for women to step out of part-time jobs due to the fact that women’s low participation in labour and their statuses in the employment can only be explained by ‘multiple obstacles pattern’; and attracting the women’s labour to the market by presenting partial-status working patterns will have a very limited effect on women’s employment while there are such obstacles of most of which are structural (Ecevit, 2008:173).

3.5 Neo-Liberalism/New Right Conceptualization of Unemployment

Previous discussions in 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4 reveal that neo-liberalism or new-right underlies economic restructuring and structural adjustment processes. In other words, the components of structural adjustment and related debates are derived from neo-liberalism or new-right premises. Neo-liberal view argues that the market is the most efficient mechanism and thus

foresees that social and political relations should be redefined within the market, namely economic relations. This implies state's withdrawal from the public services. This also means abandoning fundamental values such as 'welfare state', 'extensive political participation', 'class peace', 'national development', 'transformation, through growth', and 'social rights'. In other words, as argued by Onyejekwe (2004:27);

Neoliberalism by eliminating the concept of 'the public good' or 'community' and replacing it with 'individual responsibility' is pressuring the poorest people in a society to find solutions to their lack of care, education and social security all by themselves ... then blaming them, if they fail, as 'lazy'.

Neo-liberalism can be considered as an erosive attack to all kind of rights strengthening especially female labour's hand in labour market. In this context, examining neo-liberal approach to unemployment become crucial to understand the fate of unemployed people under new-right political standpoint. Within the scope of neo-liberal or new-right argument, in accordance with the deregulation and flexibility debates in 3.2 and 3.3, governments' interventions of market accused of giving rise to unemployment. As argued by Pratt (1997:38),

If the market is left its own devices and not distorted by government intervention (through the provision of a minimum wage and the operation of wages council) and the activities of powerful trade unions equipped with significant legal immunities, the tendency would be towards little or no involuntary employment. There would always be frictional and structural unemployment of course; these are the desirable and natural features of any dynamic market economy as people change jobs and employers in their search for better wages and conditions and as old industries decline and new ones emerge in response to new technologies and changing tastes. If involuntary unemployment does exist, it is because of 'artificial' rigidities in the labour market occasioned by the behaviour of organized labour. Therefore, for neoliberal, the battle against unemployment should be dominated by an assault on the bargaining power of trade unions and their privileged position in law. This would assist the necessary progress back towards a 'natural' rate of unemployment in a deregulated and flexible labour market.

Moreover, within the scope of neo-liberalism, the state is gradually not concerned about enabling full-employment. As part of the new sense, unemployment and poverty are evaluated as an outcome of inability and laziness of the unemployed and the poor. This is the case from the point of ideological legitimization but that is not the all. Unemployment is deliberately transformed into a *principle* and *operation rule* of the system through applications that increase unemployment. As it is known, if the employment rate in a capitalist society is high, then the wages are low and the rate of exploitation is high to that

extent. High employment rates function as a *repressive effect* on the organized section of working class (Başkaya, 2004:159). In other words, as argued by Beneria (1999:3), “higher unemployment rates place downward pressure on wages which, together with inflationary pressures, contribute to the deteriorating position of labor”. This argument associates with Marxist Feminist reserve army of labour thesis, examined in 2.4.2, in which capital accumulation is guaranteed by reserve army of unemployed composed of women especially, young women’s labour.

As mentioned by Koray (2008:230), as part of the changes in our day, the most determinant change and the most problematic area concerning welfare state and social policy practices is undoubtedly the increase and persistency of unemployment. In spite of growth, unemployment is still able to continue its existence even in the most developed countries and no solution is able to be created for the unemployment problem even in the countries which have most superior prosperity practices. The problem is now global, structural, persistent and common. Moreover, within neo-liberal or new-right approach, unemployment has been normalized and become an ordinary process. According to this approach, working and finding a job is no longer fictionalized as a right and a social-political problem but an individual problem that individuals have to compete in order to obtain and deserve it. More clearly, as emphasized by Gorz (2001:82, as cited in Koray, 2008:207), ideological message has changed where once it was ‘Never mind what work you do, so long as you get paid at the end of the month’, it is now ‘Never mind what you are paid, so long as you have a job’. In other words, be prepared to make any and every concession, to suffer humiliation or subjugation, to face competition and betrayal to get or to keep a job, since ‘those who lose their jobs lose everything’. If this is not the general feeling in society, it is at least the message of the dominant social discourse. It is a message which extols the centrality of work, presents it as a rare ‘commodity’, as something one does or does not have, not as something one does by expending one’s energies or one’s time. It presents work as an asset one should be prepared to make sacrifices to ‘possess’; an asset for whose creation employers, owners, investors and companies deserve the encouragement and recompense of the nation, together with subsidies, incentives and tax concessions from the Inland Revenue. Work is a commodity, employment is a privilege. And a rarer and rarer privilege, for ‘there is going to be a shortage of work’ and, whatever your skills, there is a danger you will have to ‘go without’ it before long.

Those who do not have the privilege to have this rare thing or who have to show extra determination and competition to have this privilege are the young and the women. In other words, for the women and the young population especially, unemployment now shows global, structural, persistent and common characteristics. These are the groups that have difficulty in holding on to labour market solidly, gaining privilege of employment and gaining a seat for themselves within the labour market. When the situation in both developed and developing countries is considered, it is seen that the leading group who are unemployed are the young women and this shows that they are the weakest link of the labour market. Neo-liberal model which attaches capitalism with patriarchy and which places women's labour on the reproduction of both male dominance and capital interest, on the basis of engaging capitalism with patriarchy, causes women to be disadvantageous in all fields of social life. As detailed in chapter 4, according to Moghadam (2005:17-23), in global labour markets women continue to face constraints in access to a livelihood and entitlements, due to:

- ✓ Inferior or incomplete schooling and inadequate training, which fail to prepare women for modern sector jobs;
- ✓ The widespread perception of women as less reliable workers, coupled with the persistence of the male breadwinner/female homemaker ideas (The patriarchal gender contract);
- ✓ Provisions in labour legislation that prohibit night work for women (interpreted in some places as the inability of women to apply for second-shift jobs in the industrial sector) or that require maternity leaves whose cost must be borne entirely by the employer;
- ✓ Employment costs to women, including infrastructural deficiencies (such as poor roads and public transportation, which result in lengthy travel time), and inadequate social policies to help women balance wage work and family responsibilities;
- ✓ Lack of gender sensitivity and gender awareness on the part of government officials and planners, and absence of integration of a gender dimension in economic policy making.

In these conditions, unsurprisingly, women's unemployment rate is nearly three times the rate of their labour force participation whereas men's unemployment rate is far lower than their rate of labour force participation. Accordingly, within the scope of the restructuring process since 1980s, the main factors affecting female unemployment and underemployment may be identified as follows (Moghadam, 2005:23) :

- ✓ Growth of the population of job-seeking women, propelled by economic need and declining household budgets, as well as educational attainment and personal aspirations;
- ✓ Rapid growth of the labour force due to relatively high fertility;
- ✓ Lack of job growth as a result of slow growth and lack of investments;
- ✓ Loss of jobs through privatization of state-owned enterprises;

- ✓ Fewer jobs available in the government sector due to contraction of the public-sector wage bill;
- ✓ Limited job opportunities in the private sector that are also 'women-friendly';
- ✓ Gender bias and discrimination, and the prevailing gender ideology that privileges men in recruitment and hiring.

All these points indicate that women's unemployment problem is a phenomenon that should be handled in three dimensions within the frame of interaction between capitalism and patriarchy upon family, state and labour market; and this is the only way that it can be really solved.

3.6 Structural Adjustment, Economic Restructuring and Its Gendered Reflections on Labour Market Indicators in Turkey

One of the pioneer country of structural adjustment was Turkey. As from 1980s, Turkey has selected export-oriented growth strategy which emphasizes free market economy, just like other developing countries did. The sphere of public economic activity was shrunked and the majority of public enterprises were transferred to the private sector through privatizations. Accordingly, state began to provide incentive credits and supports in the traditional export sectors in order to enable high value-added production. The 24th January decisions which were promptly accepted by international organizations and capital owners had some short-term aims such as rapid export increase, which is planned to be enabled through free/liberal interest policy, exchange rate and low wages policy, and thus improvement in balance of payments, fighting inflation, re-regulation of the state intervention in the economy with the help of a new sense, and increasing external credit rating of Turkey. The ultimate goal was to accomplish 'the integration with the world markets'. However, as stated by Topal (2002: 72-73), although 1970s witnessed the crisis of import substitution in Turkey, what is important here is that the crisis experienced in this period is a crisis of hegemony which cannot be overcome by economic restructuring only. It is not possible to implement the regulations, which were concretized as part of the structural adaptation programme of the 24th January, in the political balances in the early 1980s. The 1980 military intervention in Turkey should be seen as a kind of intervention which is aimed at making this programme applicable and at constructing a new hegemony.

On the other hand, economic and political transformation in Turkey which was felt to be necessary by the capital owners at the end of the 1970s, but which was finalized by the 24th January decisions deeply affected political, economic, social crisis and gender inequality in

Turkey. Regulations established by state and capital owners to integrate women's labour into the labour market are organized in a way that they will create competition opportunity. Moreover, similar to the experiences of other developing countries; service sector and informal sector are expanded; poverty and unemployment are emerged as a woman-centered problems. However, one of the most crucial phenomenon that distinguish Turkey's structural adjustment experience and its effects on women's labour from other countries' experiences is that no feminization of labour has ever been experienced in Turkey's industry sector (Eraydın & Erendil, 1996; Dedeoğlu, 1998; İlkaracan, 1998; Günlük-Şenesen, Pulhan & Özar, 2000). As a matter of fact, as mentioned by İlkaracan (1998:285-286), in many 'developing countries' adopting export-oriented industrialization policies in 1970s and 1980s, in export sectors especially where low-paid labour is used, it is seen that women's labour force participation rapidly increased in a way that it will create a phenomenon called 'feminization of labour'. However, women's employment has not undergone a similar transformation in Turkey in spite of the strategy of integration into the international markets and the increasing export rates. On the contrary, it is necessary to talk about a phenomenon called ever-increasing 'masculinization' of labour and employment in Turkey.

According to Günlük-Şenesen, Pulhan & Özar's study (2000:132-133), although textile-clothing is a sector in which women are generally employed, it is seen that men work in some fields in Turkey known as 'women's work'. For example, although dyeing and finishing subsector is a woman-intensive field in other countries, it is accepted as 'men's work' in Turkey. Low wages paid and men's being bored with such light works are among the reasons women tend to be employed in textile-clothing sector, and therefore it is set forth that men do not prefer to work in this sector. However, this inclination may not take place as expected in the conditions where men experience high unemployment rates. Considering that unemployment rates are high in Turkey and economy does not create employment, it is not very surprising that men go for the women's jobs and consequently limit the employment opportunities of women. Similar findings have also been obtained in another study made on the confection sector. An English director of a big confection firm states that the rate of men who work in confection firms is much more than the rate of men in England and Sri Lanka where he worked before. What's more, he also said he is very surprised that the best sewers are men (Eraydın & Erendil, 1996: 203).

Expansion of Service Sector

In parallel to the structural adjustment experiences of other developing countries, service sector in Turkey is expanding and it seems that it has the potential of providing employment for the women. Service sector in urban witness a higher women's employment rate than the rate witnessed across Turkey; in the year 2009, it includes 49% of the employed women and 22% of the young women. In general, although young women's employment rate in service sector is only 16% among women, it can be said that service sector provide a considerable employment opportunities for young women than other sectors⁵. Besides, there is an increase at varying rates at almost all service sub-sectors in terms of women's and young women's employment in urban; and the most significant increase is seen at 'Wholesale and Retail Trade, Restaurant and Hotels' subsectors and 'Social Services, Social and Personal Services' subsectors. As a matter of fact, in the year 2005, while the young women's service sector employment rate which is 24% in the 'Wholesale and Retail Trade, Restaurant and Hotels' subsector and the young women's service sector employment rate which is 20% in the 'Social Services, Social and Personal Services' sub-sector, they increased to 28% in the 'Wholesale and Retail Trade, Restaurant and Hotels' subsector and to 23% in the Social Services, Social and Personal Services' subsector in the year 2009⁶. When we compare the rates of young women's employment in industry (30%) and in business (28%) sectors to the rates of employment in service sector (36%), it is clear that the service sector is the one that provides most employment for the young women in urban areas. When we compare the employment of women and young women in industry sector in urban to their employment in service sector, it is seen that it is too low and it also tends to decline between the years of 2005-2009, in a way that it supports the idea that feminization is out of the question in industry sector. However, a phenomenon such as feminization of service sector is out of question in Turkey even though service sector is steadily expanding and seems that it has the potential of providing employment for the women. As a matter of fact, as mentioned by Ecevit (2008:139), it is expected that there is less segregation in the social services where the 'women-oriented' jobs are most available, and it is also expected that the rates of women are equalized with the rates of men in this sector, and even the feminization of such jobs is expected. However, gender based segregation in economic sectors in Turkey still continue;

⁵ TÜİK (2009), Household Labour Survey Statistics, Internet data base: [http:// www. tuik. gov.tr/ isgucuapp/isgucu.zul](http://www.tuik.gov.tr/isgucuapp/isgucu.zul), 01.10.2010

⁶ TÜİK (2009), Household Labour Survey Statistics, Internet data base, [http:// www. tuik. gov.tr/ isgucuapp/isgucu.zul](http://www.tuik.gov.tr/isgucuapp/isgucu.zul), 01.10.2010

the rate of women in social services sector where they are mostly employed is even too limited. While the rate of young men employed in service sector in 2009 was 69%, the rate of young women in the same sector was 31%. Above all, it should be emphasized that women and men do not share the employment rates equally in any sector. The only sector where the sharing of employment is almost equal is the agricultural sector with a rate of 42% young women's employment⁷.

As click into their places by following discussions, due to low employment rates, rudimentary nature of job creation and young women's relatively higher labour force participation in Turkey, statistics indicate that service sector is/will not be solution for young women's unemployment in Turkey. In other words, due to the contradiction between young women's labour supply and the amount of job created by economy, service sector is unable to generate employment opportunities for women and young women's labour. As noted in World Bank Turkey Labour Market Study (2006:17), despite output growth of Turkey is faster than that of related countries, employment growth in services presents slower pattern. Moreover, in contrast to the argument of Fodor (1997, 1998) examined in 3.3, it can not be assumed that service sector in Turkey protects young women from job loss/unemployment and provides them permanent jobs with regards to its articulation with informalization in labour market.

Expansion of Informal Sector and Employment

Indeed, in accordance with the restructuring experience of other developing countries, one of the important transformation in Turkey's labour market since 1980s is expansion of informal sector and intensification of women's employment in it. In fact, it is a known fact that structural adjustment programmes which were applied in 1980s caused an inability to create sufficient employment opportunity and consequently led to the emergence of the unemployed and thus caused the growth the informal sector which was already existent (Ecevit, 2000:125). As emphasized by Toksöz (2007:1), structural adjustment programmes and export-based growth strategies which were applied in the globalization process in 1980s brought various problems as well as some opportunities in terms of women's labour. While the growth which took place in the service sector created new opportunities for the qualified women's labour, the increase observed in the employment of wide and unqualified women's

⁷ TÜİK (2009), Household Labour Survey Statistics, Internet data base, [http:// www. tuik. gov. tr/ isgucuapp/isgucu.zul](http://www.tuik.gov.tr/isgucuapp/isgucu.zul), 01.10.2010

labour depended on the informal economy which became widespread in the large part of the developed and developing countries and on the industry and service employment. In order to be able to be successful in the world market-oriented production and price competition, governments headed for more deregulation, and legal procedures which protect labour were abolished and loosened on the grounds that they cause rigidity. Flexibility appeared in the form of a prevalence of employment forms which generally fall outside of all kinds of legal and institutional regulations in developing countries. This situation means that women's employment grows under inconvenient conditions in especially export-oriented sectors (Toksöz, 2007:1). As a result of governments' basing their international competitiveness on labour-intensive export since 1980s, the number of women employed in labour-intensive sectors such as confection production increased. However, women perform low-paid, insecure and irregular jobs in small workplaces under bad working conditions. In this way, informal sector gradually expanded, and people began to use this unregistered labour of women in export-oriented production and trade (Keig Report, 2009:12). On the other hand, it was seen that the women's labour stepping out of agricultural sector started to work on their own or to head for informal sector and informal forms of employment as a small family business (Toksöz, 2007:vi). As a matter of fact, although the rates do not reflect real numbers, 44% of the labour in Turkey is employed in informal sector in 2009. Informal employment is more widespread among women and young women. Indeed, in 2009, 58.3% of women and 58.9% of young women are employed in informal sector. Since 2008, while the number of women who work informally increased by 156.000, the number of men who work informally decreased by 48,000⁸.

In accordance with the examinations in 3.3, the high employment rates of women in informal sector should be evaluated in relation to economic policies which depend on low cost strategy in order to compete in global markets as a result of reconstruction after 1980 and are followed upon women, by joining with patriarchy. Besides, this high rate is also an indicator that women face difficulties and obstacles while they are obtaining formal employment opportunities. Women do not always constitute the majority in informal sector but informal sector provides more opportunities for women when compared to the opportunities provided by formal sector. Low wages in formal sector are compensated as long as income obtained from informal sector increases the total family income, and thus informal sector compensates formal sector which cannot compensate the reproduction of the family (Ecevit, 2000:33). In

⁸ TÜİK (2009), Household Labour Survey Statistics, Internet data base, <http://www.tuik.gov.tr/isgucuapp/isgucu.zul>, 01.10.2010

this context, although high rates of unregistered employment in Turkey is a fundamental employment problem for both gender, the most important dimension of prevalence of informality is the increasing weight of women's labour. However, the common and typical type of working for women is informal type of working and this means that more than half of working women lack of all kinds of social protection and they cannot benefit from any social security that will enable the continuity of income when their employment is over, such as unemployment pay and retirement pay (Ulutaş, 2009:50). Consequently, while considering the process after 1980, apart from job shortage problem, it is also necessary to question what kind of jobs have been created by this process and why women and young women have focused on such jobs. Indeed, as mentioned in ILO Report (GETsY, 2008:5);

Many new jobs are targeted at young women because they are perceived to be more amenable to control, more nimble-fingered, and cheaper to employ than their male counterparts. In many cases, the work to which young women gain access is characterized by long working hours with substandard conditions and subsistence wages. Many women are subjected to sexual harassment and/or abuse, and are routinely discharged if they marry, become pregnant or grow 'too old'. It is an unfortunate fact that gender discrimination continues to limit the access of young women to quality education and ultimately to decent work in many parts of the world.

Labour Force Participation Tendency

One of the most important results of the limitedness of the women's employment rate in the sectors which are expected to be feminized and the economy policies' being unable to create employment opportunities is the emergence of extremely low rates of women's labour force participation in Turkey and its relationship with the unemployment. Although export-oriented production and integration with global markets have increased in Turkey, no parallel transformation has been experienced in the rate of women's labour in industrial sector, and as a result of this, this low participation rate of women has maintained its level. In line with the emphasis in WB Turkey Labour Market Study (2006), "in Turkey, the decline in female labour force participation that began in the 1960s has not begun to reverse itself. A U-shaped pattern in female labour force participation is common as countries urbanized, but in Turkey, the labor force participation rate of urban women has remained very low". When we have a look at the tendency between the years of 2005-2009, it is seen that the women's labour force participation rates in urban areas were 18.7% in 2005 and 22.3% in 2009; and it is also observed that the rates are quite low in spite of the upward trend. Between the same years, while labour force participation rate of young women in

urban areas was 21.8% in 2005, it was 24.4% in 2009. Although labour force participation rate of young women was inclined to rise between the years of 2005-2009, it was still low; only 2 young women out of every 10 young women participate in the labour. The same rate is 50.5% for the young men⁹.

However, the numbers show us that the tendency of the young women's labour force participation especially in urban areas is higher than the other women of different age groups. In this context, one of the reasons why unemployment is a young women based problem is that the labour force participation rate of women in urban areas especially is generally between the age group of 15-24, and the systematic decrease of the outdoor working ability and labour force participation rate of women due to the reasons such as marriage and children after mid-thirties. Employment time of women in a paid job in Turkey is limited to 8 years on average and more than half of the women work approximately 5 years before marriage and pregnancy (Özar 1994, as cited in Dedeoğlu, 2004:264). Consequently, as emphasized by Ecevit (2008:151), whatever the reason, 'women's labour in urban areas is young labour', and the precautions to be taken in order to relieve the unemployment problem of women should be intended especially for young women. As a matter of fact, young women's unemployment rate and employment rate, whose LFP rates in urban areas in 2009 was 24.4%, were 31.3% and 16.8%, respectively. In 2009, young men's LFP rate, unemployment rate and employment rate were 50.5%, 26.6% and 37.1%, respectively¹⁰. These rates show us that the young women are the most disadvantaged group in terms of all labour force indicators, and they also show the gender gap on all indicators. Consequently, low rates of LFP of women and young women should be evaluated as an important indication and outcome that they are too far away from the employment opportunities. However, employment, especially if it is salaried, is an important tool for eliminating gender inequalities available between men and women in almost all countries. Not being able to be employed blocks the road that will let women reach economic freedom and also plays an important role in deepening and sharpening social gender inequalities (Ecevit, 2008:118).

On the other hand, the low rates of LFP of young people is explained by the long period of time they spend in education. However, it is considered possible that some youth in the

⁹ TÜİK (2009), Household Labour Survey Statistics, Internet data base, [http:// www. tuik. gov.tr/ isgucuapp/isgucu.zul](http://www.tuik.gov.tr/isgucuapp/isgucu.zul), 01.10.2010

¹⁰ TÜİK (2009), Household Labour Survey Statistics, Internet data base, [http:// www. tuik. gov.tr/ isgucuapp/isgucu.zul](http://www.tuik.gov.tr/isgucuapp/isgucu.zul), 01.10.2010

region are ‘hiding’ in the education system, postponing their exit with additional years of study or additional degrees in order to avoid what would likely be a difficult and frustrating job search (ILO GETsY, 2008:42). In fact, one of the most important factors that increases the rate of women’s LFP in Turkey is education. When we have a look at the rates of LFP of young women in Turkey according to their education level, it is seen that the higher the education level, the more the LFP rate is. As a matter of fact, it is seen that the rate of LFP of young women in urban areas in 2009 who are university graduates is quite high (74.0%). This groups is followed by technical high school graduates with the rate of 47.1% and high school graduates with the rate of 27.4% and technical secondary school graduates with the rate of 26.1%¹¹.

When compared to men, it is observed that education is more determinant in the rates of labour force participation of women in urban areas. Although education has positive effect on women’s LFP, it does not mean that women’s educational profile is better than men’s: For all education level, LFP rate of women is lower than that of men. Moreover, although women with highest education has higher labour participation rate, this rate is less than LFP rates of men with high and vocational high school graduation. However, the great majority of women participating in labour force in urban areas consists of educated young women. But, the positive effect of education on the rate of labour force participation does not reflect on the employment rates. In fact, one of the most important characteristic of women’s and young women’s unemployment in Turkey is that unemployment rate is high among educated women and young women, when compared to other groups. When we have a look at the women’s unemployment rates in urban areas according to their education levels, this rate is 36.0% in 2009 for university graduates, 35.4% for high school graduates, 32.7% for technical high school graduates¹². In this context, as emphasized by Toksöz (2007:26), it is clear that women will begin to seek for jobs in urban areas depending on the increase of their education levels, and it is essential to give more importance on the struggle against women’s unemployment on public policies due to the fact that the rates of women’s unemployment will increase in the following period. The most important deciding factor here is whether or not the economy policies applied within the period after 1980 created qualified jobs for the young women with high education levels.

¹¹ TÜİK (2009), Household Labour Survey Statistics, Internet data base, [http:// www. tuik. gov.tr/ isgucuapp/isgucu.zul](http://www.tuik.gov.tr/isgucuapp/isgucu.zul), 01.10.2010

¹² TÜİK (2009), Household Labour Survey Statistics, Internet data base, [http:// www. tuik. gov.tr/ isgucuapp/isgucu.zul](http://www.tuik.gov.tr/isgucuapp/isgucu.zul), 01.10.2010

On the other hand, another deciding factor which has impact on women's LFP is marriage and children. When we have a look at the rates of the LFP of young women in urban areas according to their marital status; the rate of married young women's labour force participation (13.5%) is behind unmarried women (28.1%) divorced women (46.2%) and widowed women (48.1%). This situation should be evaluated as an indication of gender-based division of labour or an indication of patriarchal processes that determine the labour force participation of women. "Lower female participation rates in urban setting reflect social custom whereby married women are expected to devote themselves to child rearing. Interestingly, young, unmarried women with greater financial need and less onerous family responsibilities are three times more likely than married women to take place in the labour force" (Tunalı, 2003). As a matter of fact, considering women's work life participation according to their features as an individual (education, job experience) and to their motivations (will to succeed, eagerness to work) or to their wages obtained from labour market can be a valid argument on condition that women, especially married women, have a family independent status in society as an individual. However, findings show that social status of women, especially married women, is derived from their husbands' status and therefore it is necessary to deal with the social status of husbands as one of the deciding factors while evaluating labour force participation patterns (Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver, 1998:38). Because, numbers indicate that women can participate in labour more comfortably when they are not married or if they don't have husbands. On the other hand, the absence of public child care institutions cause married women or women with children to stay in their houses to look after their children, because of the fact that they cannot benefit from private services due to high prices other than the lucky ones who can solve the problem by receiving support from the family elders (Ansal, 2000:57-68, as cited in Toksöz, 2007:24). As young women advance to mid-twenties, this problem becomes more common, and more than 80% of the young unemployed women between the age group of 25-29 tells that houseworks and child care are the reasons why they are not employed (WB Report, 2008:20).

However, the most important indication which has an influence on labour force participation in terms of young women is the employment rates. In fact, as argued by Yükseler & Türkan (2008:49, as cited in Özkaplan, 2008:16), not preferring to be a housewife but being unable to find a job, participating in education and retiring are the reasons of not being 'active' in the period of 2001 financial crisis and the post-period. The reasons of not being active have changed in the 2000s; the increase in the number of people who are not seeking for a job but ready to start to work is remarkable. This is an indication that economy does not create

employment opportunities especially for women's labour. In such a case, young women seek for jobs, they are soon after recorded on unemployment figures as the discouraged unemployed, and if they still cannot find a job then they withdraw from the labour market completely. In this context, when we have a look at the unemployment rates among women in urban areas according to marital status, it is seen that the unemployment rate among unmarried women (27%) in 2009 is ahead of the rate among other married women (14.9%), divorced women (26.8%) and widowed women (15.7%)¹³. Reason for this situation is that married women withdraw from labour force after they get married and have children, and the high rates of labour force participation of unmarried women of which the majority is the young women. The fact that the divorced women have to find a job in order to look after themselves and their children, if available, and this situation increases the tendency that they participate in labour force and accept all kinds of works can be the reason why divorced women's unemployment rate closely follows the unmarried women's unemployment rate.

Discussions show us that one of the most deciding factors in terms of unemployment and employment figures in Turkey is labour force participation rates. In other words, the analyses and the comparisons to be made in terms of unemployment must be evaluated together with the labour force participation rates. Discussions above indicate that unemployment rates are too high and employment rates are low although young women's labour force participation is low. The important point here is that the low rates of labour force participation of the young and the women conceal the high rates of the unemployment and the unemployed people in Turkey. Although it is claimed that the unemployment is the common problem of all countries and Turkey is in good condition by comparing the unemployment rates in Turkey to the unemployment rates in other European countries, it is not accurate to make such a comparison. Because, labour force participation rates should also be taken into account in order to be able to make an objective comparison. Moreover, this rate is high in European countries. As of 2009, while the rate of women's labour force participation and employment in Turkey is around 26% and 22.3%¹⁴, these rate are 63.9% and 59,1% in EU-27 countries, as of 2008. The real rates of women's unemployment in Turkey are left in the dark due to these low rates. As stated by Ercan (2007), it is known that it is necessary to significantly increase the labour force participation of women in Turkey. Besides, the labour force status of women workers in urban areas today who used to work as unpaid family workers in the

¹³ TÜİK (2009), Household Labour Survey Statistics, Internet data base, <http://www.tuik.gov.tr/isgucuapp/isgucu.zul>, 01.10.2010

¹⁴ TÜİK (2009), Household Labour Survey Statistics, Internet data base, <http://www.tuik.gov.tr/isgucuapp/isgucu.zul>, 01.10.2010

agricultural sector is possibly seen as a ‘chance’ by the politicians; because, unemployment rates do not increase because of the participation rate in this sector which tends to decrease.

Export-Oriented Industrialization Model

What discussions above indicate is always the same point: The limited number of women in industry and service sectors, feminization of informal employment, women’s low labour force participation, low employment and high unemployment rates should be interpreted as a sign of the fact that *export-oriented industrialization model does not generate employment opportunities for labour especially young women’s labour in Turkey*. While labour force in urban areas increased by 1.539.000 people between the years of 2005-2009, the number of the employed increased only by 713.000 people. This rate is far more behind labour force. The situation is more desperate in terms of the young women despite their low LFP rates. As a matter of fact, while young women’s labour force in Turkey between the years of 2005-2009 increased by 41.000, the number of the young women employed did not increase at all, and even in contrast to this, it decreased by 36.000 people¹⁵. The increasing export in Turkey in the 1980s was enabled by the high utilisation of the established capacity and by the suppression of domestic demand; and therefore, its employment creation role remained limited (Ecevit, 1999, 2008; Özar & Ercan, 2004; Toksöz, 2007). According to Şenses (2000:156), in order to exemplify the reasons why employment increases obtained in the period after 1980 were behind the employment increases obtained in the period before 1980, it can be said: industrialisation process have faltered without gaining depth into intermediate and investment goods industries; state has had an adverse effect on agricultural production by reducing the supports provided to the agricultural sector under the name of agricultural reform; state has deliberately withdrawn from industry investments; and state has not made further investment attempts in other fields due to public financing obstacles. The gap created by the public sector has not been able to be filled by private, domestic and foreign investments; and consequently, private investments began to move into service sectors. It was seen that the activities in financial sector, instead of real sector, have gained increasing importance in terms of the profitability of major industrial enterprises against relatively higher profitability of financial tools. The fact that the export-oriented industrialization model in Turkey did not create new investments and thus labour demand on an expected

¹⁵ TÜİK (2009), Household Labour Survey Statistics, Internet data base, [http:// www. tuik. gov.tr/ isgucuapp/isgucu.zul](http://www.tuik.gov.tr/isgucuapp/isgucu.zul), 01.10.2010

scale and the fact that foreign capital investments remained at small amounts has caused women's labour demand to remain limited (Kardam & Toksöz, 2004:153; Toksöz, 2007:2).

However, as mentioned by Ecevit (2000:179-180), economic policies and their preferences also play role in the creation and persistence of the unemployment. In Turkey, the ratio of fixed capital investments to national income has been low for a long time. The decrease of the unemployment is related to the increase of this rate. No growth can be achieved through a low investment volume, and besides, no solution can be created for the unemployment through this low volume. On the other hand, it is also important where the investments are made in, namely distribution of investments, as well as the amount of the fixed capital investments. While Turkey was a country which had made more than 50% of its fixed capital investments in the industrial sector till 1980s, this rate rapidly decreased after 1980. The investments which are made in the industrial sector have been replaced by the services sector and the residential investments. No any major decrease can be experienced in the rate of the unemployed people as long as this composition of the investments does not change and the rate of industrial investments in all investments does not increase. Especially, it is very important that new employment opportunities are not created and increased for the youth and the young women in urban areas. Because, high rates of non-agricultural unemployment indicate that the unemployment is a urban-based problem for especially the young women. As a matter of fact, in 2009, non-agricultural unemployment rate of the young women in urban areas is 32.3%. The same rate is 27.0% for the young men and it is 28.7% in the young labour force as a whole¹⁶. As distinct from the other developed and developing countries, the phenomenon that requires the prompt solution of the young's and the young women's unemployment in Turkey is that Turkey is in demographic transition process. According to population projections, the size of the adult population in Turkey will steadily increase until 2025 and labour supply will gradually increase. This period of time is expected to be between 20-25 years for Turkey and it is claimed that this situation will constitute a 'demographic opportunity window' for the country. The important point here is that 'opportunity window' will mean more unemployment in Turkey if investment and production, namely employment, are not increased sufficiently and not developed in accordance with the production structure characteristics of the people who are in the working age (Erdayı, 2009:55; Özar & Ercan, 2004:201).

¹⁶ TÜİK (2009), Household Labour Survey Statistics, Internet data base, <http://www.tuik.gov.tr/isgucuapp/isgucu.zul>, 01.10.2010

Duration of Unemployment

As a reflection of high unemployment rates and low employment rates, the share of the long-term unemployment for women in total share is much higher, when compared to that of men, and this is one of the important characteristic of young women's unemployment in Turkey. While the share of the rate of the long-term unemployment in 2009 in urban areas is 32% among women, this rate is 23% among men. In other words, the rate of the long-term unemployed women to that of the total unemployed women is 9 points higher when compared to that of men. In contrast, short-term unemployment is more common among the unemployed men. Still, young women constitutes the most disadvantageous group. As a matter of fact, while the unemployment duration among young women in 2009 is 27.5%, this rate is 20.1% among men. Here are the reasons why unemployment period/duration is longer for the young people: the majority of these young unemployed people have just graduated; they are the group which seeks for a job for the first time; it takes some time for these people to find a suitable job for themselves after they have entered into labour market; they are more selective at the beginning; the demand is weak for these young people because of their inexperience (Ulus & Ezberci, 2004:160). On the other hand, it is said that this period/duration is longer in Turkey because of the reasons such as the inadequacy in the employment channels (job placement channels), young people's lack of information about how they will seek for a job, and the unavailability of labour market information system (Türk-İş Report, 2005:107). However, as emphasized by Ecevit (2008:153), the gender gap in duration of unemployment can be interpreted as a sign of women's, especially young women's, difficulty in accessing employment opportunities or discrimination in labour market.

Why the unemployment period of the youth and the young women is long is generally explained in the context of their human capitals. Accordingly, the young women's low human capitals increase both their unemployment rates and their unemployment durations. It is certain that employers shall be more inclined to choose candidates having higher human capital, in the presence of such a large mass of unemployed people. In such a case, it is inevitable that women, who are in a less advantageous situation when compared to men, will lose their chances (Ecevit, 2008:153). However, statistics show that the unemployment duration among young women in Turkey becomes longer in the well-educated group. Indeed, parallel with their unemployment rates, statistics show that, in 2009, the highest percentage of the long-term unemployed comprises high school graduates young women

(29.5 %), university and college graduates young women (23.8%), and vocational high school graduates young women (19%) The lowest percentage of the long-term unemployed comprises non-graduates and junior secondary school graduates, 8.6% and 17.1%, respectively¹⁷. The reason for this situation is that people with higher education level are usually selective. According to Gürses, Güner & Darbaz (2009), the fact that the women participating in labour force are more educated than men is one of the factors that affect the unemployment durations of women. The fact that the women seek for more qualified jobs in parallel to their high education levels can be the reason why women remain unemployed for longer durations. On the other hand, prior work experiences considerably reduce unemployment durations. As stated by Gürses, Güner & Darbaz (2009), the fact that 3 women out of every 10 unemployed women has never worked before, in other words, low experience levels of women, make women's labour market adaptation difficult and extends unemployment durations. However, even when this example is limited to the people who have worked before, women's unemployment durations are still longer. It is still valid for all education levels that the women's unemployment durations are longer. In other words, gender-based differentiation which is observed in the unemployment durations can't be completely explained even when education and work experience is taken into consideration (Gürsel, Güner & Darbaz, 2009), and consequently, this makes it essential to examine and question patriarchal processes underlying women's unemployment.

As a matter of fact, women may hesitate to accept some jobs which are suitable for their human capitals (labour force) but which are not defined as 'woman's job'. What stands out here are the value judgements concerning 'suitable jobs' that women and men have to perform (Ecevit, 2008:153). On the other hand, one of the most important deciding factor on women's unemployment durations are high reservation wages (Tansel & Taşçı, 2004:23). Women can be selective while choosing their jobs because of the excessive compulsive force of working conditions (such as shift or irregular working hours, distance between home and work place) for establishing family and job balances. The fact that women's income is evaluated as a side income in the patriarchal family structure and the perception that thinks that the main responsibility of women consists of housework also contribute to this situation. In other words, women seeking for a job act by considering their productivity in housework while evaluating possible job opportunities because dealing with housework is always an acceptable and productive activity for the unemployed women. Productivity in housework,

¹⁷ TÜİK (2009), Household Labour Survey Statistics, Internet data base, <http://www.tuik.gov.tr/isgucuapp/isgucu.zul>, 01.10.2010

by increasing reservation wages, will decrease the possibility of employment that will meet these expectations, and consequently, it will extend women's unemployment durations. Therefore, one of the most important obstacles in front of the women's employment are probably these indoor responsibilities. (Gürsel, Güner & Darbaz, 2009). Indeed, "the age cohort of women that is most likely to have young children accounts for a large proportion of the female group that experiences longer duration of unemployment" (Du & Dong, 2008:2). If considered in terms of demand, the most important factor that longer young women's unemployment durations is the existence of discriminatory tendencies against women in the labour market. Indeed, employers' patriarchal prejudices against women may also play a role in lengthening women's job search periods (Tansel & Taşçı, 2004; Du & Dong, 2008: 6).

The critical point concerning the long unemployment durations of women and young women is the high possibility of long-term unemployment will result in discouragement for women and young women in the context of patriarchal construct. It can be easily argued that the longer the duration of unemployment the higher the possibility of women's being discouraged. Indeed, As argued by Bolcan (2006:20), women who seek for a job for a time but can't find one give up seeking for a job with the thought that working will already be a second burden on themselves, and consequently, they continue to be housewives. The problem here is that the long-term unemployed discouraged young women completely withdraw from labour market and this situation decreases the unemployment figures and makes them invisible.

3.7 Conclusion

All discussions show that the post-1980 period created destructive effects on young population's and women's labour market position in Turkey and other developing countries. Especially young women are surrounded with patriarchal obstacles, and on the other hand, surrounded with a situation in which the economy does not generate employment opportunities. Even if young women are ready to meet, accept and overcome all requirements and barriers in the labour market, the labour market, itself, does not call the labour, especially women's labour due to the absence of job opportunities. In this context, it should be emphasized that the model of this study introduced in 2.6 only become meaningful if structural adjustment experience of Turkey is added to unemployment analysis. Although structural adjustment experience of Turkey is similar with the experiences of other developing countries, non-feminization of labour force or employment, employment creation

challenge of implemented economy policies since 1980s, Turkey's being in demographic transition period and young women's labour force participation tendencies structuralize and elaborate young women's unemployment in Turkey.

Traditional explanations for differential rates of unemployment typically fall into supply- and demand-side causes (Seguino, 2004; Erdayı, 2009). Supply side explanations focus attention on individual characteristics, with group with higher unemployment rates expected to have fewer marketable attributes and lower productivity than the group with lower unemployment rates. Demand-side explanations relate to structural economic conditions in society and in labor markets, as well as the country's development strategy and cultural norms that results in differing demands for male and female labor. An unsurprising outcome of neo-liberalism or new-right political approach, unemployment, its reasons and offered employment policies are focused on supply side explanations. In other words, the effectiveness of implemented economy policies in job creation, private sphere based dimensions of unemployment and ideological operation of state, labour market and family is ignored especially since 1980s. In this context, the following chapter focuses on examining the reasons of young women's unemployment in Turkey with regards to its supply and demand side dimensions and aims to combine the model and structural adjustment experience of Turkey within a gender sensitive perspective.

CHAPTER 4

YOUNG WOMEN'S UNEMPLOYMENT IN TURKEY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on main features of young women's unemployment in Turkey. The examination is based on the model of the study, discussed in 2.6, in which the reasons of young women's unemployment are leaned on entwined patriarchal capitalist operation of state, labour market and family - in macro-level. This chapter also provides screening of the reproduction of patriarchal capitalist premises in state's official documents and regulations, employers' recruitment practices and young women's job seeking, finding and accepting processes - in micro-level-. It is argued that the issue can be considered only by examining the embeddedness of patriarchal capitalist state, patriarchal capitalist labour market and patriarchal family in capitalism and these articulations' implications on labour-capital matching process. Moreover, the chapter combines this model with Turkey's structural adjustment experience and provides a Turkey specific examination of young women's unemployment.

4.2 Patriarchal State: The Articulation of New-Right and Patriarchy

This subsection focuses on examining the invisible handshake between neo-liberal capitalism and patriarchy in state's approaches and practices to young women's unemployment/employment. After discussing the changing logic of social policy and its' patriarchal attributions, this section goes on with gender-sensitive evaluation of three main dimensions of governments' standing to young women's unemployment - composed of active labour market policies, flexibility or flexicurity and entrepreneurship - and finishes with revealing its' reflections on legal regulations, development plan 9 and recent employment package.

4.2.1 From Welfare to Workfare: Gender-Blind Nature of Social Policy

Since 1980s, ideological, political, social and economic transformation of societies and reconfiguration of labour market with regards to neoliberal/new right logic have been

experienced. The social policy of Turkey has been relied on this logic in which patriarchal nature of state is smelled to high heaven. One of the most important outcome of neo-liberal or new right approach is the sharpening of welfare state or transformation of *welfare* to *workfare*. As discussed in 3.6 and remarked by many scholars (Standing, 1991:39; Kapar, 2006:342-343), the dominant idea on unemployment policies as from 1980's is that the unemployment is not a problem caused by social structure and conditions, but a self-imposed case accompanied by the choices and preferences of the persons themselves, as well as human capital. This concept encumbers the persons to rule out the negative results of the unemployment, thereby leading to mask the economic, social and political significance of the unemployment and unemployed persons. Particularly, the theories such as Human Capital, Preference and Parsonian Functionalism, discussed in 2.2, arguing the women's unemployment without challenging the gender-based division of labour, attributes the causes of women's unemployment to their low human capitals, low commitment rates, and low will to work, and assesses it as a personal choice of women. Moreover, as gender-based division of labour is considered to be functional by the society, the unemployment affair becomes trivialized and normalized but not a substantial element of social policy. Instead, workfare which is fictionalized upon gender based division of labour holds the women responsible for the sustainability of the system.

In line with the socialist feminist approach presuming the articulation of capitalism and patriarchy, as argued by Topal (2002:66-67), new right logic may be perceived as a peace agreement established and signed between the liberalism and conservatism which have been considered as adversaries for hundreds of years. Nevertheless, this alliance is not a coincidence but a logically shaped project. On the one hand, it is presumed that the state should not be regarded as an employer and the governmental expenses should be reduced in order to regress the state to a point in the economic area - that is, in order to provide the macro-economic stability, on the other hand, the gaps and social reactions arisen from such changes are intended to be covered by the conservative institutions and values such as family, religion, and national identity. In this context, it is clear that patriarchal ideological configuration is an indispensable right arm of new-right logic: Neoliberal governments, representing articulation of conservatism and economic liberalism, lean their bases on gender-based division of labour and reproduce women's position in patriarchal labour market by blessing family, motherhood and women's domestic roles to legitimate or facilitate their withdrawal from welfare provisions. Accordingly, as argued by Pateman (1992:232, as cited in Briar, 1997:177), the state confirms rather than ameliorates women's

social exile. In fact, “working women’s subordination is maintained by what governments refuse to do. Just as the state’s own discriminatory practices are hidden, its powerful potential to overcome inequalities is also concealed” (Briar, 1997:177).

This invisible handshake between new-right and patriarchy gives rise to trivialization of young women’s unemployment. As supporting the discussions in 2.3 and observed in studies of Bruegel (1979:21), Miles (2002:425) and Du & Dong (2008:5), in conjunction with the historical patterns of gender-based division of labour, women’s unemployment is not considered as a problem of public policy; the design of the programmes obviously overlooked women and create gender inequality in access to employment programmes, which intensifies the gender disparity in the probability of employment. Moreover, with regards to gender-based division of labour, as women’s main role in the society is breadmaker, “the problem of youth unemployment is seen as a problem of young men’s out on the streets, of potential disruption to the social order; hence the emphasis in programmes on training and integrating boys into work roles” (Bruegel, 1979:21). However, feminist standpoint requires not inclusion of gender to social policy but reconfiguration of whole social policy per including gender perspective incontrovertibly. Feminist scholars stress on the fact that gender should be mainstream approach of social policy, it must respond to the special needs of women as seriously as the needs of men and argue that the lack of gender sensitivity and gender awareness on the part of government officials and planners, and the absence of integration of a gender dimension into policy initiatives would amount to discrimination against women (Rosenman, 1979:24; Ecevit, 2000:180; Moghadam, 2005:18; Toksöz, 2007:3-4).

4.2.2 Government’s Approach to Young Women’ Unemployment

In addition to gender-blind nature of social policy, it should be emphasized that although Turkey ratified ILO Convention no 122¹⁸ in 1976, Turkey is still lack of national employment strategy. Its preparation has been on the agenda of government and it was expected to be finished on last June. However, government has not made a statement about the issue yet. The Turkish Employment Agency (İŞKUR) has been designated responsible for employment, however, as argued by Ecevit (2008:200), employment is such a general and political affair that may not be under the initiative of such implementing agencies as İSKUR. The other institutions with the similar properties and İSKUR may provide the

¹⁸ For further information see, http://www.ble.dole.gov.ph/issuances/ILO_122.pdf, 25.10.2010.

relevant information and experience to the policymakers. However, the governments are/should be the final stages to determine the employment policy. A national employment policy which focuses upon the whole labour will determine the context, content and scale of the women's participation into labour, which is therefore of importance. Within this framework, as remarked by Toksöz (2007) and Ecevit (2008), Turkey is not only in need of a national employment policy but it is also in need of the establishment of a comprehensive 'women employment policy' which centralizes gender perspective, which includes the determination and surveillance of time dependent targets, strategies in a substantial level, the description and definitions of the responsible institutions and which is prepared by the participation of social parties. Unless gender mainstreaming becomes a standard, these policies will not go beyond the declaration of intentions.

On the other hand, in Turkey, with regards to Turkey's EU Membership process, governments' employment strategy is based on European Employment Strategy (EES). EES is composed of four integrated strands of actions; *employability*, *entrepreneurship*, *adaptability*, and *equal opportunities*. These 4 integrated strands are based on the transition from passive policies to active policies or the strengthening of active labour market policies to make employment an option for everyone especially for more vulnerable groups like women (European Commission, 2007:20; Toksöz, 2007:53). As signaled by Toksöz (2007:viii) and Ecevit (2008:182), in line with EES, 3 basic strategies pronounced in all the policies and reports concerning women's employment are *extending the flexible working conditions*, *the promotion of women entrepreneurship*, and *the increase of the women's employability* by training the women who cannot enter in the labour market due to their low human capital level. This is particularly an indicator of the fact that "strategies that are important but, do not address some fundamental sources of do inequality" (Pyle & Ward, 2003:463). In this context, following parts of the subsection focus on gender sensitive examination of these three main strategies promoted as solutions of young women's unemployment and revealing their patriarchal nature.

4.2.2.1 Active Labour Market Policies

Although the active labour market policies (ALMPs) were known until the 1980s, they did not attract the interest of the politicians and implementers and did not withdraw a substantial support. Nevertheless, the active labour market policies which have been attached importance since then with the onset of the unemployment problem in the 1980s have

become the backbones of the employment policies of numerous countries (Kapar, 2006:344). Particularly, all the reasons and solutions of young and women's unemployment -classified as disadvantage groups- have been described and discussed under the policies of the active labour market. Practically, the difference between active and passive policies depends on that while passive policies do not impose training or work conditionality for benefit receivers, active policies, on the other hand, impose such conditionalities (Auer & Popova, 2003:22). It is frequently stressed that passive policies should be transformed to the active policies when considering the unemployment struggle. However, it is practically seen that such a transition is not available, on the contrary, both policies are integrated, and the program components are combined (Berkel, 2000:3; Auer & Popova, 2003:22; Kapar, 2006:345-346). Because, income support via unemployment compensations is the most effective and safe method to activate the unemployed person. Still, in most cases it is the condition for an unemployed person to involve in the active programs for benefiting from unemployment compensations, and the conditions of the unemployment insurance or fund for the unemployed person include the criteria such as actively seeking a job, accepting the appropriate one or participating in the active programs. If the unemployed person does not regularly follow the active programs, the unemployment compensation is reduced, and halted for some time or stopped (Berkel, 2000:3; Kapar, 2006:345,368). In here, it should be mentioned that these programmes, unifying unemployment compensations with active measures represents a shift from welfare to workfare; shift from income replacement payments without work or employment conditionality to active policies (Auer & Popova, 2003: 22; Kapar, 2006: 368).

Active and passive policies are also integrated in Turkey when considering the applications. In the 7th five year development plan of Turkish Republic during the period between 1996-2000, the precautions for active labour market has initially been mentioned as follows:

A regulation of labour market, both safe and flexible, will be implemented and the integration studies including the skill training and retraining programs that will enable the better responses to the market conditions will be focused. Within this framework, the precautions for active labour market in the context of globalization and EU harmonization process, and the Turkish Employment Institution (İŞKUR) will be organized to provide contemporary employment services and will be reorganized under the name of İSKUR. (Development Plan 7,1996:54)

Therefore, İİBK was re-organized in 2000 in order to promote the effectiveness of the labour market in accordance with the statutory decree numbered 617 and also re-established under

the name of ISKUR, which enabled the active service for struggling with unemployment, and ISKUR was held responsible for implementing the active labour market policies as well as the passive labour market policies (Uşen, 2007:84). ALMPs vary from countries to countries in terms of context and forms of implementation, but include the policies such as reducing the unemployment, protecting and promoting the employment rates, via directly public works establishment programs, wage subventions, professional training for labour market, internship programs, encouraging the entrepreneurship, guidance and consultancy services, developing the new job seeking strategies, job placement services and the policies requiring the participation of the social parties (Türk-İş Report, 2005:128; Akgül, Dinçer & Kolaşin, 2008:5; Erdayı, 2009: 57).

However, as argued by Kapar (2006:368), although the active policies include many and various programs with different properties, an estimation is available, which suggests the fact that active policies are solely vocational training and occupational retraining programs. Even considering the conditions in Turkey, almost all the active labour market policies are equalized or reduced to vocational training and related courses. The underlying reason of this fact, as compatible with EES and Human Capital argument discussed in 4.2.2 and 2.2.2, is the suggestion of the fact that the labour does not adapt at the information based technologies and recent economic conditions such as globalization of capital, and that it is closely related to the flexibility of labour presentation and quality. On the other hand, the structure and quality of the labour will be irreversibly considered not to be amended, directed, organized and overcome with economic and social policies. The fact that this concept has become common has strengthened the tendency of the labour market policies as to be amended for solely organizing the presentation forms of labour market (White, 2001:4, as cited in Kapar, 2006:344). All the labour including the women will be retrained, and the vocational training of the young for high efficiency will be delivered, and the vocational training that will closely help to follow the technological developments and the programs that will enable the increase of the competitive power of the corporations will be arranged in this new system (Akhun, Kavak & Senemoğlu, 1999:28).

The labour force training courses establishing the main axis of the active labour market policies in Turkey may be organized for all the areas demanded in the labour market, the financial source of such courses is met by the ISKUR throughout Turkey. Employers shall be held responsible for employing some of those trained labour in the end of the course. In this way, the qualified labour need of labour market is met, and the other unqualified labourers

are trained and provided with vocational knowledge and those trained become ready to be employed (Türk-İş Report, 2005:128). It is generally argued that ALMPs basically play a role to improve the defects occurring in the labour market and education system, and to enable the direct employment of the persons by increasing the employability other than eradicating the undesired results of the unemployment such as income loss (Selamoğlu & Lordoğlu, 2006: 212). In addition, it is stressed out that the discriminatory approaches of the employers for employing the unexperienced young persons for not tolerating the additional expenses for growing those young persons are eliminated.

Particularly considering that the women's unemployment is argued on the fact that the women's human capital is low in the urban areas, and the fact that those trained are not provided with professional skill, it may be presumed that the policies which are related to the women's employment, and particularly young women's employment policies are based upon the professional training and certificates and training courses delivered by İŞKUR. It is assumed that vocational training courses will increase employability of the young women and will provide the appropriate jobs. However, if their application rates to İŞKUR and the rate of placed applicants are considered, it can be clearly seen that İŞKUR is far from offering a future for women and young women. Accordingly, 10.113 labour force training courses were opened in 2009 and out of 213.852 participants of such courses 93.753 (43%) were women¹⁹. Moreover, although 512,780 women applied İŞKUR for finding a job (%36 of whole applicants) in 2009 only 18% of them could benefit from vocational training programmes and only %25 of placed persons in the same year are women²⁰. Considering the applications and employment rates of the applicants between the ages of 15-24, in 2009²¹, almost half of those applying with the hope of employment, 34%, were the young persons, but the employed/placed young were 22%. Interestingly, the application rate of the young women was 13% and of those 7,3% were employed. In this context, as questioned by Ecevit (2008:191), despite the vocational training programs applied within the scope of the active labour market policies, the fact that no any increase is seen in the women employment rates demonstrates that these trainings did not increase the employment rates of women or many unemployed women were excluded due to the low numbers of women applicants despite the fact that the trainings were successful. Moreover, in the light of the statistics, the importance of the participation of the women in the employment guarantee courses is attached (Toksöz,

¹⁹ http://statik.iskur.gov.tr/tr/ark/ark/2009tr_dosyalar/TABLO%2042.pdf, 23.07.2010

²⁰ http://statik.iskur.gov.tr/tr/ark/ark/2009tr_dosyalar/TABLO%205.pdf, 23.07.2010

²¹ http://statik.iskur.gov.tr/tr/ark/ark/2009tr_dosyalar/TABLO%2020.pdf, 23.07.2010

2007:72) and it is confirmed that a quota for women should be placed in such courses (Keig Report, 2009:27).

That the young women especially presented with high unemployment rates and long term unemployment is associated with the fact that traditional value judgement limits the job seeking processes and the appropriate jobs, and relevant specific ALMPs are required to be developed and implemented for those women by considering this case (Toksöz, 2007:39). As emphasized by Ecevit (2008:204), it is observed that ALMPs have been used to increase the employment rates of the women in the EU countries. This performance has been provided with the determination of appropriate policies including the job seeking, job placement, vocational training, and entrepreneurship encouragements, and designation, planning and implementation of such policies as the macro scale governmental procedures. As the vocational training services in Turkey are provided without establishing any relation with the market demands, and without any plan and coordination with the market, and as the other political tools to be considered as ALMPs are not developed, it leads to the fact that such tools are not used in Turkey but in other countries with low rates of women unemployment. Moreover, as the employment-associated institutions do not maintain effective cooperation with ISKUR in terms of job direction, the course trainees become unemployed. Although the positive endeavors are available in terms of vocational and qualification provision, not sufficient numbers of women are included and also not a satisfactory cooperation is established to advertise the activities such as training and projects (Türk-İş Report, 2005:113). On the other hand, the trainings delivered to the women in these courses are rather gender based. Thus, following the other and manual worker categories, if the labour force training courses in 2009²² is considered, it is seen that the women respectively preferred these trainings Computerized Accounting staff (6.167), Babysitter (4.603), Computer Manager (4.299), Machine Operator (3.119), Labourer, manufacturing/readymade (3.101), Haircutter (2.856), Old and Sick People Nurse (2.551), Handicraft Worker, carpets (2.169). Compatible with this, the vocational trainings should be improved by considering the jobs other than the sewing, embroidery, and carpet weaving which are considered to be 'women's job', by considering the employment demands, and in a way that will be a part of employment strategy (Keig Report, 2009:27). Although the need for intermediate staff has repeatedly been expressed by employers especially for Turkey's changing role in new international division of labour, it is extremely outstanding that the women are still directed to women's jobs; the knitting and carpet knitting or similar handicraft courses.

²² http://statik.iskur.gov.tr/tr/ark/ark/2009tr_dosyalar/TABLO%2042.pdf, 22.07.2010

The active policies in the struggle with unemployment has attached importance and the expectations from these policies are increased (Larsen, 2001:4 as cited in Kapar, 2006:363). Nevertheless, the success of the active policies in terms of eradicating unemployment is not clear and absolute. Hence, for the young persons who present with high unemployment rates, it is claimed that ALMPs do not establish the positive results even in the periods with economic growth (ILO,1998:180; Dar & Tzannatos,1999:25; Kapar,2006:368). The failures of the programs arise from the complicated and unique structure of the young unemployment. The sole reason of the youth unemployment is not the lack of vocational qualifications. In addition to the defects in such vocational matters as on the job training and experience lack, young persons are not employed due to the unsatisfactory economic growth and inappropriate job establishments, as well (ILO,1998:180, as cited in Kapar, 2006:354). Therefore, the basic reason of unemployment in general and of the young and women unemployment in specific is that the macro level economic employment is not established. The supply side ALMPs which hold no regular and continual function in establishing employment may not be expected to create miracles in the economy, and to solve the employment problem alone. ALMPs should be considered as policy tool that relatively alleviates the load of unemployment on the unemployed young persons, and as a part of general employment strategy (Martin, 1998: 29; Kapar, 2006: 363- 364; Erdayı, 2009:56). Furthermore, as emphasized by Toksöz (2007:76) the active labour market precautions of ISKUR should include the analysis of labour market policies, labour force training courses and consultancy services namely, all kinds of gender sensitivity in all stages, and also increase the efforts for unordinary trainings for other than those women works, and include a separate database of ISKUR which is based upon the gender division. Within this framework, if we return to the questions by Ecevit (2008:191), it may not be expected that the gendered vocational trainings that are delivered within a framework of ALMPs will increase the employability of the women in an economy that does not provide job opportunities. On the other hand, as indicated in 5.4.3, the fact that ISKUR is not adopted as job seeking tool by especially the young women means that most of the women do not benefit from such trainings, and the process therefore bilaterally feeds each other.

4.2.2.2 Flexibility and Flexicurity

In line with the discussions in 3.4, unemployment, especially women's and young's unemployment, is generally discussed within the context of rigidity of labour market and constituting the essence of flexible working conditions and actualizing regulations regulating

flexibility are often voiced by international institutions and the national representative associations of employers as solutions of unemployment. It is argued that employment protection rules in Turkey, especially non-wage labour costs and taxes are among the highest in OECD and neighboring transition countries and these rigid labour regulations protecting workers from unemployment and other labour market risks restrict employment opportunities, employment creation and encouraging informality (TÜSİAD, 2004; Gürsel, 2005; WB Turkey Labour Market Study, 2006; Ercan, 2007; WB Turkey Economic Memorandum, 2009; DPT-WB, 2009; Tisk, 2007, 2009).

It is argued that (Ercan, 2007; Tisk, 2009:7; WB Turkey Economic Memorandum, 2009:30; DPT-WB, 2009:23) the establishment of rigid severance pay and job security regulations mostly affect the women and young persons. The requirement for reducing the severance pay is based on the argument “the difficulty of dismissing means the difficulty of employing” and the reduction in the taxation of employment and especially the premium load throughout the country, and the determination of a reducing program that will decrease the load of the rate of labour cost to the OECD average, that is the reduction of the financial, legal and bureaucratic load on the establishments will be in the service to the reduction of informal sector, which represents the most women’s employment and to the proliferation of formal jobs (Tisk, 2009:6-7). Moreover, it is argued that provisions designed to support women may have inadvertently increased incentives to not hire women and restrict women’s employment opportunities (WB Turkey Labour Market Study, 2006:77; Tisk 2007: 161). Discussions are generally based on expensiveness of women’s labour with regards to severance pay, childcare provisions and maternity leave. For instance, in some documents of business world (Tisk, 2007:161,165,169,170; Tisk, 2009:8; DPT-WB, 2009:24), it is referred to the point that the Article 14 of the Labour Law concerning the regulation of the severance pay stipulates the payment of severance pay provided that the woman willingly abolishes the contract of employment within one year as from the date of marriage thereby encouraging the leave of the woman from her employment, and therefore this provision should be annulled, and by stressing out the fact that the load of paying the care costs of the women solely on the employer negatively affects the women’s employment, thereby suggesting the use of public tools for care services, and that the NGO’s and non – profit organizations, local governments and even the unions should use incentives, and pointing out that the employers that are compatible with this responsibility should be encouraged, and it is demonstrated that this requirement is arranged during 14 weeks in the Labour Law, ILO, EU and European

Social Charter but during 16 weeks in Turkey, and it is emphasized that no initiative is recognized to the employers on that matter.

Although flexibility is presented as a panacea for youth's and women's employment, it can be clearly said that the assertion of 'rigidity of labour market in Turkey' is no more than *a myth*, as entitled by Onaran (2004). In fact, according to Onaran (2004:220), the fact that the sizes of the informal sector in particular is not compatible with the existing regulations, and that sanctions and auditing mechanisms are not available for the laws in the working environment, and that the wages are already low make the 'rigid labour market' invalid. Indeed, most of the full time formal labourers, within the 'standard' labour force are the informal labourers, and these labourers are not the members of any unions. In this context, as women's labour in Turkey is intensified in informal and precarious employment patterns, as there is a gender-gap in wages, as women's representation in trade unions is very low, as their discontinuous working patterns are far from meeting eligibility conditions of unemployment insurance and high amounts of severance pay, women's labour already provides flexible labour to employers.

Another important dimension of flexibility discussions is the promotion and dissemination of flexible employment forms. It is argued that removing restrictions on flexible working arrangements and adoption of flexicurity methods would expand employment opportunities for youth and women population (Tisk, 2007; Ercan, 2007; WB, 2008). It is argued that based on international experiences, although "young people and especially young women, take up these types of jobs in large numbers, these employment arrangements are often the entry point for young people into the formal labour market; many then use this initial foothold as a means to find a full-time, permanent positions. Currently, there is a little employment in flexible work forms in Turkey and, accordingly, young people often have little alternative but to work in the informal sector and try to access the formal sector from there" (WB 2008:29). Labour market flexibility trends of which basis were established in Turkish Labour Law dated 2003 have been re-evaluated within the framework of flexicurity concept within the scope of 9th Development Plan and State Planning Organization (DPT) reported in its report of the year 2007 that forms of labour will be common in order to facilitate the participation of the women and young in the labour market. Accordingly:

It is of great importance to reduce unemployment and informal employment, and to extend flexible forms of labour in order to increase the employment rates of women and others with disadvantages within the context of social structure. It is also required to eliminate the obstacles

before the extension of flexible forms of labour in labour market, and to promote such forms of labour and to establish social security relations, as well. (DPT, 2007:183)

Within the framework of the 9th Development Plan, it is focused upon assessing the feasibility of the effective flexibility provisions in the national legislation, and establishing the relations between the social security and flexibility by considering the flexibility and security as to be combined (Development Plan 9, 2007:38,83). As argued in 3.4, most recently, the promotion of flexible working patterns with social security generate a new concept *Flexicurity* combining flexibility and security. It is argued that such a combination contributes to macro-economic stability by providing floors of income in business cycle throughs and waves of structural changes (Auer & Popova,2003:35). It is emphasized that;

Improvements in employment performance could be expected with labour market policy changes that shifted protection ‘from jobs to workers’. This would be especially important for expanding access for young people to good jobs. Shifting protection from jobs to workers would improve incentives for employment creation in the formal sector and broaden participation in the workforce. This strategy (often called flexicurity) could be operationalized by increasing labour market flexibility while strengthening the tools available to workers to adjust to labour market changes and upgrade their skills. These changes would remove some degree of job protection but they would also improve incentives for employers to hire new workers. (WB, 2008:26)

As argued by Ercan (2007:27), under the guidance of EES, job creation challenge is tried to be answered through flexicurity and flexible working forms. As mentioned by Ecevit (2008:172,201), the assertion which is based upon the fact that the labour market holds many strict rules, labour cost is too high due to the labour force protection, which establishes a serious obstacle before the new employment establishment process of the employers has become widespread particularly in the recent years. Within this framework, flexicurity has been demonstrated as a substantial strategy to increase the participation of the women in the labour force and thereby being considered to be incentive to establish further employment. Especially, part-time employment is presented as an employment opportunity for youth and women due to its allowing young and women to combine work with their other activities education or family responsibilities (WB, 2008:29; TISK, 2009:7). It is particularly emphasized that women’s employment and participation in the labour force in the OECD countries have been increased in line with regulations on part – time jobs, but the numbers and rates of part-time employment in Turkey’s labour market are very low (WB Turkey Labour Market Study, 2006:vii; Tisk, 2007:161; Ercan, 2007:39,59; Biçerli & Gündoğan, 2009:23).

The critical point in here is capturing gendered dimensions of the promotion of flexible working arrangements for women and answering the question whether women's increased labour force participation and employment rates in OECD countries by flexible working forms' preference is obligatory or voluntary. In fact, within the framework of gender-based division of labour, the pressures on the labour to become 'good mother' 'good wife' and the stress of the working life compel the women to concede from their lives, the women consider the part – time jobs as rescuers due to the fact that the child care may not be overcome in the satisfactory level, therefore leaving her full time job or seeking for a part time job, and therefore such women are forced to prefer the part time jobs (Toksöz, 2007:2). It is of significance that the policies to be established within the scope of the gender sensitivity prevent the flexible forms of working from being a compulsion.

Moreover, flexible working means that the female labourers are more condensed in the informal jobs which are out of the protection of the social insurance in developing countries and that more condensed in the part time jobs with low wages and with lower level of social insurance regulations (Toksöz, 2007:2). In fact, "part-time workers earn less, have poorer job security and fewer opportunities for advancement than their full-time counterparts" (OECD Employment Outlook, 2010:6). Moreover, since the flexibility forms generally accompanied by the low wages are not supported by the social policies and services for the individuals themselves and households to supply minimum welfare level, an ever increasing poor working population occurs (Ecevit, 2008:201). The critical point in here is, as emphasized by Toksöz (2007:viii), the fact that provision of flexible working conditions becomes equal to women's employment does not mean that the numbers of the female labourers are equal to men in terms of opportunities, but that the women consent they will participate in the labour market with low levels. Besides, the flexible forms of working are occasionally considered to be informal jobs but not those suggested in the provisions of the Labour Law. That the concept of the full time job by the women like men with equal opportunities and rights is not adopted in society causes the condensation of women labourers in certain jobs thereby threatening the promotion of the inequality already existing in the labour market (Toksöz, 2007).

4.2.2.3 Women's Small Entrepreneurship

Another important dimension of state's standing to young women's employment, *entrepreneurship*, has been promoted as a solution for youth and women's employment and

creating an entrepreneurial spirit has been an ascendant discourse of official documents. Entrepreneurship, one of the main elements of EES has recently been presented as a magic wand to deal with the issues such as women employment, unemployment, poverty and even gender equality, despite being solely one of the dimensions of the women's employment, it has been seen that the women employment increasing activities have been transformed into the entrepreneurship promotion activities, and that the women may eliminate the unemployment and poverty challenges with their own efforts (Toksöz, 2007; Ecevit, 1998, 2008; Keig Report, 2009).

It is assumed that two substantial obstacles low human capital and gender based division of labour that reduces the opportunities of women in the labour market are solved with entrepreneurship. Compatible with this, it is disclosed that the low educational background which establishes an obstacle before the employment of women in wage works is not so effective for those women with entrepreneurship spirit, and that the entrepreneur women rule out the cultural obstacles before their participation labour market, and that they allocate more time for houseworks thanks to flexible forms of working and relatively less working hours compared to those women working in wage works (Karakoç & Kolaşın, 2008). This is based upon the argument "*as it is difficult to eliminate the cultural obstacles with economic policies, it will be more effective in the promotion and supporting of the women to the participation in the labour market*" (Karakoç & Kolaşın, 2008:1, emphasis added by myself). In other words, as entrepreneurship, calling women by a slogan offering 'you would earn your own money while you can fit your domestic responsibilities with your job, no matter the level of your human capital', does not challenge gender-based division of labour and even reinforces gendered norms (Mills, 2003). In this context, unless the public institutions such as KOSGEB (Small and medium industry development organization) and ISKUR as well as the enterprising / employing trade bodies such as TOBB, TESK, TUSIAD, TURKKONFED do not change their male dominant institutional structures, their approach like a social responsibility project establishes an obstacle before the development of woman entrepreneurship (Keig Report, 2009:22).

It can be clearly said that entrepreneurship is a reflection of neo-liberal view point in which structural bases of poverty, employment and unemployment are ignored and employment generation responsibility is transferred to shoulders of the unemployed. As Erdayı mentioned (2009:59), as the encouragement of entrepreneurship means the fact that the resolutions that are under the sole responsibility of the state on the solution of the young unemployment,

they should not be considered to be the solutions for the youth unemployment. Moreover, establishing and holding a successful business in such an unstable economic and political structure in Turkey is not so easy but it should also not be ignored that young women, differently from young men, face with additional obstacles arising from patriarchal socio-cultural structure (Toksöz, 2007:60). In this context, as argued by Toksöz (2007), this is solely an individual form of working and it is deprived of the protection, and it is one of the forms of employment types with the lowest income level and unstable, as well. Doubtlessly, it may be offered to the women provided that the new jobs are not established in the industry and services sector, but the task of increasing the women employment may not be limited solely to this. In other words, as argued by Ecevit (1998:65), the industrialization policy which is based upon the exportation out of some sectors such as texture and ready wear, and the reduction of women employment in the women sectors in Turkey, even though the women with insufficient skills and education background have little chances to find jobs, individual working therefore should be considered to be an option for those women who intend to work with wages but not find a job despite all their efforts and demands. Women entrepreneurship should become a component of a serious woman employment policy to be established in order to increase the participation of the women in the labour market, and the woman employment should be considered as the establishment of the jobs in which women may be employed on the basis of regular wages and the existing employment procedures of the women should be promoted (Ecevit, 2008:191-192).

On the other hand, it should be considered that the entrepreneurship is a part of informalization and flexibility. Although it is presumed that there is no difference between those working at their homes and those self-employed entrepreneurs in terms of social security compared to those working in the regular jobs (Karakoç & Kolaşın, 2008), it is ignored that self-employment increases the risk of working without any social security (Toksöz, 2007: 60). ILO perceives self employment as a vulnerable employment pattern due to its being less likely to have formal work arrangements, often carry a higher economic risk, which allows for the usage of the indicator on vulnerable employment in an assessment of decent work. Moreover, it is argued that “if the proportion of vulnerable workers is sizeable, it may be an indication of widespread poverty. The poverty connection arises because workers in the vulnerable statuses lack the social protection and safety nets to guard against times of low economic demand and often are incapable of generating sufficient savings for themselves and their families to offset these times” (ILO Report, 2009:10).

It is not related to the implementation of the functions which are claimed to increase the women enterprisers (Keig Report, 2009:21). That the fragile economic and political structure in Turkey directing the women to the income generating activities is not arisen from the long-term and comprehensive planning which encourage women to establish middle-sized enterprises leads to the failure such as the disorder of the activities, non-cooperation, pettiness of the target groups, and the failure of the sustainability activities. The women are mostly damaged from this, due to the fact that they wished to acquire additional incomes and even to establish a business (Ecevit, 2008:191-192). Basically, in the light of discussions, it can be argued that promoting women's entrepreneurship, rather than taking measures to women's fully integration to market, creating new waged employment for women and removing patriarchal obstacles, makes young women being marginalised from formal labour market and clicked them into their already determined places in accordance with gender-based division of labour.

4.2.3 Appearances

This subsection tries to scent out previous discussions' reflections on main official documents of state that enables to understand its approach to employment. For this purpose, *legal regulations* about women's employment, last *Development Plan 9* and recent *Employment Package* are examined behind gender lenses to examine the articulation between new-right and patriarchy impliciting in them.

4.2.3.1 Legal Regulations

The articulation of neo-liberalism and patriarchy can be easily observed in legal regulations of governments. At the beginning, it can be clearly said that the statements regulating women's situation in labour market are lied back to gender-based division of labour and reproduce women's vulnerability in labour market. Articles having implications on women's labour market experiences can be found in 2 main legal documents; *Constitution Law* and *Labour Law*.

Constitution Law, itemizing fundamental rights and freedoms in a rights and duties perspective – in line with transition from welfare to workfare-, defines working as a right and duty of everyone and regards state as responsible for preventing unemployment and supporting unemployed.

Article 49 : Working is the right and task of all the citizens. The State takes and adopts all kinds of precautions to increase the life level of the workers, and to protect the workers and those unemployed for developing the working life, to promote working, and to establish an appropriate environment to prevent the unemployment and to provide labour peace.

Moreover, Constitution Law regards state as responsible for accomplishing equality between men and women in exercising their rights.

Article 10: Women and men are equal to each other in terms of their rights. The State is responsible for the provision of such equality.

Constitution Law also bans all kind of discrimination in public employment including discrimination against women. However, the critical point in here is it does not regulate discrimination in private sector.

Article 70: All Turkish citizens are entitled to be employed in public services. No separation other than the qualifications required for the position may be considered.

In this context, at first glance, it seems constitution law assures equality between men and women in all spheres of social life including labour market. However, its reflections on practical life and other legal documents should be questioned. On the other hand, the main legal document regulating women's position in labour market is Labour Law. Labour Law no 4857, broadens the scope of Constitution Law and regulates prevention of gender-based discrimination in employment and working conditions both in public and private sector under an article titled '*Equal Treatment Principle*'. In accordance with the Article 5 titled '*Equal Treatment Principle*' no discrimination may be implemented by considering the "language, nationality, gender, political idea, philosophical belief, religion and other similar factors. In addition, it is stipulated that no gender-based division may be implemented for the determination and implementation of the working conditions, and during the abolishment of the contract of employment in the relevant provision suggesting that 'an employer may not implement a different transaction to any labourer unless it is not essential due to biological reasons or job properties in the establishment and annulation contract of employment, and conditions, because of pregnancy or gender directly or indirectly'.

However, as *contract of employment* is taken as a starting point of *employment relation* in Labour Law, Article 5 bans discrimination in employment relation and ignores discriminatory practices of employers in recruitment process or discrimination in recruitment

process shall not be exposed to sanctions. Within this framework, it is difficult to claim that the discriminatory implementations are illegal and to claim rights, thereof. As this article is not associated with the recruitment process, the public and private sector employers shall release their advertisements regardless of the objective requirements of the job. In addition, such applications are continued to be regarded in an implied way in the recruitment process in which subjective criteria are effective such as interviews, and it is impossible to prevent such applications. Therefore, it is essential that a comprehensive regulation to include the recruitment process be established (Toksöz, 2007:41,77; Keig Report, 2009:26). Furthermore, as emphasized by Acuner (2008:356), it is suggested in the 3 subparagraphs of the article that no discrimination may be done due to gender directly and indirectly, but no definition regarding the *direct and indirect discrimination* is suggested. In addition, the provision stating “unless it is not essential due to biological reasons” is obscure and it is not disclosed in the justification of the Law to what is referred with the biological reasons. On the other hand, the pecuniary penalty²³ to the employers in case of illegal actions is TRL 98 as from the year 2009 and such a low penalty is not an effective sanction to have this article adopted.

In accordance with the Labour Law, the labourers claiming that they have been exposed to gender based discrimination should bear the conditions stipulated in the Article 18 of the Law in order to claim their rights in legal ways. Subparagraphs (d) and (e) of the article 18 regarding the validity of the abolition and labour security are the provisions that prevent the discrimination in dismissal. Subparagraph (d) stipulates that nationality, colour, gender, marital status, familial responsibilities, pregnancy, birth, religion, political idea and other similar reasons may not establish basis for dismissal whereas the subparagraph (e) stipulates that the absence of the women during the term in which they may not be worked does not establish reason for abolition of the contract of employment. However, in order to benefit from the job security, a labourer is to work during six months at least and to hold a contract of employment of indefinite duration in the workplaces where thirty or more labourers are employed. Considering the employment comparison to the numbers of the labourers benefiting from labour security and resisting against the discrimination, this regulation reduces the numbers of the women (Toksöz, 2007:77-78). Moreover, it is not possible to disclose that the job *security of the women is absolutely guaranteed in case of pregnancy*. Most of the women are not protected by this article and the dismissal of the women during pregnancy and birth are not prevented (Acuner, 2008:358).

²³ See also http://www.csgb.gov.tr/images/editor/ipc_4857_3_1.xls, 21.07.2010

One of the important dimensions of women's unemployment in Turkey is maternity leave. As employers consider maternity leave as cost and efficiency matter, they discriminate against women, especially young women carrying risk of marriage and pregnancy. In accordance with the Article 74 on the maternity leave of the Labour Law numbered 4857 "the women may not be worked eight weeks before and after birth, that is sixteen weeks in total. In case of multiple pregnancy, two weeks are added to this period. Provided that the health conditions are good, the woman labourer may be employed until the three weeks prior to the birth if the woman demands with the approval of the physician. In that case, the periods in which the women labourers are employed are added in the periods following the birth. Paid leaves are provided to the women labourers for the periodical controls during the pregnancy. Upon the request of the woman labourer, following the completion of the sixteen week period or after the eighteen weeks in case of multiple pregnancy, unpaid leave is delivered to the woman labourer till six months. This duration is not considered when calculating the annual leave. *Breast feeding leave* is also regulated in line with the article 74 of the law numbered 4857. Accordingly, 'breast feeding leave for the women with children under 1 year old is one and half hour in total per day. The labourer herself determines when and how this period shall be allocated. This period is considered in the daily working hours'. However, the labour law does not regulate the discriminatory actions against the women during the recruitment process and as Acuner emphasized (2008:358), the regulations regarding the protection of the women in case of pregnancy and birth in the employment relations is not sufficient and deterrent. To employ the women in the periods before and after the birth or not to deliver unpaid leave is exposed to TRL 1012 pecuniary penalty as of the year 2009. The pecuniary penalty to be applied for the fact that the provisions of the regulation concerning the pregnant and nursing mothers are not considered as TRL 1120²⁴.

It is clear that the regulation of maternity leave is the reflection of gender-based division of labour in which women are responsible for child. In order to remove this patriarchal obstacle of women's labour market entrance, it is urgent to transform *maternity leave* to *parental leave* which implies sharing of child's responsibility between mother and father. The Council Directive 11996/ 34/ EC on the parental leave has not been transposed into national legislation. According to the Turkish National Program dated 2003, Turkish Republic Prime Ministry Directorate General on the Status of Women (KSGM) and Ministry of Labour and Social Security are responsible for providing the transposition of this directive into national legislation. KSGM arranged the draft law on the amendment of Civil Servants Law, Labour

²⁴ http://www.csgb.gov.tr/images/editor/ipc_4857_3_1.xls, 21.07.2010

Law, Social Insurances Law, and Retirement Fund Law, which deliver the parental leave. This draft law was rearranged after the opinions of the relevant public institutions and establishments were taken and were submitted to Prime Ministry on March 12th 2002. Due to the fact that various regulations were adopted in the Labour Law and Retirement Fund Law, referred by the draft law in the period of 58th and 59th governments, the draft law was reviewed and resubmitted to the opinion of the institutions. The opinions of the institutions were received and the draft law was rearranged accordingly and resubmitted to the Prime Ministry but not yet become law. Nevertheless, the regulations regarding the parental leave should have become effective in the end of the year 2004 in accordance with the Turkish National Program dated 2003 (Acuner, 2008:359). Most recently, government have prepared a draft which regulates parental leave in public servants law. Draft provides 2 years unwaged leave to mother or father (one of them can benefit from 2 years) and increase 3 days paternity leave to 10 days²⁵. However, it is clear that as it not challenging gender-based division of labour from its foundation, the draft does not equalize mother's and father's child responsibility and practically, parental leave may remain nonfunctional modified version of maternity leave. Moreover, in line with the study of Compston and Madsen in Denmark (2001:120), the critical point in here is capturing the fact that as government is reluctant to provide childcare-care provisions, extending the period of maternity leave or supporting parental leave may reflect a hidden aim; reducing the cost of public child care.

Along with new regulation made in Labour Law Article 88, according to the regulations on the "conditions of the pregnant or breast feeding mothers, and the lactation rooms and child care dormitories" regardless of their ages, and marital status, the workplaces with 100-150 women labourers should have individual and separate lactation/caring rooms, which are constructed by the employer himself, and 250 meters far away from the workplaces for caring and breast feeding the children under one year old. It is also legally essential that, the workplaces with more than 150 women labourers should have an individual and separate dormitory, which is constructed by the employer himself, and close to the workplaces for caring and breast feeding the children between 0-6 years old. The employers bearing the responsibility for establishing a dormitory should also open a kindergarten in this dormitory. The employer is held responsible for providing a transportation vehicle if the dormitory is located at a place which is farer away than 250 meters from the workplace. The employers may jointly establish rooms and dormitory but may also meet this requirement by contracting

²⁵ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ekonomi/14979159.asp>, 21.07.2010

with the dormitories, which hold the stipulated properties in this regulation²⁶. In this context, new regulation elastices employers responsibility and gives them chance of buying service from out.

As emphasized by scholars (Toksöz, 2007:78; Ecevit, 2008:160,186), the critical point in here is that the labour law holds the employer as responsible to establish a daily nursery and lactation room not based upon the total labourers but solely on women labourers. It is a social reflection of the patriarchial consideration that does not regard the child caring as a social responsibility, thereby leading to discrimination against women during recruitment process by reducing the numbers of the employed women suggested by the regulations²⁷. Within this framework, the regulations should be amended as ‘female – male workers’ in order to enable the equal allocation of responsibility for child caring, and therefore preventing the discrimination during the recruitment process, and the total numbers of the labourers should be considered (Ecevit, 2000:186; Keig report, 2009:31).

Moreover, the regulations arising from the laws in Turkey, are not satisfactory enough to provide the appropriate child caring opportunities, therefore causing the less numbers of corporations to carry out this responsibility (Toksöz, 2007:78; Ecevit, 2008:160). As emphasized by Ecevit (2008:160), the database concerning the big establishments providing the child caring services to the private institutions and corporations is even not available. Even a database providing the information about the numbers of such facilities, their locations, and the services in these facilities is not available. However, the deficiency in institutionalizing in the child care and the deficient numbers of the child caring facilities directly affect the working standards of the women, which is different from men. Men do not

²⁶ http://www.ramsrisk.com.tr/ismevzuati/gebe_veya_emziren_kadinlarin_calistirilma_sartlariyla_emzirm_e_odalari_vecocuk_bakim_yurtlarına_dair_yonetmelik.doc, 20.07.2010

²⁷ Example 1. Workplace Representative: “The laws suggest us that if we employ 100 women we need to establish lactation rooms, and kindergarten if we employ 300 women, therefore we do not exceed these numbers. However, this is a challenge before us. This is a challenge for both employed and unemployed women. Because, the women need to leave their children to grandmothers and as the numbers of kindergartens are not enough to meet the needs in the industrial zone, they cannot leave their children in these kindergartens” (TİSK, 2001:55); Example 2: Scientist: “In accordance with the relevant legislation, it is suggested that “Regardless their ages, and marital status, it is a rule for the employers to establish a dormitory for caring the children between 0 – 6 in the workplaces in which more than 150 women are employed. If this dormitory is 250 meters far from the workplace, the employer is responsible for providing the transportation opportunities. This suggestion is not generally effective in the public sector, but never in the private sector. On the other hand, the global trends make the employment effective. Part – time working and other similar needs are arising from these challenges. Compatible with this, numbers of the women workers in many workplaces are fixed at for example, 99. Therefore, the 100th woman worker are deprived of being employed” (TİSK, 2001: 65).

leave their jobs due to child caring, or do not consider the child caring facilities of the workplaces compared to women (Ecevit, 2008:159). Thus, the primary challenge before a mother is who will be the child carer after the legal leave period. Mothers are compelled to find out new solutions as the work place associated daily nursery and public kindergartens are not satisfactory but also the private corporations and child carers are expensive. In that case, the most appropriate child carers are the grandmothers if available or the close relatives –gender based division of labour amongst women- otherwise the women are forced to leave their jobs (TISK, 2002:38), as discussed in 4.2.5.

In contrast to the arguments of liberal feminists, discussed in 2.4.1, legal regulations regulating women's working conditions and employment are not enough to overcome patriarchal obstacles against women in the labour market. According to Toksöz and Kardam (2004), women and men equality has been provided in Turkey in terms of legal regulations. However, in practice, the women have more disadvantages than the men and many discriminatory implementations are available for the women. Various applications are carried out during the recruitment process, and in the wages, promotion, and dismissal. Within this framework, in order to enable the equality in all the public and private sector institutions and corporations, and also to prevent all kinds of discriminations, the discriminatory practices from recruitment process to the on the job trainings and promotions, that is in all the employment stages, should be questioned in terms of gender-based division and some active mechanisms should be developed to transform these practices (Keig Report, 2009:26). Moreover, as they are lied back to patriarchal mentality, implemented regulations, so-called in the interests of women, generate destructive solutions for women. For instance, women may not apply to the certain jobs and professions or have recently been accepted. Due to the protective legal regulations done to protect the women, the women are limited to be employed in some jobs and professions. For example, in Turkey, the women were not accepted to be employed in such jobs as district governance, and auditing. Still, the numbers of women to be employed in some jobs and professions are fixed. For instance, the limitations in the numbers of soldiers and police women are pronounced (Eyüboğlu et al., 2000:16). Moreover, many a employer presumes that the women have acquired a status with priorities as a result of the protective regulations (the provisions of the labour law regarding the arrangement of the job and the protection of the women in case of maternity, and Civil Servants Law, Social Insurances Law, and Retirement Fund Law) and that the women labourers cause a high cost labour force for themselves. Thus, this regulation may be employed for not employing the women, and not promoting in their positions, and not

paying their wage and for dismissing from their position. Provided that the protective legal regulations do not actually protect the women and the relevant provisions of the regulations are breached and violated, the reason of these laws should be questioned (Ecevit, 2000:176).

4.5.2 Development Plan 9

Development plans are the most important political documents that steer economies' future and determines labour's destiny in an individual country. The effects of the articulation of neo-liberal or new right standpoints and patriarchy have been felt in development plans of Turkey since 1980s. However, it is dominated in Development Plan 9, planned the period between 2007 to 2013. According to SPO Labour Market Specialization Commission Report (2007:2-3), based on Development Plan 9 and introducing governments strategy of fighting against unemployment;

It should be attached importance mainly on the human resources development as well as other active policies in order to struggle with the unemployment. The employing, and entrepreneurship and creativeness promoting, not punishing the employment, and increasing the vocational training and life-long learning-based employment and employment friend policies should be emphasized The implementation of the targets within the framework of 9th Development Plan particularly in the training will directly affect the future of employment in Turkey. Therefore, in that way it is planned that investment and employment shall be easy and active labour force market shall improve the Turkish market. (SPO Specialization Commission Report, 2007:2-3)

In this context, key points of Development Plan 9 is predication of unemployment struggle to ALMPs composed of investing on *human capital* of labour to improve their employability, promotion of *life-long learning* to adapt labour to changing expectations of global labour market, deregulation of labour market with regards to *flexibility* and, most recently, *flexicurity* to save labour market from rigidities and promotion of *small entrepreneurship* to create employment opportunities in order to win a seat and increase competitiveness of Turkey in new international division of labour. This perception implies that the reason of high unemployment rates in Turkey is low employability or human capital of labour, rigid labour market regulations and lack of entrepreneurial spirit as detailed in 4.2.2.

In Development Plans, the situation of vulnerable groups in labour market is reduced to these general tendencies far from providing any special and comprehensive standpoint to them. As observed in Development Plan 9, despite their disadvantaged position in the labour market women's and young population's situation in the labour market is handled in sub-titles of the

plan. As Ercan signalized (2007:7), official social policy in regards to vulnerable groups' employment issues (older persons, women, or youth employment issues) in Turkey does not exist independently on its own. "Youth employment is reserved a paragraph in the employment section of the annual programs of the SPO. Another paragraph is reserved under the discussion of cultural and social aspects of the population where Youth and Sports General Directorate's activities are discussed". Women in this basic policy document are only the groups that constitute those with disadvantages under the social policy. On the other hand, all the development axes have gender oriented effects and results. Thus, as Toksöz mentioned (2007), although the relevant legal regulations enabled the women and men equality, it is not possible to mention of a pronounced public policy related to the women's employment. In general, the report conclusions to have been prepared by the public institutions and international organizations may be summarized: the fact that the participation of the women in the labour market and that the low employment level causes serious problems is stressed out, yet the solution of this challenge is determined under the category of social inclusion and poverty struggle rather than the major categories associated with the employment.

On the other hand, reflection of EES on Development Plan 9 can be easily observed. As examined in 4.2.2.1, Turkey's approach to employment of women and youth population is relied on active labour market policies comprising four dimensions of EES. The context of active labour market policies defined in statement 234:

234 The importance of the active labour forces as an effective tool to increase the employment has been promoted during the VIII. planning period. The active labour force policies intending to promote the employability by increasing the skills and capabilities include the labour force growing, vocational training, and labour force integration policies, vocational direction, vocational consultancy, and presentation of the guidance services, seeking the jobs for those groups with disadvantages such as women and young persons, entrepreneurship trainings as well as job guarantee training programs (Development Plan 9, 2007:39).

In this context, one dimension of women's and youth's employment is increasing their employability. It is based on an idea that the reason of youth's and women's unemployment is their low human capital; low education level, job experience, vocational and marketable skills and low adaptation to changing expectations of labour market. As Ecevit mentioned (2008:182), the organizations conducting studies on the women's employment focuses on the fact that the women trained with the appropriate vocational skills shall seek the suitable jobs. It is based on an argument that the life-long learning and vocational training together

with the EU Accession process will withdraw great importance. That the unemployed persons especially the women and the young persons are trained with the programs in the needed areas of the labour market is of great importance for retraining, life-long training and for increasing the employability. Life-long learning and documentation of the vocational skills are of importance with regard to vocational training (SPO Specialization Commission Report, 2007:96).

352. ...increasing the education level, promotion of the employability with the active labour force, smoothing the participation into labour market and 2.1 points promotion of employability are suggested. The basic indicator of such promotion is expected to be women (Development Plan 9, 2007: 62).

621. In order to increase the economic and social participation of the women, by improving the vocational training the employability of the women will be increased (Development Plan 9, 2007:89).

568. The programs enabling the experience of the young persons in the labour market will be developed (Development Plan 9, 2007:84).

Another important dimension of Development Plan 9 is promotion of entrepreneurship. As argued by Toksöz (2007:iii), the approach suggested in the reports to have been prepared by the public institutions and international organizations focus upon the two precaution package. The former of these packages is the widespread of the flexible forms of working, and encouragement of women to such jobs, and the latter is the promotion of the women's entrepreneurship. This orientation is not particularly determined for the women, the entrepreneurship, in particular the women's entrepreneurship should be promoted in accordance with the Article 3 of Labour Market Specialism Commission report (2007:99), and The Priorities and Precautions for the Basic Objectives and Policies.

Finally, women's employment is handled in providing equal opportunities to vulnerable groups to facilitate their labour market entrance. The argument is based on the fact that the women and men have the equal opportunities, and that the establishment of the conditions in which the familial and business life are better compromised and thereby increasing the labour market participation rates.

568. The equal opportunities will be enabled for those women, young persons, long-term unemployed persons, disabled as well as the former convicted persons who encountered with some challenges in the labour market. In order to increase the participation of the women in the labour market and employment, the accessions of the women to the child care and other services will be smoothed (Development Plan 9, 2007:84).

However, interestingly, statement 568, seeming to challenge gender-based division of labour, contradicts with statements reflecting patriarchal mentality in remain parts of the plan. As argued in 4.2.1, with regards to the articulation of neo-liberalism and patriarchy, women's being responsible for caring enable states' withdrawal from public services. In this context, Development Plan 9 starts regulations of eluding itself from elderly care by making women responsible from it.

625. Home care services for the old people will be promoted, and the numbers and quality of the resting houses will be increased for the institutional care.

In this context, the ever increasing challenges such as the accomodation, caring and health problems due to the aging problems are overcome by the family members and close relatives. In other words, aging and elderliness are not social challenges but a familial (Ecevit, 2008:166) especially a challenge before women. Recently, Social Assistance and Solidarity Fund (SYDF) has committed to transfer the cash to the person who cares the old person at home provided that s/he does not work. This Project which is compatible with the development plan establishes a substantial obstacle before the old person caring services, and it also loads the responsibility of the old persons to the women thereby causing the reduction in the women's employment by restricting the employment (Keig Report, 2009:32). The regressive steps not only in the old persons care but also in child, disabled and patient care, reduce all the possibilities of the women's employment or keep them inside a limited area. On the other hand, as the gender mainstream is not an approach, the objectives associated with the women and men equality within the scope of the development plan for the EES integration are fully not considered in the plan, itself but regarded as only nonfunctional objectives but not beyond the declaration of intention.

As seen, there are any statements devoted to young women in Development Plan 9. On the other hand, the statements devoted to youth and women's employment are no more than 6-7 statements. Moreover, as discussed in 4.2.2, the critical argument in here is without challenging general employment creation problem of economy, patriarchal nature of labour market, high unemployment rates of educated young women and patriarchal nature of state's approach to women's working, it is very hard to provide permanent solutions for women's employment or unemployment by solely active labour market policies.

4.2.3.3 Employment Package

Turkey's last economic stimulus and employment package has been released to public on 4 June 2009 in an economic crisis environment. The package heavily represents the neo-liberal standing of government to employment. According to government, unemployment is a global problem intensified in economic crisis conditions and high unemployment rates in Turkey is the reflection of this global problem to Turkey's labour market. Moreover, it is argued that Turkey's special conditions, its being in a transition period, raise unemployment rates.

Unemployment is presently one of the most substantial challenges of the world economies with the economic and social effects. The unemployment in our country as well as the global economic crisis and general world conjuncture arises from a structural, demographic and economic transition process unique to Turkey. (15.07. 2009, parliamentary question respond, 7/8318)²⁸

It can be clearly said that Turkey's employment approach is based on both supply and demand oriented policies. Supply oriented policies are generally focused upon the young labour force's qualification, and its objectives include the improvement of the training and education and therefore enabling this level as to meet the business life, and the demand oriented policies direct and encourage the employers to the young's employment. The cost loading of the government towards indirect labour force such as Social Insurance Assurances or tax reductions or the lower level of the initial payments for social insurances are applied (Gündoğan, 1999:72). In this context, with regards to new-right logic, mentioned structural, demographic and economic bases of unemployment are assumed to solve by active labour market policies. Thus, as followed from last package, package is heavily relied on active labour market measures in which effects of neo-liberal economic policies on unemployment –*employment generation problem of general economy*- are ignored and investing on human capital, providing vocational training, providing internship programmes, providing temporary public employment opportunities, saving labour market from rigidities, providing incentives to employers and creating entrepreneurs; are promoted as solutions to unemployment²⁹. However, at the beginning, it can be clearly said that *without challenging general employment generation problem of economy*, the package does not offer permanent solutions for structural unemployment rather regulations will remain temporary and partial.

²⁸ <http://www2.tbmm.gov.tr/d23/7/7-8318c.pdf>, 20.07.2010

²⁹ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ekonomi/11794365.asp>, 15.06.2010

Package acknowledges vulnerable position of women and youth in labour market and includes some regulations about their labour market situation. As the main reason of unemployment is found in rigid regulations of labour market, regulations about youth and women are composed of providing incentives to employers or increasing employability of youth and women by decreasing their labour cost.

The recent applications arising from the Labour Law numbered 5763 and some other laws concerning the amendments of the relevant provisions have been strengthened with some further applications as publicly known as “employment package”. The administrative and financial costs have primarily been reduced with the employment package, and the employment of the young persons and women has been promoted, and some regulations concerning the meeting the needs of qualified labour force have been carried out. Within this framework, in order to increase the employability of the women, which is rather lower compared to the EU countries, as well as the employability of those between 18 -29 years old, it was decided that the social security funds of the women and young persons be paid from the Unemployment Insurance Fund for the 5 years. (15.07.2009, Parliamentary Question Respond 7/8318)³⁰

As followed from document, government have undertaken labour cost of women and youth from shoulders of employers for five years. However, this regulation made in 5763 is not new, but a follow up of the previous employment package having been implemented since 28 May 2008. With respect to regulation, it was decided that the persons over 18 and below 29, and regardless of the age the women over 18, during the six months prior to the effective date of this provision provided that excluding those women under the insurance, and in addition to the numbers of the insured persons declared in the certificate of employees by the employer him / herself, and the shares of the employers based on the insurance of the one year basis in accordance with the Articles 72 and 73 of the law numbered 506, and the insurance amounts calculated as 100% for the first year, and 80% for the second year, and 60% for the third year, and the 40% for the fourth year, and the 20% for the fifth year be paid from the unemployment insurance fund” in accordance with the labour law dated 15.5.2008 and numbered 5763 in order to promote the women’s employment and to prevent informal employment rates (KSGM, 2009:19).

It is expected that regulation will encourage women’s and youth’s employment. It is argued that the 5 points of reduction to the employer’s Premium contributions of Social Security Institution will directly increase the employment rates as to be 60 thousand (minimum) to 120 thousand (maximum) persons. This employment package may possibly affect the

³⁰ <http://www2.tbmm.gov.tr/d23/7/7-8318c.pdf>, 20.07.2010

employability of 1.5 M young men and of the 1.3 M women in a positive way (Akgül, Dinçer & Kolaşın, 2008:1). Moreover, it is argued that the law recognizes some advantages to those employing the unemployed women in a population of those 30 and over compared to those employing the men population. Among those labourers of 30 and over, Social Security Institution (SGK) employer premiums are paid by the Unemployment Insurance Fund in case of women's employment, but by the employer him / herself in case of the men employment. This article enables the fact that the women's employment is less costly compared to the men employment. Therefore, it is relatively expected that the employment of the women will be increased. The law in this form may be classified as positive discrimination in favor of the women (Akgül, Dinçer & Kolaşın, 2008:5).

It is important to follow up whether this regulation will have positive implications on women's employment and whether these women will continue to be employed at the end of 5 years, in a longitudinal time series to capture patriarchal nature of women's unemployment. Moreover, as Uşen mentioned (2007:67), some of the precautions of the active labour market such as employment subventions and job establishment programs will be arisen from the replacement of the employed labourer with that labourer benefiting from this program, which will rule out the efficiency of the active labour market policies. Therefore, in the labour markets in which the effects of the replacement are serious, the active programs will not increase the employment but change the composition of the unemployment. Moreover, the group promoted with the precautions of the active labour market (ie. Those participating in the employment subventions and those participating in the vocational training programs) will lead to a displacement effect upon those not participating in such programs. In other words, in order to employ those labourers subventioned or acquired with the appropriate qualifications to the recent technologies, the employers may prefer to displace their own employees (Uşen, 2007:67). In this context, without taking measures to generate employment and challenging patriarchal obstacles, this kind of regulations represent replacement among vulnerable groups of unemployed – now you are in I am out, tomorrow you are out I am in-, and subject vulnerable groups' employment to incentives and provide temporary solutions.

As mentioned above, employment package is heavily relied on active labour market measures presented as the strongest solution for unemployment. According to package;

Within the scope of the improvement and strength of the components of the "promotion and employment package" which was publicly

proclaimed on June 4, 2009 and of which substructure activities still proceed:

- The funds for the maintenance and repairing services, forestation and erosion management, landscaping, and field rehabilitation, parking and gardening works in the institutions providing short term and temporary employment such as school and hospital, that is the Social Utility Programs will have been increased and thereby enabling the direct employment to the 120 thousand unemployed persons until the end of the year 2010.

- In order to meet the qualified labour force and to promote the vocational skills ISKUR will deliver vocational training to 200 thousand unemployed persons.

- 10 thousand people will receive the entrepreneurship training and 4 thousand Turkish Liras will be granted by KOSGEB to the projects.

- Within the scope of the on – the job training for providing experience and job opportunities to those young people without any experience, 100 thousand young people graduated from vocational high schools, or equal schools and higher degrees will perform their internship in the relevant workplaces. (15.07.2009, Parliamentary Question Respond 7/8184)³¹

In this context, without challenging general employment generation problem of economy and patriarchal nature of women's unemployment, short-time temporary public employment, vocational training, entrepreneurship and internship programmes are presented as solutions for unemployment. It is based on an idea that labour, especially women's labour, is unemployed due to their low human capital, lack of vocational skills, job experiences and entrepreneurialism. However, according to Türk-iş general president; Kumlu, "in our country where a national employment strategy is not determined, it is not possible for the relevant regulations to be effective for the employment promotion. It will be plausible to do the activity analysis after following up the relevant regulations. The employment opportunities such as maintenance and repair of the school and health facilities, forestation and erosion management, landscaping should be considered to be an unemployment assistance for those not benefiting from the unemployment insurance rather than establishment of new jobs. It is difficult to regard the courses to be opened as the employment opportunities when considering the millions of the unemployed persons. On the other hand, consultancy provision to our unemployed citizens to establish their own business is a positive approach and the investment and the business environment improvement should be the prior policy. The fact that the educated but unemployed persons are provided with the opportunity of six month internship period actually establishes a small part of the challenge to be assessed within the scope of the training-industrial relations"³².

³¹ <http://www2.tbmm.gov.tr/d23/7/7-8184c.pdf>, 20.07.2010

³² <http://www.turkis.org.tr/index.dyn?wapp=haberdetay0&did=4DC428F7-DABE-47C9-B17F-B6BA52BFFBC4>, 10.06.2010

It should be mentioned that short-time temporary public employment can not be perceived as a solution for unemployment as it's being temporary, short-time as the name suggest. As revealed by many studies, although it is especially provided for youth population to eliminate problem of school to work transition, it has shown that temporary public employment often provides dead-end temporary, low skilled jobs, they do not always involve permanent labour market integration and be solution to unemployment in long term (Dar-Tzannatos, 1999: 17; OECD, 1999:36; Aure & Popova, 2003:29; Kapar, 2006:348; Uşen, 2007:76). In fact, in general, public employment has a low direct effect on new regular employment (less than 10 percent are able to find jobs later on) (Aure & Popova, 2003:29). Moreover, the critical point in here is offered public employment opportunities encourage men not women due to determined patriarchal job priorities of women.

Employment package offers incentives to Small and Medium Sized Enterprises (SMEs) as experienced previous economic crisis periods. As Ecevit emphasized (1998:64), to encourage the small sized entrepreneurs of the informal sector and thereby presenting an effective way to pass through the crisis was primarily adopted by the international organizations and secondarily by the governments. Not only the encouragement of the small sized entrepreneurship, but also the protection of the small sized establishments were required for their existence. The discourse of entrepreneurship including both protection and encouragement dimensions became common. The researches conducted by social scientists and international assistance organizations held a status for being a substantial component of the development model to the small sized entrepreneurship. The closure of the SMEs is of importance as it leads to the challenges to those residing in the suburbs. The cheap loans for such establishments and various taxes and investment discounts have recently increased and thereby based upon the anxiety of protection of the SMEs.

This concern induces promotion of entrepreneurship as a solution of unemployment, especially for women. Package includes incentives to labour considering self-employment or providing support to people for setting up their own business. The promotion of the entrepreneurship has become a substantial tool for the employment policies during the 1990's especially when the unemployment rates were higher throughout Europe. The encouragement of the unemployed persons to be establish their own business and therefore providing technical assistance and low interest loans, consultancy services provision, and entrepreneurship training, and the provision of the required procedure to establish a new business, and to simplify the legal and administrative regulations restricting the

entrepreneurship especially the accounting and taxation procedures that establish considerable challenges before the small and medium sized establishments, as well as the precautions regarding the establishment of the entrepreneurship culture may be classified (Uşen, 2007:73-74), in which the last employment packages take steps in that way. However, these efforts should be interpreted as the reflection of employment creation challenge of economy for women's labour.

4.3 The Articulation of Capitalism and Patriarchy: “*Patriarchal Capitalist Labour Market*”

This subsection focuses on *reconstructing* gender-blind explanations of young women's unemployment in a gender sensitive manner. After examining macro-economic reasons, human capital discussions and mainstream configuration of trade unions, subsection finishes with revealing implications of this macro features on employers' recruitment practices in micro level with regards to interaction between capitalism and patriarchy.

4.3.1 Macro-Economic Reflections

In Turkey, in a macro-economic frame, unemployment is generally discussed in the context of *rural to urban migration, jobless growth, economic crisis* and *implementation of technology in production process*. Although these factors are crucial identifiers of young women's unemployment, without challenging the embeddedness of neo-liberal capitalism and patriarchy, reflections of these macro-economic dimensions on young women's unemployment are not understood. Generally, *rural to urban migration* and *resolution of rural production* are presented as reasons of their unemployment. The movement from rural to urban areas is triggered by the resolution in the agricultural sector within the framework of the neo-liberal agricultural policies, and thereby causing low trained and unqualified labour force surplus to increase in the cities. The fact that opportunities of labour force especially in the industrial sector in the urban are rather lower than labour force demand leads to the high level of unemployment rates (WB Turkey Labour Market Study, 2006:iv; SPO Specialization Commission Report, 2007:31; Ecevit 2008:130). Thus, the neo-liberal agricultural policies carried out as from 1980's have been promoted as a result of the abolition of the agricultural support especially after the year 2001 as well as the adoption of the direct income support, thereby leading to abolition of the small sized production and continual regression of the agricultural production sites and the numbers of animals. As a

result of these policies 1.164 M women, mostly employed as unpaid family labour in familial jobs especially in agricultural sector, were ostracized from agricultural production during 2001-2007, and the women's employment rates in rural were regressed exactly 10 points within the 6 years from 41% to 31% and the unemployment rates other than the agricultural sector were increased from 11% to 19% (Keig Report, 2009:11- 12).

Within this framework, the dissolution in agricultural production and trigger of movement from rural to urban are associated with two basic concepts for women in urban. One reflection of this process is *housewifization* of these untrained and unqualified migrant women and reduction in their labour force participation rates. As from the onset of the migration, the labour force participation gap between the men and women has occurred, but progressively increased, and those unqualified migrant women did easily not pass to the other sectors out of agriculture, therefore either participating in the groups of housewives or consented to work in the informal sector, and the wiving status is considered to keep and protect the untrained married women (Özbay, 1994:8-15; Dedeoğlu, 2004:263; Keig Report, 2009:11). On the other side of the process, having importance in this study, the internal migration is particularly considered to be "young migration" employed in the sector other than agriculture in the first time (Özkaplan, 2008: 13). 2nd generation lower educated and unqualified young women's increasing labour force participation trends with regards to their financial difficulties generally lack behind demanded labour or created employment opportunities especially in industrial sector and foster their unemployment rates (Dedeoğlu, 2004:263; Ercan,2007:10; Toksöz,2007:2-3; Ecevit, 2008: 130; Keig Report, 2009:11-12; Doğan, 2009:46). As argued by Ulutaş (2009:50), the discrimination in the labour market against 'unqualified' women's labour force encounter with the unemployment in the higher rates compared to unqualified men's labour force. The fact that the men's unemployment rates are not so pronounced as those women and the higher non-agricultural unemployment rates of women are the indicators of the lower employment rates of the women compared to the employment rates of men. This is especially young women centered challenge. Although the labour force participation rates of migrant young women in urban are relatively lower, non-agricultural unemployment rates of the young women in the year 2009 was 32.3% while 16.8% the employment rates. Confirming the argument of Ulutas, the high non-agricultural unemployment rates of young men are relatively balanced with the unemployment rates of 27% compared to 37.1% employment rates³³.

³³ TÜİK (2009), Household Labour Survey Statistics, Internet data base: http://www.tuik.gov.tr/VeriBilgi.do?tb_id=25&ust_id=8,12.07.2010

The most important dimension of young women's unemployment is employment creation problem of economy that can be called as *jobless growth*. In traditional economic theory, it is generally assumed that the relationship between economic growth and employment is positive. According to this perception, economic growth will increase investments and these investments will generate employment opportunities for labour force. However, if economic performance interrupted by chronic economic crisis is excluded for an instant, although some countries, like Turkey, caught considerable economic growth, the growth has not generated positive implications on employment rates or employment opportunities for population. Within this framework, the reason that the existence of the structural challenge of the unemployment in Turkey, and that an exact policy is not adopted in Turkey including planned periods (Tüses,1989:185-186), may be considered to be a self solution challenge when enabling the growth in the unemployment rates (Ecevit, 2000: 179).

Although the considerable growing rates and the production especially increased in the world and Turkey in 2001-2003, it was observed that the economies did not provide the employment opportunities or have positive and substantial effects upon the employment. The reason that condition is considered to be associated with the re-generation and modernization rather than the re-establishment of new capacities although they were affected from production increases, and the appropriate real currency rates in 2003- 2006, and the improvements in the industrial sector were rather high (DPT, 2007; BSB, 2007; Sönmez, 2007:3; Ercan, 2007:5). Hence, the labour force productivity in this period in Turkey (cumulative) increased in the rate of 26%, but the employment increase was 16.6% in the same period (BSB, 2007:34; Toksöz, 2007:8). In other words, the increase rate was 33% in the 2002-2006 and the production rate was relatively high, yet the increase in the numbers of the employed was solely 2.5% (Sönmez, 2007:3). That is an indicator that the labour force demand demonstrating the unemployment growth rate does not comply with the employment opportunities. In this context, despite the growth within the framework of the global competition that encourages the corporations to find out the ways to product more with less labour force (DPT, 2007:1), that the employment rates were not satisfactory to decrease the unemployment rate was identified as 'efficiency/productivity increase'. As argued by Ecevit (2008:170), the efficiency increase means that the same job is carried out with less staff therefore increasing the additional value per person. The productivity increase provides the competition power to the employers in the foreign markets but establishes two negative aspects for the labourers. The former is the fact that the employer does not request more labour as the same job is performed with less labour. The latter is the fact that the employers

do not respond to the horizontal side (employment) of their jobs with the uncertainties and the fluctuations in the demand, but to the vertical side (working hours) by performing the regulations. That means the reduction of the workplaces to be employed for those seeking a job.

The jobless growing process which does not establish further employment caused negative results particularly for those young and women. As the investors delayed their investments due to the high real interest rates in this period, and as the insufficient investments led to immobility, the employment opportunities were rather limited (DPT, 2007; Ercan, 2007; Ecevit, 2008; WB Report, 2008). However, if considering the demographical processes and transformation, according to a calculation dated 2002 (TÜSİAD, 2002:225), 6 M persons are expected to be employed in 2003- 2010. In order to provide the employment of this additional labour force, 750.000 net employment should be established. In case of non-establishment of employment to the increasing labour force, the unemployment challenge shall be a chronic problem for those especially young and women's population in Turkey. In fact, the economic growth process in Turkey established solely 1.3 M employment opportunities for women in non-agriculture sector, it generated 5.5 times more employment opportunities, approximately 7 M (Keig Report, 2009:12). The fact that the substantial production industry established for the women in particular was so limited, and that the women's labour force was confined to the light manufacturing industry such as tobacco, textiles/apparel, food/beverages, packaging of chemicals and that it was solely dependent upon the service sector in the cities were of great importance. As discussed in 3.6, the investment reduction in the service sector which is expected to be feminized, and the high rates of unemployment and the employment rates of the women in even growing periods could not reach to those of men due to the patriarchal structure of Turkey (Çınar, 1994; Moghadam, 2005; Toksöz, 2007; Ecevit, 2008). As argued by Seguino (2002:27), "the main feature of women's higher unemployment rates and perhaps the longer duration of their unemployment is that men appear to be the first hired during economic upturns, even in the service sector, which has typically been a female-dominated sector. The results imply that employers exhibit a preference for male workers when hiring, even in sectors not marked by a high degree of segregation. Indeed, women's greater difficulty in gaining employment during economic upturns seems in some sense economically irrational. But of course, economic rationality must be counter-posed with other social and political institutions that shape gender relations, and in particular, the apparent preference by males for dominance, buttressed by an income advantage".

Another negative aspect of the neoliberal model for labour markets is that the economic crisis has frequently and severely occurred as a result of liberalization process particularly initiated in the year 1989. Such crisis led to the halting the growth that is essential for employment establishment, and even considerable regression thereby causing collective redundancy which is already high (Şenses, 2000:157). This study was conducted in a global economic crisis environment that started from second half of 2008 and impact of which have been still felt. Experienced global economic crisis and provided projections by international institutions with regards to unemployment is deplorable. It is assumed that working poverty, vulnerable employment and unemployment were beginning to rise as the effects of the economic slowdown spread. With the deepening of the recession in 2009, the global job crisis is expected to worsen sharply. Furthermore, it is expected that for many of those who manage to keep a job, earnings and other conditions of employment will deteriorate (ILO GETsW, 2009:6).

The official unemployment rates in the urban areas of Turkey were 12.0% in the year 2007, 12.8% in the year 2008, and 16.6% in 2009 while 16.3% in the February of the year 2010. It was reported that in the February of the year 2009, the general unemployment and the non-agricultural unemployment, the rates were 18.1% and 18.4%, respectively, which was considered to be the highest rate. It is clearly seen that the non-agricultural unemployment rates up to 20% as well as young unemployment rates up to 30% transformed the economic crisis to a rather severe problem³⁴. Moreover, the growth expectations of the end of the year 2008 and beginning of the year 2009 were once more decreased, and it is understood that the economic constriction for Turkey's economy will present a different dimension and process beyond the expectations. The unemployment rates ever increasing under these conditions and reaching to a record level, about 3.3 M in the end of the year 2008, and 3.8 M in the February of 2009 are considered to be the one of the most significant indicators as well as the economic crisis / recession of 2009 (Voyvoda, 2009: 40-42). According to the Turkey's Projections of the OECD (Economic Outlook, 2010), the unemployment rates about 10% increased up to 13.7 % due to the economic crisis effects, and will be suggested to be 14.9% in the year 2010 and 15.9% in the year 2011.

According to the OECD Projections (Employment Outlook 2009), the production increase will only be positive in the 1st half of the year 2010 and this proliferation will become

³⁴ TÜİK (2009), Household Labour Survey Statistics, Internet data base, <http://www.tuik.gov.tr/isgucuapp/isgucu.zul>, 27.09.2010

weakened to the end of the year. At all events, the numbers of the jobs to be established will fall behind any turnarounds, which will lead the unemployment to turn into a structural problem. In fact, according to OECD (Employment Outlook, 2010), “with many unemployed experiencing long spells of joblessness, there is a risk that the sharp increase in cyclical unemployment will become structural”. That plight was in advance occurred in the OECD countries during the economic regressions, although the production level reached to its potential rate like before the crisis, unemployment rates were still high and it took many years to reduce the unemployment rate up to a level that was before the crisis. This fact represents weak job creation performance of economy during recovery called as *jobless-recovery*. Within this framework, although 11.7 growth rate for the first quarter of the year 2010 in Turkey, which establishes the recovery signals occur, the positive effects of that circumstance upon the employment rates and its remedy for the unemployment affair should be questioned. In fact, it must be borne in mind that economic recovery and labour market recovery are very different (ILO GETs, 2010:8). Moreover, as argued by Voyvoda (2009:40-42), the substantial case to be stressed out is the misunderstanding that is based upon the fact that ‘the current crisis, therefore all accompanying challenges are arisen from foreign sources, and that the crisis is not originated from Turkey itself, but the Turkish economy tries to persist that crisis’. However, it should be considered that ‘the speculative capital based growth’ carried out in the periods after the year 2001, damages both additional values and the global crisis registered in the end of the period 2008. Before the effects of the global crisis occurred up to the year 2008, the employment establishment challenge was emphasized and considered to be one of the most significant challenges of Turkey occurring after the year 2001. Global crisis occurred as a deepening element of that challenge.

As seen in the previous economic regressions, the young population and the women with the most disadvantages represent those suffering from the job loss, and most susceptible to the unemployment. According to ILO (GETsW, 2009:32), the gender impact of the economic crisis in terms of unemployment rates is expected to be more detrimental for females than for males as, globally, the female unemployment rate is expected to rise to at least 6.5 per cent in the most optimistic scenario, and to 7.4 per cent in the most pessimistic scenario. The young women’s unemployment rate in Turkey in the year 2007 was 26.0%, and 27.0% in the year 2008 and 31.3% in the year 2009. When considering the young women’s employment rates in urban areas, 17.2% employment rate in the year 2008 was decreased to 16.8% in the

year 2009³⁵. As apparently seen from the figures, the most affected subjects of the economic crisis are the young women. It is not possible to disclose this with an objective factor. The considerable point here is that the women are aware of the fact that they (women and young women) are excluded and discharged from the labour market especially in the crisis periods, who are the labourers who are exposed to capitalism and patriarchal interaction.

In economic crisis conditions, employers who consider scaling firm back and kicking someone out do not use objective criteria in their firing decisions. With regards to gender-based division of labour, young women are more vulnerable to be unemployed due to men's being head of family and responsible for livelihood of the family and women's being breadmaker in family, secondary, substitutable and reserve army of labour in market (Lordođlu & Minibaş, 1999:255; Ecevit, 2010:110). In fact, as women's labour is perceived as reserve army of labour, as discussed in 2.4.2, "in times of economic expansion women would be pulled into the economy, while in times of economic recession they would be 'let go' and returned to the family, where they had other things to do and forms of economic support to depend on" (Walby, 1992:42). The problem is more harmful for married women; in economic regression and crisis processes, the married women are especially displaced. This may be encouraged by the incentives such as high rate severance pays (Eyübođlu et al., 2000:15). On the other hand, as mentioned by Ecevit (2010:110), when labourers are displaced from the industrial sector, unqualified labourers, who are easily replaced are displaced rather than those qualified and key labourers. As the women labourers are much more holding the secondary group characteristics, they present more tendencies to displacement. This is parallel with women's vulnerability to unemployment with regards to their employment status. In fact, as young women mainly worked in periphery, informal, insecure parts of labour market and as female dominated sectors are more sensitive to fluctuations, they become unemployed more easily than young men. As observed in Hull & Ahlburg's study about 1997-1999 Asian crisis (2000:48, as cited in ITUC report, 2009:34), a higher proportion of (mainly low-educated) women than men lost their jobs, with many redundancies taking place in export-sensitive industries such as the manufacturing of clothing, food processing, and in retail. All of these were female-dominated industries.

However, women's position in economic crisis is not this all. In fact, as experienced in recent economic crisis, in economic crisis conditions women's unemployment and

³⁵ TÜİK (2009), Household Labour Survey Statistics, Internet data base, <http://www.tuik.gov.tr/istgucuapp/istgucu.zul>, 27.07.2010

employment rates may increase at the same time. In Turkey, employment rates of women in urban areas are increasing: 16.6 in 2007, 17.3 in 2008, 17.7 in 2009 and 19.4 in 2010 April³⁶. As summarized by Ulutaş (2009:49), due to the elimination of the job security the women workers have become the substantial components of the reserve army of labour. As seen in that current economic crisis, the economic contraction periods are the terms in which the women labourers are most frequently involved in the unemployed army but also in the groups of pauper and non-insured labour. The women are the first subjects of those displaced during any economic contraction, and the reduction in the household incomes due to the crisis and unemployment leads to the increase of the women's labour demands. Capital on the other hand, in these periods focus upon the unorganized women labourers who try to eliminate all the negative conditions with long time labouring and with low income rates. These reasons cause the increase of the women employment as well as the women's unemployment rates, thereby increasing the participation of the women labourers in the employment.

In that context, some of the unemployment increase rates during the economic crisis periods are disclosed with the effects of supplementary labour force represented by the women, and the women are declared to be the responsables of the high unemployment rates. In many countries such as Turkey in which the unemployment rates are rather high, the women feel accused to establish further employment areas for men when they withdraw from the employment sites. It is known that when the economic and political values are distorted the reactions against the women are increased such as protection of traditional familial values, and occasionally protection of the male prestigious, and sometimes the protection of the women themselves, therefore the women are either not participated in the employment area or primarily excluded from the business life at the very beginning (Çınar, 1991, as cited in Kümbetoğlu, 1994:564). As easily followed from governments' declarations in recent economic crisis, government has presented unwelcome to women's participation to labour market and charges women with increasing the rate of unemployment³⁷. According to Gürsel, Kolaşın & Dinçer (2009b), the unemployment of some of the households during the crisis periods, and not finding a job during that period, and the risk of losing the jobs of those already employed cause the participation of the unemployed but employable persons in order to compensate the current or possible unemployment risk, and some of those persons are

³⁶TÜİK (2009), Household Labour Survey Statistics, Internet data base, <http://www.tuik.gov.tr/isgucuapp/isgucu.zul>, 27.07.2010

³⁷<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ekonomi/11249561.asp?gid=254>

employed while some other are still unemployed. The effect of this case on the labour market indicators are known as 'added worker effect'. The numbers of the unemployed but employable women establish a great potential of labour force and result in a substantial 'added worker effect' during crisis. Therefore, it is seen that the participation of the women in the labour market is increasing. The women's employment rates in the year 2008 were 20.8% but increased up to 22.3% in the year 2009. Similarly, the employment rates of the young women were 23.6% in the year 2008, but increased up to 24.4% in the year 2009³⁸.

As emphasized by Ulutaş (2009:50), the increase in the participation into the labour market is encouraging, but when deeply examined, it is seen that this is not a good indicator for women's employment. This increase does not arise from the implementation of the women's employment encouraging policies and the prevention of the discriminatory activities in the labour market, as well. On the contrary, when considering the unemployment and informal employment rates of the women, the sole reason of these is the economic crisis. According to Dinçer, Uysal-Kolaşın & Dinçer (2009a), when considering the increase in the women's employment closely, in the 2007-2008 period, it is seen that the increase occurs in the service sector and those self-employed. According to the research conducted, self-employed women increased as to be 136 thousand persons, and those employing with wages and payments increased 101 thousand persons, and the increase tendency in the payments continue as before the crisis. The increase in the numbers of those self-employed compelled the women to be employed in the informal jobs such as house cleaning, child / elder persons caring or the home made productions sales. Therefore, the numbers of those informally self-employed are 121 thousand. Compatible with this, the employment increase of the women in the industrial sector is considered to be limited. However, Dinçer, Gürsel & Uysal-Kolaşın (2009a) draw attention to the increase in women's employment rates (12 thousand women) in industrial sector in crisis period and it is stressed out that the effectiveness of the insurance premium payment by the government as from the June 2008, is still regarded to be examined in detail. However, the critical point in here is the increase in women's employment rates was not valid for young women whose employment rates is steady on approximately 19.0 % in 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010 periods. One part of this fact may be explained by their higher labour force participation rates than women in other age groups and their lower additional worker effect. However, this fact reminds special characteristics of young women's labour and complexity of their unemployment as well.

³⁸ TÜİK (2009), Household Labour Survey Statistics, Internet data base, <http://www.tuik.gov.tr/isgucuapp/isgucu.zul>, 27.07.2010

With regards to its transformative effects on labour market and employment patterns, another important dimension of young women's unemployment is the *implemetation of technology to production process*. As argued by Yalınpala (2002:279) and Doğan (2009:46), the post fordist production system shaped under the neo-liberal globalization conditions, the labourers employed in the routine jobs that do not require work knowledge and skills are placed with those having the active roles in the design, quality increase, product renewing, maintenance and repair. On the other hand, the effective use of advanced technologies, which is the machine operation in the routine works, reduces the unqualified labour force, therefore the qualification difference leads to the unemployed women. According to Koray (2008:235-237), the permanent and persistent unemployment is to be evaluated on the basis of structural / technological alterations rather than initial growing deficiency. 'For example, the developed countries are not based upon the labour extensive sectors called as 'fuming industries' but focused on the technologies with high technologies. In the sectors using high technology, the employment need is reduced. However, the service sector, which is regarded as a potential for women rapidly increasing, but due to the office technology developed in this sector less employment is available, and the employment opportunities established require more qualified labour force.

As argued by Ecevit (2008:176), the employment branches developed after the period 1980, which have limited technologies (such as garment industry) enable the relative advantages to the women's employment, other branches with technologies employ less women. Namely, technological reconstruction of industrial production -the introduction of different tools and mechanization- tends to encourage skilled male labour, the outcome of which is substitution of women's labour with men's labour (Miranda, 1977:262; Akhun, Kavak & Senemoğlu, 1999:24-25; Moghadam, 1999:141). The examples from the textile and electronic industries in Turkey confirm this tendency³⁹. Within this scope, as emphasized by Ecevit (2008:177), it will be true to disclose that the most substantial tool to be protected from unemployment for the women is the proliferation of the technical qualification. The way to increase the employability rates of the women who are not still employed is to enable the required skill to the women and to increase the accessibility to the relevant institutions.

³⁹ As observed in Ansal's study (1998, as cited in Ecevit, 2008:177), the corporations and establishments in the textile sector, initiated to implement flexible production organization models and to use the new production technologies, and limited the rates of women's employment. The data acquired from the subsector of string refer to that indicator. A similar tendency is also available in the subsector of consuming materials as well as the electronic sector. The use of high technology requiring equipments such as automatic typesetting machines negatively affected the women's employment.

The women are of course not the sole subjects to be negatively affected from the technological developments, some of the men are in the same condition, as well. However, as argued by Ecevit (2008:177) two reasons are mostly affecting the women. The former is the fact that the men have more advantages to receive the basic education as well as to obtain the technology compared to women. The latter is the fact that the concept that considers the gender-based division to use the technological devices is available. Because that concept leads to the restriction for women's accession to the technology therefore limiting the relevant opportunities.

4.3.2 Human Capital: A Solution or An Obstacle

In line with the arguments in subsection 4.2.2.1, in unemployment discussions, generally, the relationship between employment and education is perceived positive and human capital, composed of education level and job experience, is rendered as the most crucial dimension of employment by national and international institutions. According to WB report (2008), if Turkey intends to maintain its policy to come close to the other countries with great income levels in the Europe and OECD, it may not focus its economic strategy upon the low cost values. Turkey should establish a competition based upon the information, skills, and innovation and not only the basic global education and also the advanced level skills and open labour force should be provided to enable the use of the human capital. It is argued that educational attainment is likely to enhance an individual's general position in the employment queue, making him or her more attractive to employers. Moreover, higher levels of educational attainment is also associated with better labour market information and more effective job search techniques, thereby reducing the likelihood or the duration of unemployment. Furthermore, the segmented and dual labour market perspectives predict that those with less schooling will be caught in jobs characterized by frequent turnover, low wages, and high unemployment (OECD, 1989:58, as cited in Meulders, Plasman & Stricht, 1993: 150) that picture the experiences of many women in labour market. In this context, in line with the arguments of human capital theory, discussed in 2.2.2, especially the reason of women's unemployment is presented as their low education level and low job experiences.

As in all over the world, in Turkey the women are the population that uses the employment opportunities in the lowest level. The fact that the women do not use the education opportunities as required leads to the proliferation of the challenges during the employment. As emphasized by Ecevit (2008), gender associated inequality especially occurs in the

vocational high schools and universities, which are the significant institutions for employing the women. According to her (2008:166-167), the low levels of graduation from vocational high schools and two-year vocational colleges should be stressed, and this condition should be amended to become in favor of the women, because to become educated plays a significant role to make the women more strong and it encourages the women to enter in the business life. Among the employers, in order to increase the profitability, it is preferred to employ those qualified women who have a profession. It is required to initiate the advanced and common applications that will enable the equal opportunities, as well as to provide a special training to the girls. These specific efforts should also include the positive discriminatory applications such as limits and scholarship.

The critical point here is to capture patriarchal bases of women's disadvantaged position in educational attainment. With regards to gender-based division of labour, men's/son's investment on their human capital is encouraged and gained priority due to their expected breadwinner role and daughters' human capital remain in secondary position due to their being expected breadmaker, a good wife and a good mother role (Bolcan, 2006:21). As argued by Ecevit (2000:155), especially economies difficulties in the family lead to a preference between sons and daughters. Therefore, as stated and argued in many studies (Demirel et al., 1999; Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver, 2000; Şahabeddinoğlu et al., 2002), the unemployed young women disclosed that they have been compelled to help the houseworks, and to assist their brothers/sisters, as well as due to the economic insufficiencies and familial authority, and every 1 of 4 unemployed women (Demirel et al., 1999:82) is exposed to the leave from their educations due to the gender-based division considerations and financial insufficiencies, and as the sons are preferred by their families (Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver, 2000:151). This is a substantial indicator that demonstrates the impressions of others upon the education decision of the women.

Women's disadvantaged position in investing on their human capital can not solely be discussed in relation to patriarchal son preference of families. Macro- economic dimensions and its effects on families' livelihood should be added to analysis. Namely, as emphasized by Ecevit (2008:167), the consideration that is based upon the fact that the young women will marry and thereby being connected to her husband, and to the houseworks, that is a patriarchal consideration, establishes a great obstacle before the efforts of public institutions to educate the girls. However, considering that challenge with only regard to cultural values and ideology will limitedly contribute to the understanding of the fact that the women's

education lacks behind those of men. When considering families' preference with regards to the education of the sons and daughters, it should be considered that the poverty and possession loss following the year 1980 are heavy especially upon the familial decisions. In other words, as argued by Şahabeddinoğlu et al. (2002, as cited in Toksöz, 2007:17), when the familial income reduces, the girls become more disadvantaged, the already limited sources are used for the boys.

However, high unemployment rates in Turkey can not be resolved by educational participation. As argued by many scholars (Toksöz, 2007; Ercan, 2007; Erdayı, 2009; Ecevit, 2008), Turkey's unemployment experience is heavily based on educated young populations' high unemployment rates, the disadvantaged group of which is educated young women⁴⁰. This implies the fact that the advantaged conferred by education in relation to risk of unemployment is smaller for women than for men and although many women may benefit from competitive tendencies of the market that rewards educational attainments, such benefits do not overcome the significant obstacles that women face in the labour market (Meulders, Plasman & Stricht, 1993:155; Ecevit, 2000:151; Miles, 2002:425; Seguino, 2004:10; Glass & Kawachi, 2005:99; Toksöz, 2007:39; Ulutaş, 2009:50-51). Namely, as argued by Ulutaş (2009:50-51) and Ecevit (2000:151), when considering the relation between unemployment and educational background, though the education is considerably of significance particularly for the women's labour force participation, their employment and longer duration of unemployment compared to those of men is a complex case which cannot be disclosed with solely education. The gender gap in unemployment rates of women and men having the equal educational background demonstrates not the women's low education level, but the discriminatory and patriarchal approach in the labour market. In line with the findings of her study in Russia and Poland, Moghadam argues that (1999:141) "women's unemployment is higher than men's despite women's higher educational attainment and their long work experience is suggestive of the existence of gender bias in labour markets, often influenced by the gender ideology that men are primary breadwinners and more deserving of the better jobs". Moreover, in line with the findings of Seguino's study in Trinidad and Tobago (2004:19), "among those with a university degree, women are more likely than men to be unemployed, with university educated women experiencing an unemployment rate more than 2 percentage points higher than men with the same education. Moreover, women

⁴⁰ When considering the young women's unemployment rates in the year 2009 according to the education background, it is seen that the unemployment rates are: 36.0% in those graduated from two year vocational colleges and a universities and 35,4% in those graduated from general high schools, and 32,7% in those graduated from vocational and technical high schools

with a secondary degree are less likely to be able to find work than men at any level of education. In Trinidad and Tobago, an inverse; 'U' pattern is observed, with gender gaps narrowing for those with no education, rising for those with primary education, and falling still further for those with university education”.

In addition to patriarchal bases of educated young women's unemployment, as summarized by Erdayı (2006:19), main dimensions of educated youth unemployment in Turkey is; the incompatibility between the demanded and supplied labour force, highly qualified labour demand surplus, the challenges before the private sector to establish labour demand, and the triggering of the unemployment rates by the private sector that has recently decreased. With regards to young women's situation it is argued that 1. The numbers of young women graduated from high school and university in urban are higher than the number of created jobs; 2. There are jobs in urban areas that young women can work, but young women don't find these jobs proper for themselves; 3. The skills and abilities gained from high school and equals do not accord with the qualifications that opened jobs require; 4. Export –oriented industrialization did not create jobs in sectors in which women are employed and do not contribute to the creation of new job opportunities in which women can work (Ecevit, 1998:56)

Within this scope, although investment on human capital is presented as a solution of unemployment, discussed in 4.2.2, 4.2.3, and although high unemployment rates among educated young women is generally explained by their selectivity or high expectations, in the presence of job creation problem of wider economy, it is hard to assume that human capital will enable unemployed young population to be employed. Moreover, the problem is not only job creation but poor *qualified job creation* capacity of economy for high educated labour. In this context, the most important dimensions of educated young women's unemployment are either *job creation* or *qualified job creation* problem of economy especially for young women bargaining with capitalism and patriarchy for finding a place in labour market (İlkkaracan, 1998; Miles, 2002; Ecevit, 2008). In line with the findings of Mitra & Singh (2006:793-794), “while there is an abundance of literate and educated females seeking jobs, there are not enough skilled jobs in the labour market. The shortage of white-collar jobs, coupled with discrimination in the labour market, has created double disadvantage for many Kerala women who find it difficult to find suitable employment. The highly educated Kerala women are averse to menial work and prefer jobs that reflect high status in society. Improvements in educational attainment among women have created strong

preferences for white collar and salaried jobs and reduced their willingness to take up manual work or self-employment. The economic structure, on the other hand, imposes severe constraints on women's employment, as there are not enough skilled jobs. Women's, especially educated women's, job expectations will longer their duration of unemployment and reinforces their unemployment and discouragement".

Another important dimension of educated young women's unemployment is *school to work transition*. As emphasized in many national and international reports (ILO Report, 2004:1; Türk-İş Report, 2005: 107-108; WB Turkey Labour Market Study, 2006:11; WB Report, 2008:13; UNDP Report, 2008:38), one dimension of educated youth unemployment in general and young women's unemployment in particular is the mismatch between the skills provided by schooling and required by labour market, called as *skill-mismatch*. The young population is the group most frequently exposed to unemployment in all the countries. However, this is more frequent in Turkey. The reason of this is that the young population is not educated in order to meet the needs of the sector, and the practical knowledge and experience are not satisfactory, and the quality challenge before the educational level and the unsatisfactory relation between the education and labour market. Particularly those graduated from general high schools, are more frequently affected by the unemployment as they are not qualified as required and as they are more selective compared to other groups that are not adequately educated (Türk-İş Report, 2005:107- 108).

Nowadays, the problem of skill mismatch is discussed in relation to vocational high schools in Turkey. In Turkey, the aim of vocational and technical education provided by Ministry of National Education and other public education centers is providing a qualified labour force with regard to the demand in the labour market. However, as vocational training in Turkey is not sensitive to labour demand, most recently, unemployment discussions are based on re-arrangement of vocational training programmes through meeting employers' *high qualified intermediate labour need* to increase international competitiveness and find a place in new international division of labour (TÜSİAD, 2005; TİSK, 2006- 2007; Türkkonfed, 2006). The employers in Turkey disclosed that they had some difficulties in supplying the intermediate labour. The underlying reasons of this fact is based upon that the required qualifications are not provided by the vocational high schools, this education is not related to the sectorial demands, the relation between the corporations and the schools is not strong and sufficient, and they are not configured according to the technological developments and the families

do not prefer to enroll their children in vocational high schools due to the high unemployment rates (Türk-iş Report, 2005; Erdayı, 2006; Toksöz, 2007; Ecevit, 2008).

The problem is especially complex for young women. As argued by Ecevit (2000:182), the most common and simple way to increase the qualified women's labour force as well as to provide the equal conditions between men and women is the vocational education. The vocational education programs will be in service to the expansion of the employment opportunities for the women. However, as accepted by the research commission on the status of the women under the authority of Turkish Grand National Assembly, because of the fact that the relevant policies and the sufficient support are not supplied, the qualified women labourers are not established. The gender rates of the students and the vocational high schools educational curriculum are not in favor of the women, but the men. The vocational education in Turkey is not satisfactory, and the vocational opportunity equality is not presented for the men and women (Bolcan, 2006:21-22).

On the other hand, although the graduate numbers from the vocational high schools and the two year vocational colleges have tended to increase in the recent years, the appropriate jobs are not established in the business market (Ecevit, 2008:130), and as the gender gap in vocational education is still high, the employment problem is of great for the women. In fact, in 2008, 86.813 of 182.450 vocational and technical high school graduates are women and 95.637 are men⁴¹. However, when considering the employment rates, it is seen that the 30,4% and 72,9% employment rates in the year 2008 for those women and men graduated from vocational high schools respectively are available⁴².

The critical point in here is realizing the intermediate labour demanded by labour market does not refer to young women's labour. As emphasized by Toksöz (2007:63) and Tan (2008:49-50), as well as the small numbers of the women educated in the vocational and technical training, considering the both genders enrollment in such schools, gender based division is still available, and the young women are currently enrolled in the health vocational schools related to women technical high schools, as well as the religious vocational high schools. Moreover, as emphasized in Türkonfed and Erg's report (2006:37-41, as cited in Toksöz 2007:70), in the recent years many technical education programs

⁴¹ National Education Statistics, formal education 2009-2010, 22.07.2010

⁴² TÜİK (2009), Household Labour Survey Statistics, Internet data base, <http://www.tuik.gov.tr/isgucuapp/isgucu.zul>, 27.07.2010

carried out with the corporation of public and private sector despite the lack of the technical education have been implemented. However, these educations are generally focused upon the manufacturing industry, as well as machine, electronics and installation, it is seen that their common feature is that they generally are established for women. In this context, women's exclusion from machine-intensive phases of production, discussed in 4.3.1, and gender-based occupational segmentation of labour market leading patriarchal employment and education preferences, discussed in 4.4.2, do/will exclude young women from employment opportunities in Turkey's labour market.

In addition to education, another important dimension of human capital is *job experience*. High youth unemployment rates are generally discussed within the context of educated young people's lack of job experiences. As argued by Russell and O'Connell (2001:18), previous work experience of any sort found to have a positive influence on the employment chances of the unemployed in all countries though education does not have the same universal impact. Thus, as argued by Beck, Wagener & Grix (2005:9), "employers are skeptical when it comes to employing individuals who have a whole range of qualifications but have never worked in any field relating to their often varied abilities. Part of the capitalist logic -though not of the current labour market dynamic- is to assume that there is something wrong with an applicant who has been out of work, has changed occupations and/or has not had practical experience in the field of employment".

Although nearly all job vacancies require job experience, how youth gain job experience within the context of job creation problem of economy and configuration of education system that does not provide internships is partly answered by active labour market policies, discussed in 4.2.2.1. However, due to its' gendered essence, it can be clearly argued that there is a gender gap in job experience and this gap can not be filled by active labour market policies. As mentioned by Rees (1992:23), "taking the household as the basic economic unit, it then makes sense for men to invest in their 'human capital' through the acquisition of skills, qualifications and experience: women by contrast would not be so motivated, since they are the ones to focus on care of the children and home, and fit employment around their domestic responsibilities". Moreover, determined working conditions or job priorities of women and pressures come from family and neighbourhood narrow the numbers of 'appropriate' jobs for women and limit their employment opportunities (Toksöz, 2007:39). This limitation establishes a great patriarchal challenge before the women's accumulation of job experience.

5.3.3 Malestream Configuration of Trade Unions

Trade-unions have been influenced deeply by transformations since 1980s; they lost their member potential, their power on decision making, their effects on social policy and the numbers of workers comprised by collective agreements have been diminished day by day. Although effectiveness of trade unions is suppressed, the critical point here shall examine the focus of trade-unions' remained power and its' malestream configuration.

As discussed in chapter 3, to gain competitive advantages in global markets, neo-liberal structuring of labour market requires atypical, flexible, precarious employment forms, employment relations/ contract of indefinite duration fostering expansion of informal sector. Despite women and young labour have been intensified in these precarious employment forms, ironically, trade unions have been ignoring them; do not have an effort to develop comprehensive approach to labour market fragmented by neo-liberalism, join them to trade unions, improve their working conditions, provide job security and assistance to them in case of unemployment. As argued by Dasgupta (2002:437), "women, younger workers, less-educated workers and those working in the informal sector-groups already disadvantaged in the labour market- were less likely to be represented through unions". Trade unions are far from organizing labour in smaller workplaces despite "women's labour concentrated in smaller, less unionized workplaces are more vulnerable to redundancy" (Bruegel, 1979:13). Those young women lose not only the rents accrued to union members but also the gender-specific protection provided by trade unions. However, just because the group who have incentive to take responsibility, be active in trade unions are young women, especially educated ones, (Ecevit, 1991; Koray,1993; Erdoğan & Toksöz,1995), trade unions should concern themselves with organizing these vulnerable parts of labour market.

The factor generating obstacle to young women's less representation in trade unions is employer's attitudes against and reluctance towards employing trade union members. Especially in private sector, there is the danger of being dismissed if you are trade union member. Either not having job security or the danger of being fired at any moment in the status of trade union member are important reasons of women's non- or less unionization. In other words, in the existence of women's high unemployment rates and large reserve army of labour pool, women's unstable position in labour market represses women from being trade union's member (Tokol, 1998:22; Yıldız, 2007:18).

However, young women's poor existence or representation in trade unions can not be explained solely by referring their employment status and employers' negative attitudes. Without challenging malestream configuration of trade unions, it is hard to examine young women's vulnerability to unemployment. As argued by Elson & Pearson (1986:89-990), "the failure of trade unions to take into account of gender means that in practice they have tended to represent male workers. In fact, working women tended to be represented only through their dependence on male workers". As confirmed by many studies (Tokol, 1998:21; Yeğen, 2000:7, 38; Toksöz, 2005:42; Urhan, 2006: 21; Yıldız, 2007:37), inadequacy of trade unions concerning with or conceiving women's problems make women reluctant to join trade unions with regards to their mistrust on trade unions' effectiveness, especially for women's labour. As argued by Toksöz (2005:42), problems special to women do not gain priority in collective agreements -the most important bargaining tools of trade unions-; even if they gain priority, they become easily dispensable subjects in bargainings. As a consequence, many women do not see membership to unions as a necessity, beneficiary as trade unions do not answer their problems. Moreover, the language (jargon) and space used in collective agreements and other syndical actions are distant from women workers and represents a male dominant culture (Urhan, 2006:21) and remain women alone in their problems in patriarchal labour market. Within this scope, Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver (2000:48)'s study reveals that the number of women not knowing the meaning and purpose of trade unions are in considerable amount. According to study (2000:48), 85% of the women are never the members of a union. It is also determined that those who do not know the functions of the unions are 9% and those who are not aware the benefits of the unions to the labourers are 26%. This may be assessed as another perspective resulting from the fact that the unions regard the women as not functional.

4.3.4 Dimensions of Employers Discriminatory Practices against Young Women

Young women's unemployment is not solely an objective outcome of labour market conditions, rather, labour market builds its' arguments on subjective patriarchal ideological codes making young women's unemployment as an after effects of discriminatory practices of employers within *patriarchal capitalist labour market*. This can be called as 'male preference'. Within this scope, this subsection examines reflections of previous macro-level discussions on employers' hiring and firing practices through the interaction between capitalism and patriarchy, discussed in 2.4.3.

One dimension of employers' discriminatory practices against young women is *Human Capital*. The existence of high unemployment rates reinforces increase in minimum qualifications for the job for both sexes. However -what differentiates young women situation from young men is- "the market as a whole is biased against the employment of women due to their lack of formal education qualifications, their supposed lower job commitment and because capital-intensive skills tend to be considered 'male' skills" (Lingam, 2005:5). One critical point in here is, as discussed in 4.3.2, women's low human capital can not be interpreted as an outcome of their free-will, own preference, rather, capturing patriarchal bases of their vulnerability in education and job experience and examining decisive effects of gender-based division of labour on this process is important. As argued by Niemi & Lloyd (1975:196);

Variables such as occupation and work experience are in the part representative of different *opportunities* rather than different *qualifications*. Women are conditioned to expect to spend a substantial proportion of their lives outside the labour force and are implicitly or explicitly discouraged from investing heavily in market-oriented skills and career preparation. Direct discrimination against women in the labour market reinforces this effect and, helps to make this socially conditioned expectation of secondary status a self-fulfilling prophecy.

As revealed by the studies of Almquist (1977) and Ecevit (1998), even if women have a chance to invest on their human capital, their human capital is not as rewarding as men's and they are typically assigned different jobs even within the same firm due to patriarchal configuration of skills and gender based occupational segregation. This reflects a discrimination against women in labour market with regards to the perception that the responsibility of child caring and house works is loaded upon the women, although they are equally educated as men, the women are exposed to discrimination in recruitment. Although it is tried to rule out the gender based discrimination in recruitment process by regulations, it is not eliminated that the employer's preferences are dominant (Türk-İş Report, 2005: 114).

On the other hand, as gender-based division of labour makes women vulnerable to improve human capital, as the work they carried out is defined as work requiring no skill, as they are positioned as reserve army of labour, women become primary candidates of redundancy in employers' eyes due to their being substituted/interchangable by another labour easily, especially in the existence of high unemployment rates and large reserve army of labour pool (Davies & Esseveld, 1989: 222; Erbaş, 1997: 50, as cited in Bolcan, 2006:19-20). In other words, "the higher rates of redundancy amongst women is a reflection of their lower level of

skills; employers are likely to keep on skilled men or put them on short time when work is slack because their skills are not easily replaced and, on dismissal, they may move elsewhere” (Mackay et al., 1971, as cited in Bruegel 1979:13). Moreover, “when overall unemployment rates are high and there are many applicants for most jobs, employers may face with a large number of job applicants who are more or less equivalent. In this situation they are more or less free to indulge any slight discriminatory preferences they may have without suffering any loss in profits from doing so” (Azmat, Güell & Manning, 2004: 23).

Another important dimension of employers’ discriminatory practices against young women is *domestic responsibilities*. In line with the articulation of capitalism and patriarchy, employers are well aware of the gender of labour and make cost analysis, calculate loss and gain before employing someone. In this evaluation process, women are the most vulnerable group as their domestic responsibilities become a matter of cost. Especially in private sector, marriage and having children hurts women’s chances in the labour market insofar as employers discriminate against or hesitate to make a job offer to women on the beliefs that women will marry and that married women, in contrast to married men, are not productive, are less flexible, less mobile or less competent (Almquist, 1977:850; Du & Dong, 2008:16). In line with the findings of Ali, Mustafa & Khouri (1990:48, as cited in Miles, 2002: 415), sexual division of labour makes it more difficult for women, relative to men, to find work in the private sector compared to the public sector. In the survey of 80 representative private sector establishments, children and home responsibilities were cited as the major constraints to employing more women, followed by lack of suitable business experience, followed by religious and social factors.

As confirmed by different studies (Miranda, 1977; Şenel, 1998; Eyüboğlu et al., 2000; Bolcan, 2006), as women need to perform their domestic and job responsibilities together, it is considered by the employers that the women will withdraw less importance on their jobs compared to domestic responsibilities, therefore they discriminate the women when recruiting. That causes in particular jobs that the women are not employed, and in some jobs less women are employed, and that the women are subject to other criteria when recruited compared to those applied to men. These applications may include the questions related to their special life, numbers of children, and the impression on timing of pregnancy (Bolcan, 2006:27). The study conducted by Eyüboğlu et al (2000:113) in banking sector confirms that the women are subject to the various applications and need to meet the additional requirements, different from men. For instance, the newly recruited women are asked and

expected not to deliver a birth during at least one year or the child issue is disclosed in the job interviews. That makes the women to answer the questions, not applicable to the men, and compels the women to make decisions upon additional issues. It may be expressed that this condition affects the bank's institutional structure as that forces the women to make a selection between job and domestic responsibilities, as well. Moreover, according to Şenel's study (1998:61), 'child' is a substantial issue considered during the employment of a woman. Even a bank, in which the organizational culture is contemporarily defined, the 'child' issue leads to some problems in recruitment and professional carrier. Because, the bank management considers that the time allocated by the women for their homes is stolen from the working time that is from the bank itself. For example, in one of the private banks, the women are expected not to deliver a birth during at least one year. It is also seen that the women are exposed to strict sanctions such as 'dismissal' if they tend to use unpaid leave.

As argued by Ecevit (2000:161), generally the demand for the women's labour is lower than those of men and subjects to the conjunctural fluctuations. Even if a demand is available, this woman are expected to be young, docile, independent from familial responsibilities and they are expected to look their income as a subsidiary or pin money, have a weak tendency of noising their problems individually or jointly. Within this scope, although young bachelor women without children and with high human capital appear to be advantageous in labour market, especially in the presence of high unemployment rates, young women's expected marriage and motherhood may not spare them from male-preference. In other words, in 'high-gap' countries, *like Turkey*, "even when women without the burdens of a partner or children are more likely to be unemployed than equivalent men (though having a partner and/or children worsens this disadvantage)" (Azmat, Güell & Manning, 2004:9). Thus, as argued by Moghadam (2005:23-24), "women's economic participation is hindered by a combination of structural difficulties and gender bias, as well as inadequate or problematical social policies".

In line with domestic responsibility discussions, another important dimension of employers' discriminatory approach against young women is based on their being perceived as *volatile labour* by employers. In line with the arguments of Hakim's preference theory, discussed in 2.2.3, young women's unemployment and long unemployment durations are generally discussed within the context of women's low work commitment, low desire to work and their low enthusiasm towards finding a job. In fact, "surveys regularly show that employers see female workers in a different light from male workers. Women are perceived to be less

career-conscious, with weaker or no commitment to paid work, less likely to seek training and promotion, less likely to approach their job with a long term perspective, having high turnover and absentee rate, and be unwilling to take on responsibilities at work that would compete with their domestic responsibilities” (Hunt, 1975:55, 94-101, 104-9, as cited in Hakim, 1995:432). However, women who have participated to labour force and who are looking for a job can not be perceived as reluctant. According to Azmat, Güell & Manning (2004:4), “there is no evidence that the female unemployed are less ‘serious’ about wanting work than their male counterparts in the high-gap countries”. The main problem is women’s positioning in patriarchal capitalist labour market in which their job opportunities, job seeking behaviours, tools and priorities are restricted and shaped by patriarchal values. Moreover, as emphasized by Moghadam (2005:18), “the widespread perception of women as less reliable workers, coupled with the persistence of the male breadwinner / female homemaker ideas”.

The volatility argument is based on young women’s *intermittent working history*, their high *turnover rates*. In fact, employers’ main problem about young women is not their domestic responsibilities, their being married or their having children. The main problem is young women’s expected / predictable quitting or leaving the job due to marriage, pregnancy and child-rearing; leaving employers high and dry. In this context, without challenging patriarchal social pressures, women’s intermittent working patterns are interpreted as a signal of their being less in need of work, free to give up work or free to change their jobs and women’s high unemployment rates are attributed to their high turn-over or re-entrance rates (Sandell,1980:368; Ecevit, 1998:60; Çabuk, 1999: 42-43).

Originally, high turn-over rates are one of the main characteristic of young, unskilled and unmarried labour (Sanborn, 1995:396-397). However, women’s high turn-over rates are heavily based on their discontinuous / intermittent working history with regards to gender-based division of labour. Their expected risk of quitting and leaving makes them being subject of discriminative practices of employers. In this context, as argued by Niemi & Lloyd (1975: 197-198);

The relatively high rate of young women’s unemployment can be partly explained by differences in mobility between men and women. Two types of mobility must be distinguished: 1. Intra-labour force mobility, which is movement from one job to another within the labour force, and 2. Inter-labour force mobility, which is movement in and out of the labour force. Too little intra-labour force mobility and too much inter-labour force mobility both contribute to the high rate of female unemployment.

As confirmed by the findings of Demirel et al. (1999:111-112), more than half of the women declaring that they had previously been employed, the 57, 3%, and 1 out of every 5 women declared that they left their jobs within the last 1 year, and it is seen that this rate will increase up to 1 per 2 if considered 5 years. In line with the findings of Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver (2000:36-38), while the age decreases and the educational background level and social status increase, the job change frequency also increases, but the women do not present a tendency to frequently change their jobs, and it is clear that among the women almost all have to leave their jobs for some time due to familial reasons (97%). Especially according to the average of the age groups when considering the working periods, we see 15 – 19 age group to work 3,0 years and 20 – 24 years to work 4,1 years, the least working groups. 40% of the women particularly the graduates of universities expressed that they paused their career for some time during their 20 – 25 years old.

In this context, as validated by many studies (Rosenman, 1979; İlkkaracan, 1998; Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver, 2000), in contrast to men, women's turn-over rates are not based on their free mobility amongst jobs, rather, their mobility is heavily based on their gendered intermittent working patterns; being in and being out of labour market. In line with the findings of Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver (2000:36-42), marriage (26%), delivery (17%) are the most frequent reasons for the women to pause their careers almost among all the socio-economic groups. In those not married but single, new job seeking, displacement and education are considered to be the most frequent reasons for displacement. When considering the familial, individual and labouring reasons, the familial reasons are 52%. The important point here is that most of the women, 86% have left their jobs with their own request and demand, namely only 14% of these groups are displaced by the employer. As emphasized by İlkkaracan's study (1998) conducted in Ümraniye, the gender-based division of labour is considered to be one of the most frequent reasons for job leaves. According to study, more than half the women employed in the paid jobs left their jobs due to 'familial reasons'⁴³.

⁴³ In study, these 'familial reasons' are categorized under three groups: 'Marriage or delivery', 'the demands of the husbands or their families', 'to care the children, house works or those presenting diseases' may be classified according to their importance, respectively. In the second range, 'the workplaces conditions or the unsatisfaction with the payments from their jobs' or 'the irregularity and temporarity of their current jobs' are presented as reasons of leaving a job. The remaining reasons may include the dismissal from the job, the closure of the workplaces, educational background, health and retirement.

Accordingly, as confirmed by many scholars (Miles,2002:421; Eyüboğlu et al. 2005:15; Bolcan, 2006:19; Du & Dong, 2008:3), women's discontinuous/intermittent working history, their being unreliable labour or their carrying risk of quit and leave become one of the important feature that reinforces employers' discriminatory practices against young women in firing and hiring process. As argued by Niemi & Lloyd (1975:200), "a related aspect of the discrimination process that is of particular concern today is employer's expressed reluctance to hire and train women or to pay them equally because of the supposed greater risk of their quitting". From employer's view point, the specific reason for a woman worker leaving a job is irrelevant because these reasons do not alter employer's need to hire and retrain a replacement worker, with the associate costs (Hakim, 1999:454).

The point in here is capturing patriarchal bases of women's discontinuous working patterns. In fact, women's leaving and quitting can not be interpreted as women's own preferences or own choices, rather, women are obligated to make a pause due to gender-based division of labour. Especially in countries, like Turkey, in which provision of caring services are poor, limited, not mandatory and not regulated adequately, young women who have pre-school children compulsorily leave their jobs for child-rearing. However, the critical point here is that young women do not consider give up working totally rather they insist on working and give priority to their careers. In the light of the finding of Ecevit's (1998:60-61) study in Bursa, "the assumption about women's low attachment to their work, not only in terms of leaving the labour force upon marriage or childbirth, but also in terms of changing jobs, still prevail. However, the argument that familial influences result in a fragmentary work history for women seems unconvincing, at least in the case of Turkish factory workers. Despite the traditional idea that women should give up work when they marry, more and more young women are staying in their jobs when they marry or if they give up work upon marriage, are later returning to work".

However, when women left their job and became unemployed, they are less likely than men to be able to move to where their best job opportunities are available due to discriminatory practices of employers against women. "Direct discrimination against women is a significant factor in lowering their intra-labour force mobility" (Niemi & Lloyd, 1975:197-198). In line with the findings of Çabuk's study (1999:41-42), "if women change their jobs during their working lives, these changes do not take place within a range of occupations. Alternatives are limited and do not provide women with much choice". On the other hand, although young women have high returning tendency, studies show that (Rosenman, 1979:23; Hakim,

1999:448; Bolcan, 2006:34; Du & Dong, 2008:1) women who were laid off or left their jobs experience greater difficulty in re-employment due to their becoming distanced from labour market, rustiness in their skills and intermitency in their working experience accumulation. As emphasized by Türk-iş Report (2005:117) and Bolcan (2006:34), women, becoming distanced from labour market, face various challenges if they request to return to labour market. The women who do not accommodate themselves to the improving and developing technologies remain behind the current qualifications and skills required by the labour market. Unless they are not self improved, they will have difficulties in finding the appropriate jobs and they may not be employed in the jobs with the same opportunities. According to studies, only one fourth of those pausing their jobs may turn back to their jobs after having vocational training.

Another important dimension leading employer to prefer men is *absenteeism*. Employers perceive women, particularly young, married women as risky and unreliable workers, with high rates of absenteeism due to their domestic responsibilities (Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver,2000; Eyüboğlu et al.,2000; Seguino,2002:27; Glass & Kawachi,2005). According to employers, “women’s frequent getting permission from work, getting off early in working hours are lowering their efficiency” (Glass & Kawachi, 2005:115-11). As argued by Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver (2000:70), employers emphasize on the fact that the women more frequently use leave and health reports in workplaces. There are some underlying reasons supporting their emphasis. The domestic responsibilities of women may be reflected to the workplaces. Particularly during the pregnancy, and the paid or unpaid leaves before and after birth, and the child caring responsibilities in the later periods are claimed and voiced in the job interviews. However, women’s high rates of absenteeism can not be interpreted as women’s own preferences or their arbitrary practices. In fact, women’s high absentee rates are reflections of unequal gender-based domestic division of labour making women seesaw between domestic and job responsibilities.

Another important dimension of employers’ discriminatory practices against young women is *expensiveness of women’s labour*. As employers perceive young women as expectant mothers, as employers are responsible for providing waged/unwaged maternity leave and childcare benefits (workplace nurseries, and nursing breaks for new mothers) and as state no longer enforces anti-discrimination laws, employers have real incentives to discriminate in favor of men or in favor of unmarried women without children to protect themselves from financial burdens of employing working wives and mothers. As emphasized by Glass &

Kawachi (2005:82), “while the costs of employers for employing women have increased, the costs of discriminating against women have decreased. The financial risks of employing women of reproductive age are perceived by many employers as prohibitive, particularly firms struggling to survive in the newly forming market economies”. Especially in private sector as a differentiative factor, the cost leads to the men employment as the pregnancy, birth and leave are the additional costs (TISK Women Employment Summit, 2006:106). In this context, it can be assumed that young women without children are more advantageous than other young married women with children. However, as they are perceived as potential candidates of mother and wife, they may not preferred by employer or even if they employed, as they are employed in unimportant, generally informal parts of work, they can easily fired or employed with contract in which the time of her being mother is determined. Shortly, as argued by Lordođlu & Minibaş (1999:255), the perception that bearing a child is a natural result of marriage turn out to be a disadvantage for women in terms of their being employed and bargaining for wage.

The last dimension of employers’ discriminatory practices against young women is their *long unemployment durations*. There is a well- established expectation that the longer an individual is unemployed the lower the probability that individual will escape from unemployment and re-enter work (Heckman & Borjas, 1980, as cited in Russell & O’Connell, 2001:4). This initial *negative duration dependence* is considered to be a result of employers’ using unemployment duration as a signal of potential productivity and quality of labour whereby people loose valuable skills in unemployment (Russell & O’Connell, 2001:14; Tansel & Taşçı, 2004:20-21). As discussed in 3.6, the gender gap in unemployment durations hurts young women and supresses their employment chances. It is generally argued that “women have higher unemployment rates and longer unemployment periods because their desire for employment is not as strong as men’s” (Barrett & Morgenstern, 1974; Johnson, 1983; Kulik, 2000, as cited in Du & Dong, 2008:2). However, in line with the arguments of Çınar (1974:371) and Ecevit (2008:153), women’s longer durations of unemployment should be interpreted as their difficulty in finding a job compared to men. Due to the facts such as that the human capitals of the women are low, and the women are more selective, and that the women are not effectively seeking jobs, thereby extending the durations of unemployment of women. However, when considering the demand-based discrimination in labour market, the employers tend to select the men compared to women having the same qualifications with the men, which underlies the realities (Gürsel, Güner & Darbaz, 2009). Accordingly, the most important dimension is employers’ prejudices against

women (Du & Dong, 2008:6). Moreover, in line with the discussions in 4.3.2, 4.4.2, 4.4.3, it should be considered that women's low human capital, their being selective and their passivity in job seeking are outcomes of patriarchal impressures and can not be interpreted as their individual preferences.

4.4 Patriarchal Family

As insisted by Marxist Feminist theory, discussed in 2.4.2, family is the most critical part of women's oppression due to its being the bearer of patriarchal ideological codes in terms of producing, reproducing and guaranteing gender-based division of labour via socialization process. The ideology of familism, in which marriage is perceived as *sine qua non*, men are seen as breadwinner and women as homemaker, has important implications on young women's unemployment experiences in labour market. This subsection focuses on families' patriarchal approach to young women's working restraining their job seeking, finding, accepting practices, compressing their employment opportunities wholly or certain parts of labour market, reproducing the articulation between capitalism and patriarchy. In contrast to Hakim's preference theory, discussed in 2.2.3, young women's position in labour market can not be considered as their own preference, own will and free practices. Rather, their decision of working, job seeking, finding, accepting or rejecting reflect patriarchal clamp which makes young women selective, immobilized, being restrained by job priorities and unemployed at the end.

4.4.1 Configuration of Women's Work in Patriarchal Family

As family is the bearer of patriarchy, marriage becomes an important instrument to maintain gender-based division of labour. Marriage, keeping a marriage going, being a good wife, being a good mother, not to hamper domestic responsibilities have become a fate waiting young women. Although the familial structure in Turkey is different in terms of the daily formats, the classical patriarchal family defined by Kandiyoti shows similarities with regard to general context. Both the women and men within this social structure become socialized by considering the necessity of the marriage thereby becoming the members of the same society, which plays an active role in the social identity gaining (Dedeoğlu, 2004:258). Moreover, as argued by Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver (2000), the low numbers of female-headed families is the differentiative characteristic of Turkey compared to other countries. This fact attaches importance upon the familial unity and the strength of the 'authority' of

the men in the society. This is dominantly accepted and considered most of the women in the same society as well. Therefore, the traditional roles are re-established within the family with the contributions of the women (Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver, 1998:38-39). In this context, as argued by Hanson and Pratt (1991:250), “individuals do not come to the job search as economic men or women, reacting only to the structure of labour markets and employment opportunities. They come fully embedded in social relations: of family, community, and gender”.

As in all the world, the most substantial obstacle before the women in Turkey is the gender based division of labour. As discussed in 4.3.2, the women firstly positioned as ‘spouse’ and ‘mother’ in the society as well as the family are not directed to be employed, and their educational opportunities are limited by the familial authority itself thereby not holding the required skills for employment (İlkkaracan, 1998: 286). On the other hand, young women having chance of breaking rules, continuing education and entering labour force, are not supported as strong as young men by families in their unemployment processes or the quality of support is different for young women and men due to young men’s expected breadwinner or supporter role in patriarchal family. Miles (2002:442), explains this tendency with ‘*son preference*’, a concept referring to cultural practice of favoring the birth of boy babies and giving preferential treatment to son based on a system that assumes men will be the ones to support their parents in old ages. As observed in Miles study (2002), families do not help young women with their job search as much as they did their brothers. “This suggests a gender distribution of job search assistance within families, with adults using their *wasta* (connections and contacts) for their sons before their daughters” (Miles,2002:422).

With regards to patriarchal dominance of men over women, as confirmed by many studies (Çabuk, 1999; Demirel et al., 1999; Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver, 2000; Salway, Rahman and Jesmin, 2003), getting permission or gaining consent for working is essential parts of women’s and young women’s decision making about working, accepting or regretting a job. In line with the findings of Çabuk’s study (1999:38), “this approaching generally relates to men’s being breadwinner of the family. Societies where women’s status is mainly determined by custom, tradition and religion, women are seen as homemakers, whereas men are seen as breadwinner. As a result of such a patriarchal structure, male members in the family have the control over the decision-making mechanism. Therefore when we analyse who influenced the decision of the interviewed women to work, most of them gave the answer ‘my husband’ or ‘my father’ not ‘myself’. Further, as women’s employment is considered a

sign of poverty, loss of honor, status and upsets gender roles due to its' sensed as an instability of the male to fulfill the breadwinning responsibility, women, themselves, may prefer not to work (Lingam, 2005:9).

Accordingly, when the women are employed the familial authority is regarded to be threatened therefore the young women and women are not enabled to be employed. Even if it is allowed to the women, the job should be compatible with the patriarchal controlling rules (Toksöz, 2007:58). As argued by Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver (2000:71-72), it may be concluded that the husbands / fathers are not so willing to the employment as seen from the 'No' answers, for the women who are limited by their husbands or fathers to be employed. According to study (2000:71-72), the permission of the fathers / husbands for the women to be employed is of greater importance in case they are employed in their jobs. 'The idle children', the anxiety of approximately $\frac{3}{4}$ of the women is considered to be effective to be resisted by the men for the employment of the women and their daughters. Other arguments may be considered against the employment of the women in the streets and other foreign men, and the anxiety of irregularity of the structure and domestic responsibilities, and almost half of the women are considered to be threats by their husbands to receive higher rates of wages than themselves.

In line with the findings of Demirel et al. (1999), although education elasticise its' coercivity, getting permission or gaining consent is much more restrictive and necessity for young and married young women. According to study, (1999:210-211), as the ages of the unemployed women increase, the rates of permission receive from the father or husband are decreased, and the permission is more binding for the young women. Therefore, %72 of young women between the ages of 15-19 and %59 of young women between the ages of 20-29 mentioned essentiality of permission. On the other hand, within the framework of the data of the same study (Demirel et al., 1999:212-213), those women having the permissions from their husbands or fathers are weaker compared to others in terms of resistance. 41% of those among the 15-19 years old disclosing that they would resist in case of first rejection is available, 16,5% in the groups of 20 – 29 years old. However, as the education level increases, the rates of those claiming the permission from their fathers or husbands are decreasing, and these rates come to back up to 19% among those university graduates. Importantly, although the rates of resistance increase while the rates of age and education level increase, it is different from men that especially the young women have always the challenge to convince their fathers / husbands, and even when they fail to convince them for

employment they give up but not employed (Demirel et al., 2000: 214-216). In this context, it can be clearly said that gender-based division of labour implying male dominance over women compresses especially young women's entrance to labour force and employment opportunities.

4.4.2 Women's Job Priorities Shaped by Patriarchy

Within an economic framework, the determinants of an individual woman's probability of entering a given occupation include her labour market choices, employers' choices and premarket conditions. "Premarket conditions include tangible and intangible influences on women's decision-making, such as discrimination in education via admissions and tracing sex-role socialization, and perceptions about the labour market" (Beller, 1995:351). This reflects that women are not free in their labour market choices, decisions and behaviors in job seeking and accepting process. Rather, their priorities, their seeking and accepting a job is restricted by their positioning in patriarchal society in which they are considered as homemaker or expected to be homemaker sooner or later. As argued by Ecevit (2000:158), the shaped and ruled structure of the gender-based division of labour in the society strictly binds the women and gives no chances to the women other than playing their roles allocated for themselves. Accordingly, the factor determining the job, workplace and working conditions for women becomes gender-based division of labour. These factors determined by gender-based division of labour restrict women's chance of employment because these make them selective to establish job and family balance (Ecevit, 2008; Bolcan, 2006).

Shortly, as gendered nature of social life prompts women to value different job attributes from men, in line with the findings of many studies (Rosenman, 1979; Hanson & Pratt, 1991; Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver, 1998; Miles, 2002), when women start to seek a job, they are subject to the unemployment due to their job priorities such as shifts, working hours, the distance of the workplace, the availability of the kindergarten, sexual harassment possibility, and the numbers of the men labourers in the same workplaces. Furthermore, these priorities are over and above wage considerations of women (Hanson & Pratt, 1991:229). As clarified in Miles' study (2002:423,425), in all the focus groups, the first reactions to the scenario asking them what factors would facilitate a young single women is reflected general societal views of what work situations are appropriate for young women: if accommodation was available or not, transportation to and from the workplace, sexual harassment, the cost of their foregone labour against the low wages offered, if she was not the only woman working

among men. In contrast, in Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver's study (2000:54-55), the properties of the jobs that are considered and sought by the women are respectively wages, insurance and comfortable working environment, yet the working hours, distance of the workplace and the security and reliability of the job are less considered. This reflects differentiation of young women and older women in terms of job priorities.

Job priorities are deterrent factors especially for less educated women. In line with the findings of Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver (1998:40), the tendency that is based upon the fact that the educated women will work but the less-educated women may work if there is 'financial challenges'. The substantial reason for this is that the working environment offered for those uneducated and unqualified women is long working hours, additional shifts, unskilled tasks, discriminatory actions in the workplace and sexual harassment. In other words, less-educated women are discouraged by the poor prospects they perceive for themselves in the labour market. In general, working conditions' (labour shifts, working hours, displacement of workplace from home) offered by the job may generate obstacle towards creating balance between family and work and make women to be more selective in terms of choosing a job (Ecevit, 2008:153). Namely, as argued by Standing (1999:587), "marriage, child-bearing and child-raising have been obstacles to labour force entry and to retention of employment, and these 'obstacles' have been linked to the availability of wage employment, the cost of women's labour force entry, the type of employment and type of social transfer available".

These arguments lead us to discuss one of the important dimension of young women's gendered job priorities; *reservation wages*. With regards to gender-based division of labour and determined patriarchal working conditions, young women do not have chance to assess and accept all job opportunities as objectively as men. Rather, they find themselves in a complex process of considering their public and private patriarchal positioning that men do not have to do. As argued by Sandell (1980:368) and Ecevit (2000:157), the women are enforced to determine the options whether to be employed or not by considering their incomes and total economic values of their domestic responsibilities, determining their reservation wages. The reservation wage is determined by the total values of the domestic responsibilities of the women. As introduced by Ecevit (2000:157), if this wage is rather lower than the incomes of employment, the working is an attractive option. If the reservation wage is equal or close to those incomes received from employment, the women are regarded to be threatened by being employed. Moreover, "when women cannot find a job that pays

enough to enable them to replace their household services, they will not seek employment. When they perceive a realistic chance of finding a job, they continue to search and hence are 'unemployed'. When they give up hope, they drop out and join that part of the 'reserve army' that is not counted as part of labour force" (Ferber & Lowry, 1976: 230). As mentioned by Ulus & Ezberci (2004:161), it is disclosed that those having the education under high school level, also include those having the lower reservation wage and are less selective although those having education over high school, also include those having the more reservation wage and are more the selective. Important point to be emphasized here is that the women workers are subject to more reservation wages compared to men due to the gender-based criteria, which are independent from education level, thereby encouraging the women to be more selective.

The most important factor that higher young women's reservation wage is childcare or the most disadvantaged group in labour market is young mothers. The decisions of the women for employment with regard to time and place are closely related to the child caring opportunities and limitations. The women intending to be employed are affected from the child caring opportunities with regard to two respects. Firstly, most of the women intending to be employed in the jobs other than self employment at homes occasionally turn down their decisions due to the fact the child caring opportunities are not satisfactory. Secondly, when they made their decision to work, they look for the workplaces and jobs providing daily nursery services (Ecevit, 2008:159). As cleared by the findings of Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver (2000:94), those women married and having little children demand additional payments for the child caring costs, otherwise they prefer to raise and care their children at home by considering the profit and loss balance. With regards to the articulation of neo-liberalism and patriarchy, discussed in 4.2.1, as caring services are in the process of being privatized, as state has been withdrawn from childcare provisions and as employers' obligation to provide daily nursery opportunities have been tapered systematically, it becomes much more difficult for young women to find job providing nursery services or earn money meeting caring costs.

As confirmed by the findings of many studies (Hanson & Pratt, 1991:250; Moghadam, 1999: 378; Niemi & Lloyd, 1999:198; Mitra & Singh, 2006:796), women's national and international mobility constrained by family and childrearing responsibilities is another factor restraining their employment chances in the labour market. It is because of the fact that "women's domestic responsibilities lead many to give priority to a spatial proximity of

paid employment; women's greater residential fixedness places them in local labour markets not necessarily of their choosing" (Hanson & Pratt, 1991:250). Moreover, their mobility in local market is also restricted; the distance between job and home is one of the important job priorities for women. As argued by Rosenman (1979:22), "many women have geographic limitations on where they can work because of family responsibilities; for example, many can not commute too far from home".

Young women try to find a job fitting with patriarchal rules of their working or not challenging their position in patriarchal society/gender-based division of labour. In this context, another important dimension of young women's patriarchal job priorities is their tendency to find *women's job* meeting those gendered job priorities. The jobs that are associated with the women by the society are preferred by the women. Demirel et al. (2000:142) and Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver (2000:52) reported that the jobs preferred by the women include desk jobs (such as secretary, computer operation), working in the manufacturing sites, qualified staff in the service sector (sales staff, cashier, hair dresser, and nurse), and unqualified positions (ie.cleaner, tea maker), as well as teaching and accountancy. The critical point in here is as determined patriarchal working conditions are valid for all women, high education level does not emancipate women from those gendered job priorities and preferences. As argued by Ecevit (2008:153), women may hesitate to accept the jobs which are appropriate to their human capitals but not defined as women's jobs or not appropriate to their positioning in patriarchal society.

Within this scope, young women's job preferences can not be explained solely by their own choices. Not only young women prefer women's job, but their families also canalize them to women's job as from their socialization process despite the gender-based distribution of roles especially in urban areas have been weakened (Ecevit,1998). Particularly, women of lower socio-economic classes are restricted by those certain gendered borders. On the other hand, although educated women are not completely directed by their families, they show high tendency of preferring jobs not challenging their role within the family (Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver, 2000:151). However, the women graduated from high schools and two year vocational colleges are accepted and encouraged to prefer the related jobs which are considered to be appropriate to the women, thereby limiting the employment of them (Türk-İş Report, 2005:114). Basically, as argued by Niemi & Lloyd (1975:198);

The men's job and women's job differentiation is very strong configuration in society and women seeking employment are largely

limited to 'feminine' occupations narrows their options for occupational mobility and raises the rate of female unemployment. Thus, occupational immobility makes it harder for women to find jobs, and accounts for some of the unemployment differentials by sex.

Finally, another important dimension of young women's job priorities is fear of *being exposed to sexual harassment*. According to European Survey on Working Conditions (2007:37), Turkey is amongst countries in which women are the most affected (%6) by sexual harassment. According to report, the rate is higher for employed women workers than for self-employed and women working in larger establishments. Moreover, it is emphasized that the group most at risk is young women (under 30 years old), where the incidence rises to %6. The fear of being exposed to sexual harassment restrains women's employment opportunities, makes them reluctant to work in men-intensive working environment, being excluded from male-dominated sectors and jobs and makes their family or husband to encourage them to be self-employed. In fact, it is generally observed that women in male occupations or men intensive workplaces report more experiences of sexual harassment than other women (Stanko, 1988; Gruber, 1998). As argued by Gruber (1998:314), predominantly male environments in which women are more apt to be touched, grabbed, or stalked, are more physically hostile and intimidating than other work environments. Moreover, men are more apt to physically mark their work environments with sexually objectifying materials and sexual jokes and comments that may disturb women. In their study Mansfield et al. (1991, as cited in Gruber, 1998:302-302) found that women in the trades (male traditional fields) had higher rates of harassment (%60) and sex discrimination (%56) than clerical workers (%6 and %8).

The critical point here is that women exposed to sexual harassment in the workplace prefer to leave their jobs and keep silent due to the pressures coming from neighbourhood. Although Turkey is considered to be among the countries in which sexual abuse is high, in line with the findings of the study conducted by Koray in the food sector (1999:75), the 88% of the women reply as 'No' to the question of 'have you ever been exposed to mistreatment?'. On the other hand, within the framework of the findings of the study conducted by Kalaycıoğlu & Toprak (2004:62-65), the women disclosed that they had to leave their jobs as a reply to the question of "are there any women who have been exposed to sexual abuse or mistreatment?". In the light of discussions, it is clear that young women's selectivity is not an outcome of their preferences, rather, it is the reflection of women's bargain with capitalism and patriarchy for employment or through job priorities.

4.4.3 Gendered Nature of Young Women's Job Seeking Process

Women's job searching practices and efforts are different than men's and they employ different job searching tools, mechanisms and networks due to gendered nature of women's relations with public sphere. Women's being positioned as loyal breadmaker of patriarchal family, their being restricted to local, limited, private networks, their having low social capital and limited relations with public sphere - where job related informations are concentrated in- and their being restrained from using different job searching tools effectively make them vulnerable in job searching process.

Job searching tools are generally counted as kith and kins, newspapers, internet and official institutions. Young women's job searching heavily relies on their kith and kin relations and the number of women using other job searching tools such as newspapers, internet and İŞKUR is very limited (Çabuk, 1999:39; Demirel & et al., 1999:143-144; Eyüboğlu, Tanrıöver & Özar, 2000:60-61; Bolcan, 2006:19; Du & Dong, 2008:17). As observed in Çabuk's study (1999:39), "women uses informal methods more than formal ones to search for a job. %66 percent of women interviewed said they were more likely to ask for jobs through their relatives and friends. The existence of kinship and friendship network is very important for women, in spite of the increasing formalisation of relationships in the cities". In line with the discussions in 4.2.2.1, especially, the number of women benefiting from official job searching channel, İŞKUR, is very limited in Turkey. In fact, it is %4 in Eyüboğlu, Tanrıöver & Özar's study (2000:61) and %3.2 in Demirel & et al.'s study (1999:143). These findings are also confirmed by statistics. In fact, only 31.586 of 82.510 İŞKUR applicants are women in July 2010 which is lower than men's (50.924)⁴⁴. Women's not having chance of employing different job searching tools effectively is perceived as a signal of their being passive job seekers. However, as argued by Eyüboğlu, Tanrıöver & Özar (2000:61), the level of education have important implications on employing different job searching tools and the higher the education the higher the change of benefiting from different job searching mechanisms.

Women's limited chance of employing different job searching tools effectively depends on gender-based division of labour in patriarchal society in which women's relations with public sphere is restrained by patriarchal rules. Not employing job searching tools effectively

⁴⁴ TÜİK (2009), Household Labour Survey Statistics, Internet data base, <http://www.tuik.gov.tr/isgucuapp/isgucu.zul>, 30.06.2010

and being passive job seekers restrain young women's employment chance and longer their duration of unemployment. As argued by Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver (2000:155-156), the underlying reasons for that are associated with the job searching channels deficiency, unfunctionality or/and non-usage, importantly the ignorance of women's unemployment in family due their being 'secondary' labour force. This widespread approach would limit the support coming from kith and kins for women in comparison with men. On the other hand, the information deficiency for job seeking methods, and the social anxiety of being 'deceived' from the job offers and advertisements cause the dependency upon the close relatives thereby reducing the opportunities of job finding (Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver, 2000:156; Türk-İş Report, 2005:113). Moreover, as pointed in Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver's study (2000:156), the fact that the women seek the appropriate jobs via their friends and relatives, as well as the participation of familial authority, men, to job searching process lead to the decision of the employment other than women or guarantee that condition.

Employing kith and kin as a job searching tool is also widespread among men. However, what differentiates young women's situation from young men is that young women's limited relations with public sphere keeps them away from effective social networks providing informations about jobs. In other words, employing kith and kin relations for job searching is less rewarding for women than men. As argued by Du & Dong (2008:17);

The studies on job search channels show that assistance from relatives and friends is significantly more effective than public job replacement services for both sexes, but the social networks are significantly more helpful for men than for women as a job searching mechanism. These results suggest that access to social networks is particularly important for women and that lack of access to social networks represents a major handicap for unemployed females attempting to enter the labour market.

Moreover, in line with the findings of Beck, Wagener & Grix (2005:8), "the most important means of finding out about employment opportunities are one's immediate circle of friends, the family, and in specific cases, providers of second labour market measures who have good connections to potential employers" that many women lack of. In this context, as contended by Feminist scholars gender segregation and domestic responsibilities have excluded women from powerful social connections and hampering women's labour market outcomes (King and Mason, 2001; Timberlake, 2005 as cited in Du & Dong, 2008:2).

In some studies, women's job seeking process is discussed within the context of gender-based occupational segregation. It is argued that the channels of information through which people obtained their jobs were, however, markedly different from women versus men. "The gendered nature of social life leads women and particularly women in female-dominated occupations, to receive job information from other women, whereas men find out about jobs from other men" (Hanson & Pratt, 1991: 229). Receiving information from other women restricts women's employment opportunities due to the fact that being women, itself, limit chance of getting information from public sphere in patriarchal capitalist labour market.

Another important point about women's job seeking is their being disadvantaged with regards to their domestic responsibilities. It can be argued that effective job searching requiring time, money and mobility, is much more accordance with the men's position in society. Women's domestic responsibilities generate obstacle to their effective job seeking and limit their chance of assessing all job posts. As argued by Hirata & Sebotier (1997:96-7 as cited in Eyüboğlu, Tanrıöver & Özar 2000:156), due to the long time the women spent for jobs in the family, it is not possible for the women to spend more time for job seeking compared to the men. Shortly, it can be clearly said that women's passivated job searching makes them disadvantage in accessing employment opportunities.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter provides a *reconstruction* of young women's unemployment discussions upon a gender-sensitive approach. This chapter challenges gender-blind examination of young women's unemployment and argues that young women's unemployment is an outcome of the interaction between capitalism and patriarchy arising in embedded relations amongst state, economy and family. This chapter also reveals the reproduction of this patriarchal essence in labour-capital matching process/ the employment bargain between young women's labour and capital. Basically, in line with the model of this study, discussed in 2.6, it is argued that the interaction among gender-blind nature of social policy, patriarchal positioning of young women in family and gendered logic of economy colors labour-capital matching process in a patriarchal capitalist manner and gives rise to gender gap in unemployment rates by restricting young women's employment opportunities in labour market. It is based on direct discrimination realized in employers' hiring and firing practices and indirect discrimination representing state's regulations and policies and the patriarchal pressures enforced by society and family, one part of which is young women, themselves.

CHAPTER 5

PATRIARCHAL NATURE OF LABOUR – CAPITAL MATCHING PROCESS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on slotting previous discussions about young women's unemployment into labour-capital matching process. In order to reveal patriarchal capitalist identifiers of young women's unemployment, this chapter aims to explore main characteristics and reasons of young women's unemployment by looking behind both unemployed young women's and employers' eyes. Young women's decisions on working outside, dimensions of their job searching, finding, accepting processes, their working criteria and job priorities against patriarchy, on the one hand, employers' employment practices and approaches towards the employment and unemployment of young women, on the other hand, are discussed and reflected to each other as by a mirror.

5.2 Young Women's Perception of Working: Why Do Young Women Want to Work?

Young women's perception of working includes capturing the answers of why they want to work? , what factors make them searching for a job? , what are their expectations from life? or how they define their identity and life purposes? (being a good mother, a good wife, having a good career, making a good marriage and so on). Answering those questions is important to understand gendered nature of young women's perception of working. In fact, in contrast to Hakim's preference theory in which young women's unemployment is referred to their low desire to work or low work commitment, discussed in 2.2.3, findings of this study exhibit obligatory nature of gender-based division of labour on young women's perception of working.

In line with the findings of study, *economic independency* is the most important motive standing in back of young women's (whether bachelor, married, divorced and mothers) working desire. This finding supports Demirel et. al (1999) and Eyüboğlu, Tanrıöver & Özar (2000)'s studies. Although young women still look to be a good mother, a good wife and to make a good marriage, young women's priority is their career to become self-

supporting/stand on their own feet; but not demanding money from someone, from their family or their husbands.

My husband may not give me money. It is not due to the economic contraction. He may give whenever I want of course. But I would not like to be dependent upon him... We may purchase those goods we like when we are employed but if not employed we firstly consider the thoughts of our husbands. I individually am thinking of these. (Filiz, 23, married, Graduated from a high school)

Doubtlessly, economic freedom. Economic freedom is of great importance for a woman. A man is already granted with the social strengths: he is a man even if he does not work. But the economic freedom of a woman is of great importance for herself. I am not currently working, my family meets my expenses. If you would like to go outside, you need to ask money from your parents, but some time later you cannot ask for money from your parents. All of your psychology is distorted. When you get married, you will need to rely on the money delivered by your husband. The self income of a woman is of great importance. Either self employed at home, or cleaning the cloth margins, this is even a substantial income for the women. The women must work, and earn money. You will be kicked, and take that 10 TR and you go to shopping. This is not a life. Because, I think freedoms are always behind economic balances. (Ozlem 24, Graduated from a university)

Findings also show that economic independency is much more important for mothers whose priority is their children and being a good mother. While bachelor, married and divorced women want to work for their “own” economic independency, meeting their “own” needs, mothers want to work for their children’s needs and future. This finding supports studies of Demirel et al. (1999), in which the existence of children increases women’s working tendency especially in economic hardship conditions and Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver’s argument (2000:158) assuming mother’s tendency to perceive and use their own earning as an additional resource for their children’s needs.

The most desired thing in my life is to become a good mother and to provide a good future to her. I would like to work for my girl. I will be able to meet all the needs of my daughter. She will grow up and she will study, I would like to meet her needs. My husband considers the fact that our daughter is still young, but I need to contribute to her to some extent. (Huriye, 21, Graduated from a secondary school, Married and have 1 child)

I would like to work for my child in order to provide him a good educational background. Because now everything is dependent upon and associated with money. Now I have a son and I want my son to participate in an English course. May God let. He is now in the 2nd grade class. If I have a daughter, I will do the same for my daughter. Because, everything gets worse. The paste is being sliced thoroughly now. But my mother, for example, is so passive, we were so grown, we just shut up and sit there just washing the dishes at home, not at all. If my mother had been

employed, I would not be in that status now. I would have been employed and become in some positions, thereof. (Gamze, 23, Graduated from a high school, married and have 1 child)

In line with the findings of Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver (2000), young women's, especially low-educated and low income ones', insistence on investing their childrens' future can be interpreted as an effort to change their disadvantaged situation for future generations that indirectly legitimates young women's working or makes it more acceptable. Moreover, working is perceived as a life insurance for many young women. Young women argue that economic independency enables them to secure their and their children's life from unexpected situations such as being widowed, divorced and unemployment of husband. Moreover, those unexpected risks make young women's working acceptable for their families as well. Findings show that families encourage their daughters to work against these unexpected situations.

The divorces are more frequent compared to the previous years. People rely upon their own economic freedom even when they divorce, and they consider not to be economically dependent upon their husbands. Families also consider this fact, if a plight occurs in the future, she will have self economic independence. (Duygu, 24, Graduated from a university)

Maybe I will divorce from my husband in the future, or maybe he will die, his low salary will be granted to me, or alimony may be delivered in case of divorce if available, I cannot depend upon those incomes. (Özlem, 24, Graduated from a university)

For instance if Burçin's experience is considered, it is seen that young women who have these kinds of experiences emphasize more on the importance of working and economic independence than other women.

If you asked me this question 5 years ago, I would say the marriage, but now I intend to take a satisfactory point from KPSS, therefore to be appointed to a public position. I am now considering the employment more than other things. I do not intend to be dependent upon my family, but would like to meet my own needs. Even if my husband is employed in a good job, I would like to meet my own needs. After divorce, I started to think in that way. I would not be damaged so much, if I had been employed in a good job, I would not witness the environmental impresseure so much. (Burçin, 23, divorced, Graduated from a vocational high school)

In this context, as supporting Demirel et al.'s findings (1998), job security is more important for young women than marriage security. In other words, marriage is no longer perceived as an assurance by young women and young women try to challenge the dependency snare by working. However, although economic independency and standing on own feet are important

motives inclining young women to work, their economic independency perception is suppressed by patriarchal mentality that labelling workers through their roles in the family. In this mentality, male worker earn family wage, female worker, on the other hand, work for pin money (Elson & Pearson, 1986).

In this context, in accordance with the Marxist feminist premises, discussed in 2.4.2, young women, high educated ones included, do not enter labour market with the claim of being chief breadwinner of the family. They do not want to earn more than their husbands –which is generally unacceptable and will generate a problem in family – rather, they want to work for pin money meeting their and their children’s needs and reproduce their status of being secondary wage earner of the family. Moreover, divorced young women continue to live with their families after divorcement and they have no thought of setting up their own life and being breadwinner. These findings are suited to Eyüboğlu, Özar and Tanrıöver’s argument (1998) in which the low numbers of women-headed families in Turkey is perceived as a signal of unshakable dominance of male breadwinner ideology among women in Turkey.

I would like to be employed, because I will not expect anything financially from anybody if I am employed. I would like to meet my own needs, and would not like to demand money from him. (Burçin, 20, Graduated from a high school)

I would like to be happy, I expect a happy and peaceful future. A good income and happy marriage. If your husband has a good income, you do not need to earn much, but if you are single, you need to earn well. I am very interested in living my own life, and self decisions, as well as economic freedom. If I shall marry, I intend to be employed, even if it is small scaled. If my husband earns good, a small scaled job is okay for me. However, I must earn my own money even if it is small amount. (Zehra, 22, Graduated from a university)

In addition to economic independency, *contributing to family’s livelihood* is another factor directing young women to work. However, in accordance with the findings of Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver (2000), in which contributing to family’s livelihood is designated as the concern of older age groups, it is not a main tendency of young women in this study. Young women who ground their working desire to *contributing to family’s livelihood* refer to deteriorative effects of recent economic crisis in families’ livelihoods as an underlying cause of their working desire. In line with the arguments of Gürsel, Kolaşın & Dinçer (2009b) and Ulutaş (2009), this tendency directly associates with the increasing labour force participation rates of young women in economic crisis conditions. Moreover, except for economic crisis, in line with the findings of study, working for contributing to livelihood of family is

especially valid for mother-headed families in which mothers are widowed or divorced and working for family wage. As mother-headed families are the most disadvantaged parts of patriarchal labour market, in the absence of a brother available to work, young women feel themselves obligated to work to lessen the burden on their mothers.

This economic crisis affected the family so deeply. For example, my mother is 40 years old, and she has never worked in her life, but I may get married this year, and although she is 40 years old, she started to clean that knitting center for only 300 TRL in a month! I also would like to be employed in order to contribute to my family. (Burçin, 20, Graduated from a high school)

My objective is to be successful in KPSS and therefore contribute to my mother and siblings, and to provide opportunity for my sibling's study. I can do these after being employed. I have 4 siblings, we are all studying. My mother is receiving a minimum wage, which is not sufficient. I have got many needs. I am not so interested in being employed so much, but I need to be employed. (Melek, 19, Graduated from a high school)

Within this scope, working is an intentional, a deliberate and a long term decision/activity for many young women independent from their marital and motherhood status. In contrast to the arguments of Preference theory, young women do not feel comfortable in traditional gender-based division of labour promoting marriage, making them dependent to husbands or fathers and they have tendency of break the chains by gaining their own economic independency. As supporting Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver's (2000:158) argument, young women's reasoning of their working desire puts the finger on patriarchal mentality. In fact, within the context of patriarchal ideology and gender-based division of labour, asking their reasons of working to men is senseless. Even so asked, their answers would not be economic independency or stand on own feet. Working for economic independency and standing on own feet are the reflections of young women's feelings of being dependent and secondary and implies the patriarchal ideological configuration of working as a necessity to men and an option to women. However, young women's sensitivity on not challenging breadwinner role of men restricts their employment opportunities and condemns them to unemployment.

5.3 Commitment to Work

Based on preference theory, discussed in 2.2.3, young women's unemployment and long unemployment durations are leaned on young women's being less career-conscious, having weak or no commitment to work, being less likely to seek training and promotion, having short-term approach to work and being unwilling to take responsibilities at work by

employers. In other words, without challenging gender-based division of labour, employers consider female workers in a different light from male workers and argue that it seems like young women want to work and seek for a job, however, in reality, they do not intent on working with regards to their perception of working as an option rather than an obligation.

This is not available for the raising of the women. The men are employed and earn money, meet the needs of the family, therefore the men need to be employed, but this is not a mission of the women. She needs to consider the house wiving in every case. Therefore, the mission of those seeking for jobs is not the same. Young women are actually not seeking for jobs, because they have got this consideration in the background. We even do not see that determination in those who may be employed easily. (Firm 7, Project development based Construction Engineering)

The motivation is of great importance for finding a job. This may be an outcome of the comfortability of the women. That is, if not married, she considers that she will be cared anyway. The families wish for the employment of their sons but not their daughters. A girl is under the responsibility of her family until marriage. After marriage, women get involved in husbands' account book. In that case, if no motivation exists, the women start to think that she will be unemployed for 3 years, she will be employed in September, or spring or at least in summer. (Firm 1, Restaurant)

When we employ a worker, we are considering their willingness for this job. We have 2 years training period and we are employing those remainants. But, the men are the most integrated parts of this period. The reason of this is the fact that the women are not so willing and determined to be employed in that job. (Firm 6, Pharmaceutical Industry and Representation)

However, in the light of discussions in 5.1, it is clear that young women are intent on working. Consisting with the findings of Demirel et al. (1999), although being a good mother, a good wife, making a good marriage are still indispensable, especially educated young women perceive working as a priority. In this context, as examined in subsection 4.3.4, young women's passivity or abstention in job searching can not be perceived as their being less serious about working. Rather, it should be interpreted as an outcome of cohesiveness of male breadwinner/female homemaker ideology. The critical point in here is capturing that patriarchal positioning of women in society makes them seesawing between commitment to work and commitment to family as argued by Martin & Roberts (1984), Crompton & Le Feuvre (1996), Moghadam (2005). In this context, following subsections provide a gender-sensitive consideration of young women's previous working history, their patriarchal reasons of quitting, their discontinuous working patterns and their job priorities against patriarchy to examine gendered nature of young women's work commitment as a reason of their unemployment.

5.3.1 Previous Working History and Woman-Based Reasons of Quitting

In the context of the study, unemployment status of young women is classified into 3 categories; first time job seekers, redundants and job leavers. In this study, 11 of 32 young women are first time job seekers, 20 of 32 young women are job leavers and remaining 3 young women are redundant or collectively redundant due to the closure of firm in recent economic crisis. The numbers includes young women who were both job leavers and redundants. In contrast to Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver's study (2000:48), in which young women are intensified in first time job seekers category, in this study, the number of job leavers is approximately 2 times more than that of first time job seekers.

With regards to young women's intra-labour force mobility, defined as a movement from one job to another (Niemi & Lloyd, 1975:197), 10 of 20 young women worked in 1 job, 5 of them changed 2 jobs and 5 of them changed 3 jobs in private sector. On the other hand, the time period devoted to a firm by young women is very short that can be a one or two days, couple of months or 1 year at most. These findings support studies of Demirel et al. (1999) and Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver (2000), in which it is argued that although women do not have tendency of changing their jobs frequently, their average working duration and working duration in a firm are very short, less than 1 year. In this context, although half of young women have changed more than one job, as working duration in previous jobs is the most important criteria for employers, young women become disadvantaged in recruitment process.

Why women get into a job or why they want to work is not clear. But, it is not the same for men. Men accept their positions more. But this is a common problem for the women. They change their positions many times in various sectors. A woman may be employed for 5 years at the most in the same job, but men may be employed for 25 years unless a great problem occurs. They consider their positions in a different way. Because, women do occasionally not have the job responsibility and they do not perceive working as an obligation. (Firm 12, Real Estate)

Moreover, employers' hesitation in employing job applicants changing their jobs constantly in shorter periods makes young women more vulnerable than young men due to gendered prejudices of employers against young women. In fact, without challenging gender-based division of labour, employers attribute young women's leaving their jobs or their movement from one job to another to their low attachment to work, being less need in work and being free to give up/change their jobs easily as mentioned by Ecevit (1998), Niemi & Lloyd, (1975), Çabuk (1998). This makes young women's employment as a vague subject.

One of the most important criteria is the frequent job change. The women are most frequently changing their jobs. I am not considering those having completed their 1 year or 2 years in the same firm, but those changing their jobs every three or six months or changing 10 different jobs within 5 years generates a problem. When the women are asked for their reasons of their job change, they make up the excuses such as, my mother presented an illness or the workplace was so far. They may sometimes change their jobs due to others reasons occurred in the workplaces. For example, women may change their job due to unwanted behaviours they exposed to in workplace. But job change should not be exaggerated. (Firm 3, Ship building)

We perform the job interviews with women in a more detailed way. We examine the underlying reasons of this frequent job change in detail. As a woman, maybe I attach importance upon that matter. The workplaces have some certain rules, as the business market has also some certain rules. It is not acceptable to claim such excuses as *I cannot tolerate behaviours of others, I have received my salary 3 days later than the normal date*. A labourer needs to tolerate some of the challenges of the business life. Imagine that the men are always tolerating such challenges. Because they consider that they must be employed, and must be successful in that job, and they make all the efforts and do the best for that job. If they are the shareholders, then they are interchangeably do favor for themselves, but they find the common and profitable way for themselves. But the same approach is not seen among the women, they are always angry. Maybe every opportunity is presented to them in their own homes, so maybe they behave in this way. But generally the life standards of the women are not so well designed. They are mostly exposed and subject to familial violence. When they are married, they are subject to the violence by their husbands, but before they are married, they are exposed to the violences by their fathers and brothers. But still surprisingly, they do not tolerate the conditions of their jobs. (Firm 8, Lighting Material Production and Marketing)

Supporting the findings of Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver (2000), it seems like low number of dismissed young women and high number of job leavers confirm employers' emphasis on women's and young women's low work commitment. However, in contrast to the gender-blind premises of Preference Theory, the critical point in here is to answer the question of whether young women's leaving a job and frequent job change are their own preferences or an obligation. Although young women define their leaving a job as their own decisions, if their reasons are zoomed in, their being obligated to leave their jobs is easily observed. Nobody leaves their jobs for no reason or arbitrarily. However, the factor that differentiates young women's labour market position is their patriarchal positioning in the labour market and their gendered reasons of leaving a job.

Accordingly, in contrast to the findings of Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver (2000) and İlkaracan (1998) -in which women's leaving a job is based on familial reasons- in line with

the findings of this study, young women's reasons of leaving their previous jobs are in order of:

1. *Job-related factors*; composed of hard working conditions, absence of insurance, wage delays (9 young women), existence of sexual harassment (3 young women), men-intensive working environment (3 young women);
2. *Personel reasons*; composed of young women's seeking a permanent job tendency (7 young women);
3. *Family-related factors*; composed of marriage (2 young women), children (1 young woman) and reactions from family or husband (2 young women).

This ordering of reasons points at distinctness of young women's labour market situation from general female labour force. As young woman is designated as a category between the ages of 15-24 and as they concentrate in bachelor category, it is unsurprising that marriage and children are in the back row of this ordering.

The most important reason of young women's leaving a job is *hard working conditions*. When hard working conditions come together with the absence of insurance and wage delays, staying in this job becomes senseless for young women. Working under hard conditions without insurance for low wages is general characteristics of youth employment. However, what differentiates young women's situation from young men is its gendered nature. In line with the arguments discussed in chapter 3, patriarchal capitalist labour market provides women hard, inferior, informal, unsecure employment opportunities with low wages with regards to gender-based division of labour. It is the reflection of the articulation between capitalism and patriarchy generating a gendered-hierarchy in the labour market and decreasing labour cost for employers by designating women labour as a worthless and supplementary as argued by Elson (1986), Mills (2003), Biçerli & Gündoğan (2009). Being young, inexperienced and having low education level compress young women's employment heavily in those employment patterns. Furthermore, one of the important factor which makes young women leave their jobs is offered open-ended TORs including additional women-related tasks (cooking, servicing, cleaning concerned not needed to be paid). In these conditions, absence of insurance or employers' breaking their promise about insurance comes to young women's attention and young women do not want to resign themselves to working under these conditions.

When an accountant employs a front office staff in establishment, this staff also is in service to tax departments, she cooks and cleans in office and she performs other office transactions. They try to benefit from her in every way. I worked for an accounting office for **1 month**. I cleaned the

office, cleaned the rest room and cooked. I did all these as I had to. My mother has got some friends, one of whom is a CPA, and other is a public accountant. They said that “Berna, you need to do all these, no other remedy is available other than doing these. We actually cleaned the resting houses”. The employer shall of course not hire a cleaner, and a cooker for such a small office. They give this responsibility to the young people, because of their lack of experience. You become pleased to be employed. I worked for a cloth shop when I graduated from my high school. I blacked out one day at the end of **1 month** due to tiredness. No breakfast was given, if you arrived late just for 2 minutes, it was reduced from your salary, you were taking 15 minutes of tea break after 2 hours of working. It was not possible to drink tea, and to go to loo within this 15 minutes. They gave just thirty minutes for lunch. The kitchen was just far from the office, it almost look 10 minutes to go there. Towards the end of the shift, a break time lasting 15 minutes was given. Sitting was banned. Despite all, no insurance was done. This is just a torture...(Berna, 22, Graduated from a vocational college)

As we are women, we have been subject to more severe conditions...
(Zeliha, 24, Graduated from a secondary school)

Especially the absence of insurance is very important factor that makes young women leave their jobs. In line with the findings examined in 5.3.3, social insurance is more important than wage for many young women as it means guaranteing their and their childrens’ future. Social insurance may be the priority of young men. However, while young men have a tendency of accepting a job without insurance instead of staying unemployed, this study points at the fact that for young women the absence of social insurance becomes a reason of the negative response to a job offer and leaving a job. This is confirmed by young women’s tendency of leaving their jobs without a new one.

Another important job-related factor making young women leave their job is *men-intensive working environment*. Working environment and sector in which the numbers of men workers are more than that of women, young women carry risk of leaving their job despite they have accepted it at the beginning.

Women may not be employed in every job. For example, in accounting. Most of the women know pre-accountancy, but they may not be employed in an industrial zone. Of course, everybody will be unemployed if nobody accepts such jobs. Just due to the high numbers of men population. Industrial zones are really not good environments for women. I previously worked in an industrial zone. The cultural levels of the men there are rather low. Sexual harassment and other plights occur there. I left from my last work place by using my exam as an excuse. When two men break in, they do not become aware of the women in this environment, and they are talking recklessly. (Azime, 23, Graduated from a vocational college)

In my last work place, there were more men but less women. I was disturbed and worked just for **1 week** then left my job. (Oya, 20, Graduated from a high school)

What makes women being disturbed in men-intensive working environment is the possibility of being exposed to *sexual harassment*. Findings confirm study of Gruber (1998), in which it is observed that women working in men-intensive working environment are more susceptible to sexual harassment. Findings also support Kalaycıoğlu & Toprak's findings (2004), arguing if a young woman is exposed to sexual harassment that may come from workmates and from customers, she is obligated to leave her job although she does not want to.

I worked for a shopping center for 1 month. The manager of that center disturbed me. It was not a physical contact, but his looks, and words were really disturbing me. He called me several times, even after I left the job. I had to change my cell phone number. At the beginning of the job entrance, the contact numbers were recorded in the entrance form. He probably got my number in that way. We, as women, in fact do not want to leave our jobs but sometimes we need to. It is so easy to kill a woman in our country today. Murdering a woman leads to only 10 years of prison sentence at most, that's all. Therefore, women necessarily have to consider their work places. (Hazel, 20, Graduated from a vocational college)

I was employed as a sales consultant in a cloth centre. And I left from this job with my own request. I was bothered from my senior. He was behaving so closely to me. My boss was pleased with my sales. But I told that I would like to leave from my job. In fact, I was pleased with my job. (Burcu, 23, Graduated from a high school)

For example, I was working in a PVC frame manufacturer. Many constructors were the customers of that work place, they sometimes disturbed me. My boss advocated them, as they were the customers. I was obligated to leave from my job. I experienced this plight in a work place, therefore I worked only for 1 week. (Burçin, 23, Graduated from a vocational high school)

Sexual harassment should be interpreted as the reflection of male control over women's work as mentioned by Mackinnon (1987) and Ramazanoğlu (1987). Moreover, as revealed by findings, it becomes a mean of keeping young women away from labour market and employment opportunities. In relation to job-related factors, second indicator of young women's leaving a job is *personal reasons*. Young women insist on their difficulty in finding permanent, regular and promising jobs.

I have been seeking for a permanent job for 5 years. But unfortunately the temporary jobs are available. I cannot find out permanent jobs because available jobs offer low rates of salaries, their conditions are extremely hard or they are far from my residence. I cannot work under these circumstances. (Burçin, 23, Graduated from a vocational high school).

I have worked in the temporary jobs for long time in order to increase my experience. I finally worked in the registration service in a course, but I left it. I am looking for more promising, permanent jobs as I would like to establish a good future for myself. (Zehra, 22, Graduated from a university)

The problem is more intricate for young women having high education level. Although it is generally attributed to young women's low human capital, finding a stable job is especially an important challenge for educated young women. In the light of Mitra & Singh (2006) and Miles (2002)'s findings, it should be interpreted as the reflection of qualified job creation challenge of economy for young and especially for young women's labour force, as examined in 4.2.2. On the other hand, as labour market in general and private sector in particular unable to provide permanent and stable job opportunities to young labour force, findings reveal that finding a permanent job tendency intertwines with the KPSS preparation process. Indeed, young women leave their jobs in order to prepare for KPSS exam. It is because of the fact that being a civil servant is perceived as the most secure and proper working opportunity by young women. It is also because of its meeting young women's other job priorities, detailed in 5.6.1.

I worked as a *paid teacher* for 2 semesters. I left this job as it did not provide any guarantee. I left in order to prepare for a KPSS. I left in order to be appointed in a good job. For being a *paid teacher*, you need to apply to the District Directorates of National Education. If a vacancy is available, you are paid only for the hours of the classes you teach. For example, you have 20 hours of classes and are paid only TRL 400. You act as a normal teacher but are paid as lower. If the teacher is on maternity leave for 5-6 months, or if he joins in the military service, after coming back to school you need to leave that job. It is not a guarantee job. Despite all, you are paid only 1/3 of a teacher's salary. (Funda, 24, Graduated from a university)

I worked previously. Last year, I worked in the *Mamak Application School* to meet my course expenses. It is not a special training but I trained those hyperactive children for 1 semester. Then I had to leave this job, in order to prepare for the KPSS and to be employed in a better job. (Ayşe, 23, Graduated from a university)

These findings give clues of the contradiction between young women's job expectations and the offered working conditions in private sector, detailed in 5.3.3. Young women try to solve this contradiction by standing to the employment opportunities fitting with their priorities. If they do not solve this contradiction, they have to leave their jobs. Another important dimension of young women's leaving a job is *family-related reasons* composed of marriage, pregnancy and child. This reflects women's difficulty in balancing their job responsibilities and domestic responsibilities.

I worked for approximately **2 months** in a cloth center. It is not possible and very difficult to work with a child. I could arrive home at 12 p.m. Therefore, I left my job and now I do not want to be employed in private sector. (Gamze, 23, Graduated from a high school)

I worked for a cake shop for 5 months. I acted as a saleswoman but I also cleaned and tidied up. I left when I was aware that I was pregnant. It was a good job, and located in Kızılay. They would pay my social insurance premium, but I left it due to my child. (Huriye, 21, Graduated from a secondary school)

In line with the premises of Parsonian Functionalism, examined in 2.4.3, young women's leaving their jobs due to marriage, pregnancy and child is the reflection of the division of roles as homemaker and breadwinner amongst men and women under the pretence of its being socially functional. The gender-based division of labour designates women's primary role as being a good mother, good wife, positions women's labour as secondary in labour market and makes them unable to commit themselves to their jobs. According to this view point, even if women work, they remain wives and mother. Moreover, their participation to labour force is only allowed if they continue to fulfill their primary responsibility, the home (Mackinnon, 1989; Tong, 1989; Abbot, Wallace & Tyler, 2005; Topçuoğlu, 2005; Biçerli & Gündoğan, 2009).

Another important dimension of family-related reasons of leaving a job is reactions of family and husband about the job. Gender-based division of labour generates working conditions for women and assigns them to male control. When young women damage patriarchal restrictions, *men's control over women's labour*, husband or family use their right of withdrawing the wife and the daughter from labour market as argued by Toksöz (2007) and Salway, Rahman & Jesmin (2003). As followed in Zümürüt's and Burcu's experiences, young women involuntarily left their jobs due to pressures came from their husband or family.

Before I came from İstanbul, I was employed in a great shop, in bag sales department for **5 months**. I enjoyed this position so much, because it was so attractive. I had to leave that job, because I had some problems with my uncle's family. They did not want me to work in this shop. It was in Migros, Beylikdüzü Branch, we sold document bag there and my uncle's family claimed that I was small and easily deceived. In other words, they did not want me to work there. I worked for 5 months, and leaved that job due to this reason. However, I was so pleased in that job and I involuntarily left my job. (Zümürüt, 22, Graduated from a vocational high school)

I was working in a shop. I had a boyfriend but I was not engaged with him, we were only dating at this time. He was always following me. Because, there were so many men in there as a customer or a staff. As the

boss was a man, and his sons were there, my boyfriend always waited for me until the end of the shift. He did not want me to work in the same job when married, and now I have my child, and cannot be employed there anymore. (Burcu, 22, Graduated from a high school)

In line with the findings, although young women's movement from one job to another is a negligible quantity, capturing its gendered nature is important. Namely, the factor that differentiates young women's labour market position is the fact that while young women leave their jobs to find secure, stable, permanent jobs, to perform their domestic responsibilities and meet patriarchal working criteria, young men have tendency of leaving their jobs for setting up their own business and earning more. It is confirmed by employers considering young women as much more loyal labour than young men.

Men also leave their jobs frequently. We are subject to various difficulties and challenges about male workers in here. For example, a man learns the job in here and sets up his own business in same line of business. We had the university graduates in the department of sales in the beginning of the year 2000, as well as the drivers. The drivers prepare the product package, and the others are responsible to take them to the agencies. Then they all left their jobs and established their own corporation, we therefore had to stand the challenges alone as we did not have anyone in sale. I would like to employ and work with women rather than men since working with men is risky. (Firm 16, Telecommunication Material Production and Marketing)

Women do not consider the change in their jobs due to small reasons. If they are pleased with their jobs, they do not prefer to change their jobs for an additional payment of 100 TRL. Men change their jobs more frequently. If men find a job offering 350 TRL when they are employed for 300 TRL, they prefer to change their jobs regardless the other conditions, opportunities etc. (Firm 3, Ship Building)

It is the reflection of the gender-based division of labour positioning women as a secondary earner of family. Young women give priority to comfortable working conditions, social security and regular employment rather than more money. In other words, in line with the arguments of employers, if young women feel comfortable in a job, they do not show tendency of leaving their jobs for more money or for setting their own businesses. Rather, they show their best endeavors to secure their jobs. As cleared by further discussions in 5.3.3, it is the reflection of young women's difficulty in finding a job fitting with working criteria and job priorities determined by patriarchal capitalism for them. In this context, examined reasons of leaving a job can not be interpreted as young women's luxury of behaving free and low labour market commitment, rather those should be perceived as patriarchal borders of young women relations with labour market.

5.3.2 Discontinuous/Interrupted Working History

Within the scope of discussions, young women's turn-over is generally discussed within the context of their *inter-labour force mobility*, movement between domestic labour force and public labour force, and their re-entrance rates (Sandell, 1980; Ecevit, 1998; Çabuk, 1999). Supporting the studies of Niemi & Lloyd (1975), Miles (2002), Azmat et al. (2006), Bolcan (2006) and Du & Dong (2008), as they perceive young women as volatile or unreliable labour, employers are reluctant to employ young women with regards to the risk they carry about leaving their jobs due to marriage, pregnancy or child-care.

The women are generally considered that they will leave their jobs when they get married and deliver a birth. (Firm 14, Telecommunication Operator Service and Marketing)

In fact, this risk is available for all workers until they complete their one year in the workplace. But, this risk is more frequent in the women, unfortunately. Should the laborer be a woman even having worked for 5 years, she may leave from her job due to a birth. (Firm 12, Real Estate)

The critical point in here is that although young men have the risk of leaving their jobs, what makes young women disadvantaged is predictable nature of their leaving. In other words, it is the reflection of patriarchal presumption in which all women are/will married, do/will give birth to a child and the main responsibility of women is being a breadmaker, being a good mother and being a good wife. Moreover, as supporting the argument of Hakim (1999), the factor reinforcing employer's discriminative approach to young women's labour is the financial burden of re-hiring and re-training of replaced worker.

Training is delivered in all kinds of establishments in order to explain the system, expectations from a worker and to determine a position for him/her. You trust him/her. But, when that staff leaves the job, you need to seek for a new staff, which causes challenges. Women's labor is not stable and they are carrying higher possibility of leaving their position. (Firm 1, Restaurant)

If the staff leaves her job due to marriage or birth, we need to find a new staff, and deliver training to that staff. This process causes extra costs, and time spending. Advertisements on the newspapers and similar procedures lead to additional costs. Therefore, during recruitment such questions as "what are your future plans?" and "When will you consider marriage and delivering a birth" are always asked to young women. (Firm 2, Glass Material Production)

On the other hand, findings about young women confirm employers' hesitations about employing young women with regards to the risks they carry about leaving the job. Findings

are in accordance with the studies of İlkaracan (1998), Demirel et al. (1998), Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver (2000), in which discontinuous/interrupted working history or moving out of labour force due to marriage, pregnancy, child-care or home duties are presented as one of the important characteristics of women's labour in Turkey. However, the critical point in here is that although women's discontinuous working patterns is perceived as young women's own preferences, challenging the gender-based division of labour and showing obligatory nature of intermittency for young women are crucial. In fact, in contrast to the premises of Preference theory, young women's tendency of pausing can not be interpreted as indicators of their low work commitment and less working desire. Because, as supporting the findings of Ecevit (1998), young women are reluctant to give up working totally, rather they are intent on returning back. Indeed, the experiences of Huriye (21, Married, Graduated from a Secondary School), Burcu (23, Married, Graduated from a high school) and Filiz (23, Married, Graduated from a high school) confirm returning back tendency among young women.

I am very maternal. If I had a good career, I would have a break in my career for my child. But I do not think that I will leave my job due to that reason. Otherwise, it will be a parasitic life for me. Regardless the richness and assets of my husband, I need to stand on my feet alone, my child may ask money from me. I need to earn this pocket money for my child (Berna, 22, Graduated from a vocational college)

Due to my educational background, I think that a child needs a mother. I prefer that my child looks like me but not his / her career. Therefore, I think I will temporarily leave my job when my child is between 0-6 years old, but afterwards, I will go on my job. (Zehra, 22, Graduated from a university)

Young women's being intent on returning back after a pause confirms their emphasis on economic independency, pointed at 5.2. Although they are intent on working, why young women will not/did not prefer maternity leave is based on patriarchal cults: mothers especially having preschool children should only work if they need money. If they do not, they should not go out for working to fulfill their primary responsibility, motherhood as emphasized by Oakley (1989). In this context, although they would like to go on working, young women feel themselves obligated to quit their career for being a good mother. On the other hand, despite young women insist on working, "independent from husbands' economic power", financial conditions of family affects the duration of pause.

I do not consider leaving my job completely. Since the child caring imposes additional costs, at least napkin and baby food correspond to a minimum wage. If it is available, I would like to raise my own child. Because, it is a priority for a child to be raised by his / her mother. It is not same when child is raised by grandparents. However, when financial

conditions of the family are not satisfactory, mothers give their children to the kindergartens provided by workplaces or to the grandparents. I do not think that my husband will not encourage me to go on working within these economic conditions. On the other hand, I do not consider leaving my job and I would like to go on working. (Özlem, 24, Graduated from a university).

Financial difficulties decreases young women's tendency of leaving their job and, most importantly, the duration of pause. It also legitimates young women's possibility of returning back to labour market and makes it more acceptable. On the other hand, the findings show that considering quitting or pausing relies on having a baby and pregnancy but not on marriage or engagement. Any young bachelor women consider giving up working after marriage. There are only 2 young women, Burcu (22, Graduated from a high school) and Zümürüt (22, Graduated from a vocational high school), gave up their previous jobs because of marriage. In Zümürüt's experience, quitting was based on transition to another city after marriage where husband is living and working. In this context, marriage is no longer the leading reason for young women to give up their jobs. In accordance with the discussions about exclusion and segregation in 2.4.3, although there is still a struggle between young women and men (husbands, fathers, boyfriends) through young women's working conditions and acceptance or rejection of offered job, this struggle or bargain is not based on working or not working, detailed in 5.4. In other words, it is not based on exclusion but on segregation of young women's labour. Withing this scope, although this study does not assume that all young women are career-oriented and want to work, it can be clearly argued that unemployed young women are intentionally entering into labour market to find a job and they are intent on continuing their career even if their husbands' economic power can afford family wage.

Apart from restrictive effect of motherhood ideology on young women, another important dimension that makes leaving/pausing an obligation for young women is related to the existence of someone (generally grandparents) or somewhere (available daily nursery opportunities) that young women resign or consign their children. As all young mothers have pre-school children – the biggest one is Songül's 5 years old first child- finding someone or somewhere is an important challenge for young mothers who want to continue working.

I left for some time when my son was born. I went on my job when my son was 3.5 months. But, if I deliver the second child in the future, I will not leave my job. Or I will of course go on working, if I find someone who is able to look after my baby. (Filiz, 23, Graduated from a high school)

I am absolutely determined to work. I was already working when I was married. My husband also encouraged me. If I have got children in the future, it will not generate an obstacle for me as I have many relatives to look after my children. When the child stops being breast fed, I will go on working. (Didem, 24, Graduated from a vocational college)

In this context, the existence of someone who is able to look after children shortens young women's duration of pause. If Huriye, Songül, Burcu, Filiz and Sevda's experiences are followed, as confirmed by the findings of Özbay (1994), grandparents will look after the children when they are at work. The factor that determines their re-entrance to working life or seeking for a job is the end of breast feeding period. On the other hand, if young mothers do not find someone that they can consign their children, as occurred in Gamze's experience, this time, they begin to look for jobs providing daily nursery opportunities or a wage meeting expenses of daily nursery. However, it is very hard for young mother to find a job providing daily nursery services as the number of workplace nurseries are very low, even not known, in Turkey. In line with the discussions in 4.2.3 and 4.3.4, it is the reflection of the articulation between capitalism and patriarchy in state policies in which child and childcare are encoded as women's responsibility, rather than a social phenomenon. This perception facilitates state's withdrawal from public childcare provisions and employers' from additional expenses of daily nursery (Tisk, 2002; Toksöz, 2007; Ecevit, 2008). Moreover, low numbers of workplace nurseries and high numbers of young women relying on grandmothers confirm the ineffectiveness of legal regulations about child-care and reflect the invisible handshake between employers and government, examined in 4.2.3.1.

On the other hand, expensiveness of private daily nursery increases young mothers' reservation wages and makes them stay at home until their child starts the primary school. In line with the arguments of Ecevit (2008), the side-effects of high reservation wages are low chance of employment, long duration of unemployment and long duration of pause that generate in *re-employment challenge* for young women. Indeed, in accordance with the arguments of Rosenman (1979), Hakim (1999), Bolcan (2006), Du & Dong (2008), employers perceive young women's longer duration of pause and unemployment as their becoming distanced from labour market and working life, rustiness in their work-related skills and atrophy in their job experience and eliminate women candidates.

Of course, it is a great disadvantage for the workers to pause for a long time. Those pausing for a long time do lose their job experience and job-related skills. In our country, it is interesting that numerous regulations shall be amended solely within 3 - 4 years. As the women leave their jobs more frequently, I approach employing young women with suspicion. For

example, I act with suspicion towards a woman lawyer who has practiced law but paused for some time. I just directly think that she cannot practice her profession, now. I have a doubt about the abilities of woman who was not able to perform her domestic and job-related responsibilities. Women should manage both. (Firm 11, Law)

This generates actually a great disadvantage. Especially, if other candidates are available, these will be selected. This duration causes the loss of experiences and abilities. Of course she may compensate the losses but it takes time. We look for the qualifications of Word and Excel programs even for a secretary position. And required qualifications will be more in the future. Therefore, not all the current skills are lost but they will be decreased and rusted. Many things will have been changed by the end of 5 – 6 years. (Firm 7, Project development based Construction Engineering)

Accordingly, the duration that young women spend for having and caring for a child is the period that young men invest on their career. Even if young mothers turn back to labour market after a pause, they will be at a disadvantage and their chance of resumption will be very difficult as argued by Oakley (1986). However, young women's pause can not be approached as their failure, inadequacy, preference or low work commitment. Rather, as mentioned above, it should be handled within the scope of inequal gender-based division of labour and patriarchal configuration of motherhood reproduced in the family's approaches to, governments' regulations about and employers' insensitivity towards child-care. It should be interpreted as an unsurprising outcome of the articulation between neo-liberalism and patriarchy.

5.3.3 Hidden/Invisible Rules of Young Women's Working: Being Selective or Being Condemned

From employers' view point, the most important reason of young women's unemployment is their being much more selective than young men. According to employers, young women's selectivity is the reflection of their low work-commitment and their perceiving working as an unessential and unnecessary thing to do.

They dislike the jobs. Especially young women do this. I think they are considering that they are cared by their husbands. They are stressing out that they may not work if their demanded jobs are not offered. But the men have to be employed in these jobs since it is always expected from them to care their wives. If the men do not work, it will not be good. The women firstly should accept the jobs offered and put job disliking away. They are always emphasizing on the equality but they are expecting some privileges. (Firm 15, Construction and Petrol Station)

Without challenging gender-based division of labour, as supporting the arguments of Hakim (1999), employers argue that young women prefer jobs with no worries or responsibilities. From this starting point, employers argue that young women's unemployment is not an outcome of their discriminatory practices against young women. According to employers, although they would like to work with young women and are welcome to young women applicants, young women, themselves, do not apply to job vacancies or even if they apply, they do not accept working on this job due to offered working conditions.

Our representatives are generally men. But this is not a particular selection of ours. Representing may seem as a complex position in terms of frequent travelling and etc. Or else, the women may be indeterminate to accept the jobs requiring door to door travelling. In some of the provinces, the women applications are so little. We are always asking where those unemployed young persons. (Firm 6, Pharmaceutical Industry and Representation)

We generally need the women environmental engineers. We prefer the women as they are generally more successful and disciplined in that area. In our construction site, we had one woman environmental engineer as well as two woman servants. In the direction of my experiences, I particularly prefer the women to be employed in the construction site. When women are employed in our working environment, the conversations become much better and discreet. However, we are looking for the women who may travel. Moreover, they may need to work in some weekends and they may also participate in the late meetings. Otherwise, whether she is married or whether she has a child is not important for us. (Firm 9, Construction)

However, young women's selectivity can not be interpreted as their own preference. Young women's job priorities are pre-established by the articulation between capitalism and patriarchy and young women are compulsorily trying to find a job meeting those patriarchal capitalist criteria and priorities. In other words, a closer look to working conditions mentioned by employers points at the contradiction between hidden patriarchal rules of women's working and offered working conditions. In this context, supporting the studies of Hanson & Pratt (1991), Ecevit (2000, 2008), Miles (2002), Bolcan (2006), young women argue that their employment opportunities are restricted by their job priorities. From young women's view point, in contrast to the findings of Demirel et al. (1999), young men have more job opportunities than themselves owing to their being more free in accepting working conditions required by many jobs especially in private sector.

Is it possible that it arises from our selectivity? The employability of the women is more complex situation than the men. We may not work in every job offers we found in a newspaper. In Ostim, there are many job opportunities such as welding and real estate agency, but we cannot be employed in such a place where the men population is rather high. (Bahar, 19, Graduated from a vocational high school)

It is easier for men to find out the plausible jobs. We, women, on the other hand, seek for good and regular job opportunities, as well as a satisfactory wage. The job seeking opportunities of the men are more than those of women. Men may be on the ways even at nights, or be on duty at nights even until 23:00, 23:30 and 02:00, and 03:00. But the maximum time for the women is 20:00, 20:30 or at most 21:00. When women complete their shifts they go to their houses where they are under secure. (Burcu, 23, Graduated from a high school)

Within this scope, in the direction of the findings young women are;

- ✓ Reluctant to work under hard, unsecure working conditions;
- ✓ Reluctant to work until late hours, in night shifts;
- ✓ Reluctant to work in part-time jobs;
- ✓ Reluctant to work in men-intensive working environment or one-to-one with a man;
- ✓ Reluctant to work in a job requires business trips;
- ✓ Reluctant to accept jobs requires getting around one place to another throughout the day and communicating with a lot of people, generally with men, in different places;
- ✓ Would like to work in desk jobs;
- ✓ Would like to work closer to home especially when working hours are long.

These criteria support findings of Hanson & Pratt (1991), Demirel et al. (1999), Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver (2000), Kümbetoğlu & Çağa (2000), Miles (2002) and Ecevit (2008) pointing at restrictive effects of young women's job priorities on their employment chances. Being selective requires rejection of some employment opportunities. It implies that although there are employment opportunities in labour market, young women do not have chance of assessing all job opportunities and giving positive response to all kinds of job offers due to patriarchal borders encompassing them. Contrary to the study of Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver (2000) in which women's job priorities are revealed in order of wage, social insurance, peaceful working environment and working hours and in which distance and reliableness remain at the end of the list, in line with the findings of this study, young women's job priorities are in order of working hours (25 young women), the number of men in the working environment (21 young women), the existence of business trips (19 young women), the distance (14 young women), the social insurance (12 young women) and the wage (5 young women). This ordering of job priorities reflects distinctive characteristics of young women's unemployment and reveals the extent of patriarchal pressure on them. Indeed, patriarchal job priorities are much more restrictive for young women than general women category and make them more selective and disadvantaged in terms of employment.

The most important job priority of young women is *convenient working hours*. Young women are reluctant to work until late hours, in night shifts, with undetermined working hours. They point at risks that they can be exposed to in streets at late hours as a reason of their working hour priority. This finding supports the study of Abbott, Wallace & Tyler (2005), in which young women express more fear of crime than men. It is also supported by this study that the number of young women feeling unsafe when they walk alone at night is more than men.

It will be a great challenge for the women whose jobs finish at late hours. The home coming of women cause some difficulties because of the unsafe environment. For example, my course finishes at late hours, at 22:00 - 22:30. At these hours, postures of men and women on the bus are not the same. I try not to look at my environment so that nobody could misunderstand me. As the number of men is more than the women on these hours, I try to sit near a woman, if I can see a woman on the bus. If not available, then you have to sit next to a man. If you are standing, you need to stand in the places near women. One day I crashed a person behind me and she and me looked at each other at the same time, we saw that we were both women, then we smiled at each other. (Funda2, 24, Graduated from a university)

This is the reflection of “streets closure to women at nights!” It should be interpreted as male-dominance in public sphere restricting women’s full participation to public life. In other words, supporting the arguments of Ramazanoğlu (1989), Walby (1992) and Abbott, Wallace & Tyler (2005), the threat of violence and sexual harassment become mechanisms that enable men to control women in public sphere and prevent women from accepting late working hours. It becomes a mean of reproducing male control over women’s labour and job opportunities. On the other hand, with regards to gender-based division of labour, married women refer to their domestic responsibilities (being at home before husband’s arrival, houseworks and children) as reasons of their seeking for convenient working hours.

I would like to work so that I may meet the needs of my house. My husband also lets me under these circumstances. He only accepts my exit from work at 17:30 and 18:00 at most. Because he arrives at home at 19:00, 19:30 and I need to arrive at home prior to him. (Merve, 24, Graduated from a vocational high school)

Working hours is important especially when the distance between work and home is long. When job requires working until late hours, when home is far away from work, when firm does not provide service opportunity, young women regret this job offer or eliminate it at the beginning.

I think the working areas of the women are more limited. I also think that the women – men equality is not available in every job. For example, I won the examination of a private bank, my branch became certain, I would go to the training but I rejected. Because, I am residing in Abidinpaşa but my work place is located at Ostim. I would go to the work after a travel of 1,5 hours and same return, that is 3 hours. As it is a private establishment, it would close down at 19:00 – 19:30 and I will arrive at home at 20:00 – 21:00. Accordingly, as a woman, the working hours and the working environment are important for family and for other persons in your life. Women should go to their work places at 09:00, come back to their houses at 16:00 – 17:00 and busy with domestic chores. (Özlem, 24, Graduated from a university)

Findings support Ecevit (2000) and Toksöz (2007)'s arguments, asserting that the factor determining working conditions and job priorities is gender-based division of labour. Young women do not have options other than performing the determined patriarchal roles for women and men due to pressures come from family, husband, boyfriend and neighbourhood. Supporting the Heidensohn's argument (1986), women are controlled within the family and society with regards to the ideology determining appropriate behaviour for women and to their role in the family. Even if young woman's working hours or conditions do not generate a problem for their family or husband, she and her family will find themselves in a fight against reactions of neighbours. It is the reflection of the fact that young women's working hours and conditions become a matter of purity or honour of the society due to the patriarchal code impeaching itself from virginity of women.

I had problems with my family when I was employed in the jobs with late shifts. This is also associated with the society, itself. I got a job offer as a customer service member and my family did not accept that job. As you need to work all the time (7/24). My family insisted that the environment would misunderstand my return at 07:00 in the morning and going at 24:00 at night. (Azime, 23, Graduated from a vocational college)

They do not let me work if the shifts are late or the environment is not plausible. I found a job with late shifts, and my family did not let me work in that job. They considered that nobody would understand my returning back to home at late hours and nobody believe in my working in a proper job. (Mehtap, 20, Graduated from a vocational college)

Apart from young women's working hours sensitivity, another important discussion is young women's part-time, full-time job preference. Supporting the study of Demirel et al. (1999), young women prefer full-time jobs and employment. Only 3 of them stated that they would like to work in part-time jobs. Burcu and Huriye who have small children prefer working part-time jobs to keep more time for their children. It is the reflection of patriarchal ideology in which women's living purpose is encoded as being a good mother. In this patriarchal context, in line with the arguments of Toksöz (2007:2), spending more time for working

instead of sparing more to children and home weigh on their conscience and make them prefer part-time jobs compulsorily. On the other side, except for Oya -who is bachelor and consider part-time jobs to make time for herself- ,working in part-time jobs makes a sense of irregularity, insecurity and low wages for young women.

I prefer to be employed in a full time job. I do not meet my needs with wage provided by part-time jobs. I would like to be employed in a more secure job. (Neslihan, 20, Graduated from a vocational college)

I prefer to be employed in a full time job. Since, I prefer a permanent job rather than a temporary job. I would like to be employed in job with regular working hours. (Gamze,23, Graduated from a high school)

Young women's statements are in accordance with Toksöz's (2007) and Ecevit's (2008) emphasis on informal, insecure, low income-based character of part-time employment. In this context, although part-time employment is presented as a solution for women's unemployment and women's difficulty in balancing their job-related and domestic-related responsibilities, examined in 4.2.2.2, findings reveal that young women are reluctant to work in part time jobs. Therefore, part-time employment will be an obligation for young women. It is based on an idea that '*Half a loaf is better than none*'.

Another important job priority of young women is *the numbers of men in working environment*. When the number of men is more than that of women and when job requires being/working alone with a man, young women feel uneasy about accepting this job opportunity. On the other hand, even if they accept, later it may become a reason of leaving same job, as discussed in 5.3.1.

I will not work in a place where the number of the men is rather high. Women's and men's perceptions about each other are not same. For example, women are talking to our counterparts without any gender based division but the men consider the women as females, and address to the women in that way. Men do not think as women. In fact, I can work in a pressing house but as the numbers of the men workers are dominant there, I will not. (Bahar, 19, Graduated from a vocational high school)

If I were a man, and seek for a job, I would apply to one of the many accounting advertisements. On the other hand, my father rejects the offers of my relatives as there are many men in these places and only me as a woman. If I would like to be employed in these places where the men population is high, my father will not let me work, so I miss the opportunity. If you work as a secretary and if there are 4 men in an office, you will work with these men during the day and he says that if something happens to you there, what can you do? You are my daughter. Should we be so interested, we are limited. (Berna, 22, Graduated from a vocational college).

Young women's reluctance towards working in men-intensive or one-one with a man working environment relies on their fear of being exposed to unwanted behaviours comes from men. Actually, it implies *sexual harassment*. In accordance with the findings of Gruber (1998), women working predominantly male intensive working environments experience sexual harassment more than other women. As argued by Stanko (1988) and Walby (1992), sexual harassment becomes a means of occupational segregation and restricts young women's employment chances. Within this scope, another dimension of young women's reluctance to work in men-intensive working environment and work alone with a man is their unwillingness to accept job opportunities requiring *business trips*. When job requires business trips, it is hard for women to accept going another city with people who they and their families do not know well. Especially, husbands and families do not want their wives/daughters working in a job requiring business trips even if it would not create problem for young women.

Business trips are of great significance. My family will not let me travel so much. Since they think that we are defenceless and we cannot protect ourselves... Men can but we cannot. I was elected as the traditional dancer for 5 years among 90 partners to play in America, Australia, and Arabic festivals. I was able to be elected with my own skills but my father did not let me go there. He asserted that you are very young, if someone puts a sleeping drug in your drink, if someone steals your mind away etc. (Berna, 22, Graduated from a vocational college)

My father will not let me, if the job is a late shift, if there are many men and if there is numerous travels. He thinks that I will not protect myself against the damages from my environment. For example, if I am appointed to the Eastern parts of Turkey, they will not let me go alone but they will accompany me. (Funda, 24, Graduated from a university)

These findings are in accordance with the study of Kümbetoğlu & Çağa (2000), in which two main reasons of husbands' and families' improbation of women's working are determined as long working hours and the possibility of sexual harassment that women may be exposed to in labour market. However, if job is good, if firm is trustable and corporate, if the reason of trip is training or meeting, if husband and family trust in working environment, business trips might become much more acceptable for families and young women, themselves.

The business trips are not problem for me but for my family. If I have a good job such as banking, it will not create a problem for them. There will be seminars and trainings. I do not think that they will show reluctance if I shall be employed in such a job. But, if it is not a reliable environment, and there are many men workers in there, and if I go there

alone, or if I am the only one selected, they will not let me. The corporation is of great importance. If it is good, I will go doubtlessly. (Hazel, 20, Graduated from a vocational college)

Supporting previous discussions, another dimension of young women's *men-fear* is young women's reluctance towards working in jobs requiring getting around one place to another throughout the day and communicating with a lot of people, especially with men, such as in marketing or insurance sectors. Supporting the findings of Demirel et al. (1999) and Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver (2000), young women would like to work in desk-jobs composed of office related occupations. The critical point in here is desk jobs are the preference of family and husband as well.

I am not applying to the insurance and marketing companies. I can, but I never. Because, working conditions are not plausible for me. For example, if it is a credit card promotion job, as it does not provide an office environment and requires going from door to door. This will make my family anxious and they will not let me, in short. (Özlem, 24, Graduated from a university)

There is a medical products company near my home. They offered me an interview but as going from door to door was requested, my husband did not let me work in there. Because, we can not trust people. Therefore, I would not like to work in jobs requiring going from door to door or going somewhere, from example to hospitals, for introducing the product. (Filiz, 23, Graduated from a high school)

Accordingly, male-intensive configuration of labour market or male dominance in public sphere compresses young women's employment opportunities. Another important job priority of young women is *social insurance*. In accordance with the findings of Demirel et al. (1999), young women's insistence on social insurance is over and above their wage considerations. Especially among married young women and mothers, existence of social insurance is a non-negligible priority. It can be said that the factor decreases the numbers of young women emphasizing on social insurance is low numbers of married young women and mothers among young women labour force. Moreover, as validating the discussions in 5.2, young women's insistence on social insurance points at the fact that wage is not a main priority for young women. As emphasized before, they work for pursuing their economic independency and guaranteeing their and their childrens' future.

I participated in the job interviews on textile sector. They are employing but not providing insurance. They said that the amount of production is low, the numbers of workers are high and they would employ someone only if he/she accepts working without insurance. They try to pay less, but receive more productions. But I would not like to accept working without insurance. Because it is a possibility that my father will not care me after an age. (İlkay, 20, Graduated from a vocational high school)

The insurance is of the greatest significance for me. Because, insurance is very important in terms of children and retirement opportunity. May God protect, but if one of them or me becomes ill, we may be cared and treated in any hospitals. Therefore, insurance is much more important for me than closeness, daily nursery opportunities and wage. If insurance is not available, I would not like to work. (Filiz, 23, Graduated from a high school)

Giving priority to insurance rather than wage reflects young women's adopting their position as secondary wage earner of the family. As emphasized in 5.2, young women's reasons of working is not being chief breadwinner of family but meeting their and their children's needs without demanding money from someone and guaranteeing their and their children's future. On the other side, in line with the discussions in chapter 3, as neo-liberal labour market provides informal, flexible and insecure employment opportunities to young women labour force, young women's emphasis on social insurance suppresses their employment chances and exposes them to be unemployed if they do not accept offered unsecure working conditions as argued by Ecevit (2000), Seguino (2002), Miles (2003), Russell & O'Connell (2008). Moreover, as confirmed by the discussions in 4.2.2.2, 4.3.4 and 5.6, employers' tendency of perceiving social security as an obstacle to employment decreases young women's employment chances and restrict their job opportunities. This is the reflection of the articulation between capitalism and patriarchy which segments labour market in regard to gender-based division of labour and positions women as secondary labour force deserving low wages and informal employment patterns (Beechey, 1978; Walby, 1990; Mills, 2003).

Finally, in parallel to previous discussions, findings reveal that young women are reluctant to work in jobs offering heavy, difficult, grind, uninsured working conditions and offering wages under their reservation wage. Young women states that, differently from young men, being young, women and inexperienced make working conditions heavier and difficult. Moreover, they argue that generally additional women-related tasks such as cooking, cleaning and servicing are offered. This argument confirms the findings in 5.3.1, which signifies these heavy, difficult, grind, uninsured working conditions and additional women-related tasks as the reasons of young women's quitting.

I went to a job interview to an accounting office. In addition to accounting, washing the dishes and cooking were expected from me. My job is pre-accountancy, why I need to cook and wash the dishes? And I would be paid 600 TRL for all these, without insurance. They did not consider my transportation expenses as well. They were particularly seeking for a woman accountant, as she could cook and wash the dishes and they did not have to hire someone for those. (Didem, 24, Graduated from a vocational college)

In line with the arguments of Pringle (1989), it is the reflection of the assumption that young women acquired those skills (cleaning, cooking, caring) socially and naturally and employers see no harm to expect from young women to work as ‘office wives’. It is clear that young women are well-aware of the fact that their gender makes difference in labour market and offers vulnerable conditions for them. In line with the findings, as supporting the arguments of Rosenman (1979), Hanson & Pratt (1991), Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver (2000), Miles (2002), Bolcan (2006) and Ecevit (2008), gendered nature of social life makes women give priority to different job attributes from men and makes them more selective. However, in contrast to the premises of preference theory, finding a voice in employers’ arguments, these are not young women’s own criteria and preferences, rather, these are generated from patriarchal ideology reproducing men’s superiority in both public and private sphere. Therefore they should be called as *job priorities against patriarchy*. The main argument in here is that the factor restricts young women’s employment chance in labour market is not their being selective or low work commitment but patriarchy and young women’s positioning in it.

As a final discussion, in the light of the findings, it is important to argue that although examined job priorities are *erga omnes* or independent from young women’s education level, age and socio-economic status, their restrictive effects are much more challenging for young married women and young mothers. According to married young women and mothers, the factor differentiates their situation from bachelor women is the extra social pressure coming from husband and the existence of domestic responsibilities restricting their seeking, finding and accepting a job. Married women argue that their husbands accept their working only if a job is worth doing. Indeed, from husbands view point, as supporting the studies of Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver (1998, 2000), the worth of job is based on; working hours, allowing being at home before husband, working days providing weekend holiday, working environment not including a lot of men or being one-to-one with a man, working conditions not involving business trips, working conditions providing social insurance and enabling women to perform their domestic duties. In other words, as supporting the claims of Toksöz (2007) and Ecevit (2008), conditions not challenging gender-based division of labour and husband’s control over women’s labour.

There are some rules. Its closeness to my house and working hours are important for me. I can start in a very early time in the morning but not in the night. Because, I am taking the responsibility of a house. So I cannot go back to house so late. Actually, my husband offers me that I will not work and stay at home. But he only lets if I do meet the responsibilities of

the work and house. He arrives at home at 17:30- 18:00, but at most 19:00, 19:30. I should be at home before his arriving. I am offering that we will open a shop of my profession, and will employ a person, as well. He says that *OK, we will, when you learn your profession in detail*, and encourage me in that terms. But, he is not interested in my employment in another corporation with other men. (Merve, 24, Engaged, Graduated from a vocational high school)

My husband does not let me work in any job. He is afraid of the mistreatments of the other men. They do not give a satisfactory wage. I have a child and many other domestic responsibilities. Thus, I consider working if these work places offer good wages, satisfactory opportunities and plausible working hours. I need to be at home on Saturdays and Sundays, and arrive at home at 18:00, 19:00 at most. But the employers want you to work till 22:00. You have children and domestic responsibilities, which restricts the women. The working hours are not certain. You do not have a weekend holiday. Whenever the employer wants you to come, you need to go. You have no special life. Working until late hours is of course a problem. Since my husband wants me to come to house at certain times, which shows the mentality of the men. (Gamze, 23, Married, Graduated from a high school)

In these conditions, as captured from statements, wage and social insurance become much more important. As young women's working is interpreted as a sign of poverty, status and failure of husband in fulfilling his breadwinning responsibility (Lingam, 2005), the social insurance and working conditions offered by a job become important in terms of presenting acceptable reasons for young women's working. On the other hand, apart from working hours, working one to one with a man and men-intensive environment are much more problematic for married young women due to their husbands' having a beef with these working conditions. As captured from Merve and Burcu's experiences, husbands are reluctant to accept their wives' working under/with another man and prefer self-employment of their wives.

My husband lets me seek for jobs. But he does not want me to enter in the work places in which many men are available. He is interested in establishing a self corporation for me. Previously, I was working in a shop. We were not even engaged at that time. He was waiting for me outside. He did not let me work in there when married, and now I have a child, and I do not have chance work in such jobs again. (Burcu, 22, Graduated from a high school).

In line with the emphasis of Elson & Pearson (1981, 1986), working young women's being subject to authority of other men in workplaces is a reason why husbands do not let their wives work in such environments (men-intensive) and consequently they prefer their self-employment. Moreover, in line with the offerings of European Survey on Working Conditions (2007), as the possibility of being exposed to sexual harassment is low among self-employed women, encouraging wife to be self-employed is a tactic of husband in terms

of removing his wife from men-intensive or one-to-one with a man working environment challenging his domination on his wife.

As confirmed by the studies of Hanson & Pratt (1991), Moghadam (1999), Niemi & Lloyd (1999), Mitra & Singh (2006), young women's domestic responsibilities restrain their mobility and employment chances. Especially, the existence of children in pre-school ages makes young mothers much more selective. With regards to gender-based division of labour, those young mothers' job priorities are focused on children and determined by children's conditions. The distance between work and home, working hours, weekend holiday and the existence of daily nursery opportunities become more important criteria for accepting a job for mothers.

My daughter is now little. She is an obstacle as I cannot leave her to any place. When she grows a bit and starts to express her feelings then I may leave her to a relative, therefore she will not establish an obstacle for me to be employed. I have now worries; will she cry? Can I meet her needs?... Otherwise, I would find out a job for myself, at least as a cleaner. I cannot count on the others. I cannot leave my child to anybody. I can only trust my mother for child caring. But my mother has made a deal and her house will be demolished soon, so I can only leave my child to my mother by the end of this fall. If I find out a job close to my home, I will start to work there. But I would not prefer to work in a place which is so far from my home. If I find a part time job, it will be good for me. I can do the domestic responsibilities at home when I come from work. That is, not marriage but the child establishes an obstacle towards employment. (Huriye, 21, Graduated from a secondary school)

Findings reveal that the important factor restricting especially young married women's and mother's employment chances is their reservation wage. In line with the discussions in 4.4.2, domestic responsibilities and especially limited workplace nurseries for pre-school children increase young women's reservation wages, restrain their employment chances and undermine their labour force participation as argued by Ecevit (2000, 2008), Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver (2000), Toksöz (2007).

In sum, in the light of the discussions, these job priorities against patriarchy are valid for all young women with different education level, marital status and socio-economic conditions. In contrast to the findings of Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver (2000) assuming 'the higher the education level the lower the selectivity', as captured from statements of young women, these job priorities are valid and restrictive for high educated young women as well. Moreover, 'the heavier the economic difficulties, the lower the selectivity' is not valid as well. Indeed, following Sevda's experience -who is divorced, lives with her widowed old

mother, has a 2.5 years old son and whose husband do not pay maintenance for her and children- she still insists on patriarchal job priorities in spite of her economic hardship.

Late shifts are not a problem for me but for my child since my mother cannot care. She does not show a bad temper in the mornings as she is playing with other children of my neighbours. But at nights... If I can find out a job which enables the early shifts, it will be good for me. The job should provide insurance. I can be employed for 500 – 550 TRL because we really need it. I can work if the job has transportation service to house, but if this is not available, then I cannot work. (Sevda, 24, Graduated from secondary school)

However, the main argument in here is that these job priorities against patriarchy, marking young women's job seeking process, are not interpreted as young women's individual choices, selectivity and low work commitment. Rather, these should be considered as hidden patriarchal limits of young women's working and relations with public sphere. This argument is validated by the generality of patriarchal job priorities among young women with different education level, marital status and socio-economic conditions. The function of patriarchal job priorities is assuring the reproduction of gender-based division of labour - male dominance in both public and private sphere- by family, husbands and young women, themselves. The critical point in here is to capture the restrictive effects of these job priorities on young women's employment and understand how patriarchal positioning of young women generate a gender-gap in unemployment rates. Shortly, in order to clarify those misty sentences, let's give an ear to Özlem;

It comes from the childhood of the women. The boys can play outside till 19:00 – 20:00, but the girls cannot. This is a tradition in our society. The assets of the parents are delivered to boys but not to the girls. This is a restriction upon the growth of the women. The men always branches out but women are remained as a fire wood. When you flick the lighter, they are burned. We should resist this. A resist may generate a crack on the soil and burgeon. Since, it is evident that men are always one step ahead of women in every part of the society including employment. If you are young women, you have always obstacles and difficulties before you. Young women are open to all kinds of dangers. Men may take you, or abuse you, and steal your bag and you even may be offender of such cases. The real offender, on the other hand, is not exposed to any punishments. Purity always restricts young women. This is a chronic case in our lives. We always asked: Does a woman do that job? Is it an appropriate job for a young woman? Does a young woman behave like this?...so on. This standpoint interpenetrates to our minds. We are unable to go beyond. The employers ask whether we can travel or not. We just say no, we cannot... We even do not know the real reasons of this *no*. Indeed it can not be assumed that all the men are lack of purity. Not all the men consider that this woman will travel and we will rape her. The women are like those laborers without any union protection. They are kicked by their families and their jobs, as they have no protection. (Özlem, 24, Graduated from a university)

5.4 Getting Permission – Gaining Consent

In the direction of the previous discussions in 5.3.3, young women's working is a conditional matter, conditions of which are determined by patriarchal prerequisites. Young women's statements indicate that family, husband, boyfriend and neighbourhood are responsible for inspecting young women's being at appropriate places in labour market, not challenging gender-based division of labour and male-dominance in both public and private sphere, by using their right of veto over women's working. Accordingly, supporting the findings of Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver (2000), young women point at fathers' and husbands' unwillingness to their working and present it as a reason of their unemployment.

The men in our society have a general approach and characteristics. They think that the women should not work and should stay at home. Some time ago, my father also said the same things. He says that why you want to work, I am not giving the responsibilities to you, I can afford our expenses and our family does not need your contribution. In same manner, husbands beat their wives and do not let them work. (Merve, 24, Graduated from a vocational high school)

We are residing in the capital, but if the families or the husbands do not let them work, the women may not be employed. They think that the woman should stay at home, busy with her domestic chores and baby, see nobody and stay in their inner world. (Zehra,23, Graduated from a secondary school)

In the light of the findings, men's reluctance towards women's working is the reflection of gender-based division of labour in which women's working is interpreted as an upset in gender roles and father's and husband's inability of fulfilling their breadwinning responsibilities. Moreover, even if father and husband assent to young women's working, they control job's appropriateness to patriarchal rules as argued by Lingam (2005) and Toksöz (2007).by using patriarchal mechanisms of permission and consent provided by the patriarchal system. In this study, young women's bargain is not based on getting permission or gaining consent for working but on job priorities determined by the articulation between capitalism and patriarchy. Accordingly, supporting the studies of Çabuk (1999), Demirel et al. (1999), Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver (2000), findings indicate that the decision of accepting or regretting an offered job does not rely on young women's individual judgement, rather, families', husbands' and even boyfriends' permission or consent become necessary parts of young women's decision-making. As examined in 5.3.3, young women are trying to find a job through working criteria enclosing by or interlocking with their husbands', fathers' and boyfriends' priorities.

If I consider that this job is plausible for me, my husband will let me work. I am just seeking the jobs which are compatible with his criteria. (Gamze, 23, Graduated from a high school)

Moreover, families', husbands', boyfriends' criteria are generally at the forefront of young women's acceptance and rejection of the job offer. In accordance with the findings of Demirel et al. (1999), getting permission from and gaining consent of family, husband and boyfriend are perceived as a necessity among young women, especially among married ones. Young women are the group carrying less possibility of resistance and more possibility of resignation when a man says *no*.

If my parents do not approve, I will not accept. I will resist but not so much... (Burçin, 20, Graduated from a high school)

If I consider that the job is plausible for me, but if my husband does not let me, I will not work there. I will try to resist, but if he says not, I will not. (Merve, 24, Graduated from a vocational high school)

Although the permission and consent never lose their pressure and decisiveness on young women's job seeking process, as supporting the study of Demirel et al. (1999), the findings point that education softens essentiality of permission and increases young women's possibility of showing resistance. It is valid especially when the job is good and offers a promising future.

Both the familial structure and the expectations of my boyfriend are of importance. If the shifts are fixed at 21:00 - 22:00, my boyfriend says that *I do not prefer but if you want you can accept*. I will do what I want and the expectations of my father and boyfriend are secondary. But my and my boyfriends ideas are similar. (Özlem, 24, Graduated from a university)

As I can make my own decisions independently, I do not need to be dependent upon other persons. My family respects my decisions. I did not ever think their rejections upon my decision, but maybe they can reject if the work place is so far. They may want me to be employed in places which are close to them. (Zehra, 22, Graduated from a university)

However, a close look to educated young women's job priorities easily reveals that their criteria are not very different from other young women's with low education level. In other words, it can not be assumed that patriarchal job priorities and working conditions are not decisive on educated young women's job seeking process. As emphasized in 4.3.3, these criteria and priorities are valid for and reproduced by all young women independent from their education level, marital status and socio-economic situation. Since, the main problem is not gaining consent of or getting permission from family, husband, fiance and boyfriend,

rather it is convincing whole society. In fact, in line with the arguments of Heidensohn (1986), it is the reflection of patriarchal social control over women within the family and within the society as whole in which women are controlled by patriarchal rules of appropriate behaviour for women and by gender-based division of labour. In this context, especially when young women or their mothers' are divorced or widowed, the social pressure becomes much more intense and people outside of the household, such as relatives, neighbours, become parts of decision making about young women's working in an offered job.

My mother always says that I can go out from house early in the morning but I may not arrive at home late at nights. She always expresses her worries. She says that if I come to house at 22:00 at night, others will say where Fatma's daughter is coming home at that time because there is not a man in our house. I normally come home at 19:30 – 20:00 but if I come later as 21:00 – 21:30 my mother has panic. She is afraid of the environment. You are a young woman and there are too many bastards in the surroundings. Therefore, she, as a mother, gets worried. I just ask them whether they trust me or not, but they say that they trust me but not the environment. They do not let me work in other cities. If so, I would have studied in another university. They did not permit, so I am studying now in an open education faculty. They, of course, will not let me work in another city because we have financial problems. But even if we did not have financial challenges, they would not permit, as well. Since, according to them the young woman should not be in outside, even if she is, it is uncertain what she would be exposed to. If job requires business trips, it will be good for me. But my mother does not let me. Before my mother, my aunt and my uncle pry into my decisions. When I do something, immediately my uncle calls me from İstanbul and says 'what is going on Melek? (Melek, 19, Graduated from a high school)

My family supports me. Recently, they have supported me more. When I was divorced from my husband, they tried to prevent this. I can say that the underlying reason of such prevention is based upon the environmental pressure. When a woman comes at late times not even at 20:00 – 21:00, 22:00 – 23:00, the neighbours have various approaches. I was a teacher. It is an acceptable occupation for them. But the secretary or other professions are more mistreated. I was witnessing the same things when I was single but the pressure has been increased since my divorce. (Burçin, 23, divorced, Graduated from a vocational high school)

In other words, findings indicate that when there is not a man at home, society fear for maintenance of patriarchy. In order to fill the gap of man in the household, it generates other male figures and feels itself responsible for keeping young women in appropriate places in the system determined and filled by the articulation between capitalism and patriarchy. Moreover, this pressure is much more constant than financial pressures.

The important point in here is that young women's dependency on permission and consent restrains their employment opportunities and makes them segmented and crowded into

particular places in the labour market. It also makes them disadvantaged in labour-capital matching process. In fact, in line with the findings of study, employers argue that when a female applicant says “*I would like to ask for advice of my family or husband before accepting*”, they hesitate to employ this woman. Since, according to them, asking one’s advice is a signal of being diffident and being at a loss.

Young women generally say that *I want to think, I want to ask my family*. They do this both in the business life and outside life. This also negatively affects the employers. I frequently encounter with such cases. Those even cannot make their own decisions may not become successful in business life! (Firm 14, Telecommunication Operator Service and Marketing)

95% of the women behave in the same way. You come upon that advertisement and do the interview, then you say that I will consider once more. I just say internally that “*just think for long time*”. Even if this person comes in the next day, I will not accept them. Because, I think that they are unable to make their own decisions, and therefore they can not be successful in business life. (Firm 15, Construction and Petrol Station)

It is clear that the problem is not young women’s being diffident or having low desire of working. As challenging Hakim’s preference theory (1995), findings indicate that accepting and rejecting a job offer can not be considered as young women’s individual choices, own wills and preferences. Rather, it is the reflection of young women’s being enclosed by patriarchal frame giving no way to young women other than playing the determined role. The critical point in here is that permission is the indicator, bearer and reproducer of gender-based division of labour, gender-based segregation in labour market and ultimately men’s control over job opportunities and young women’s labour.

5.5 Patriarchal Dimensions of Male Preference in Recruitment Process

Young women’s unemployment is generally discussed within the context of discriminatory practices of employers against women in the recruitment process. Apart from men in the private sphere, employers in the labour market try to employ women in appropriate places determined by patriarchal and capitalist context as mentioned by Bruegel (1979), Hartmann (1981, 1990), Ecevit (1998). Accordingly, young women identify their unemployment with employers’ discriminatory practices or reluctance against employing them. The discrimination is based on *the contradiction between working conditions in private sector - the conditions of profit making- and determined job priorities of young women*, examined in 5.3.3.

Men are always more powerful than women. Therefore they may overcome all the challenges. The women, on the other hand, are considered to be more passive by the employers, so they prefer men. Working hours are of great importance for us. The working hours after 19:00 are not appropriate to us. We cannot arrive at our homes at 21:00 and 22:00 because we have a family. As we do not accept these shifts, employers do not accept us. (Zeliha, 24, Graduated from a secondary school)

The most substantial factor for the women is the working hours. But it is not important for the men. They can work at nights. On the other hand, employers are rather selective in that matter and in most of the job offers men are selected. Because, the employers think that they can use the men more than women. I am saying especially for the private sector. The men do not generate problem for employers and adapt themselves to offered conditions easily; they can work till 20:00, or even at weekends. Employers always consider these facts. (Özlem, 24, Graduated from a university)

In this context, gender-based division of labour designating proper working conditions and priorities for women becomes an obstacle to young women's employment. These findings support premises of Bergmann's crowding hypothesis, examined in 2.4.3. Indeed, the contradiction between offered working conditions and young women's job priorities against patriarchy make young women crowding in particular parts of labour market and foster their unemployment rates. In the light of the findings, although the priorities are changable with respect to sectors and occupations, these conflicting priorities become a bargain matter between young women and employers. The main dimensions of the bargain between employers and unemployed young women are domestic responsibilities, the problem of absenteeism, volatility of women's labour, women's inefficiency, incompetency and immobility, expensiveness of women's labour and women's weak physical power. The critical point in here is to capture the patriarchal essence of these dimensions and their restrictive effects on young women's employment.

Supporting the argument of Ecevit (1998), one of the dimension of employers' male preference is *physical power* or *endurance*. Young women state that if job includes hauling, lifting or carrying, if working conditions require physical endurance, employers show male preference

They prefer men for the jobs in manufacturing sites. Because the men are more endured and productive. (Burçin, 20, Graduated from a high school)

As it is considered that the women are not physically as strong as men, they male workers are preferred. (Figen, 24, Graduated from a vocational college)

Young women's claim is confirmed by employers as well. From employers' point of view, one reason of their male preference is young women's physical weakness or low endurance that trips up the job.

We need physical power in here. Waitering is a tiring job. You need to remain standing for hours. Cooking is the same. Women are physically weaker than men. They may be in their menstrual period, they may have a headache and a stomachache and we are spending 3 – 4 days to compensate this loss. Women are more fragile, for instance all of the men workers may carry the cases if I ask them to do this. But it is not the same for women. They cannot carry these goods. Last month, I hired someone for 3 days to wait for the stands area of our organization. She did not come to the stands in time and did not leave the shift as required. She had menstrual cycle in the 2nd days of this activity. I had to take her to a pharmacy shop as she had many aches. As a consequent, we hired her for 3 days but we did not receive our service against our payment. But a man will not witness such problems. They may have some diseases. But men do not disclose their situation and continue working determinantly. (Firm 1, Restaurant)

Although pure physical power could generate disadvantage for young women, in the light of the findings, young women's low physical endurance can not be generalized as an obstacle to their employment. Since, the difficulty or hardness of job is not considered as a job priority by young women. Another dimension of employer's male preference is *young women's immobility*. In fact, young women stated that one of the factors creating male preference is young men's being able to move one place to another easily and go business trips if job requires.

Men may be employed in various positions. When I was working in Arçelik Agency, I observed that men may lift the cases, may work under harder conditions and they may easily go outside of workplace if required. But women may only be employed in some positions. A limited area is given to women and women can not step out of this line. But employers can easily send men everywhere. (Zeliha, 24, Graduated from a secondary school)

They do not prefer women in the positions which require travels. In a workplace, men are the ones who go outside of the workplace, who travel and also perform the jobs. (Mehtap, 20, Graduated from a vocational college)

On the other side, young women's opinion is supported by the exclusion of young women from jobs including a field work, such as in marketing, insurance, construction sectors.

I will employ an accountant in the construction site. The women also apply for that position. All the men accept my criteria but the women especially those married do not accept any of these conditions. She rejects to travel to other cities and working in the construction site. In that condition, you are necessarily directed to the men. If she accepts, she

comes once or twice then she leaves due to her husband. On the other hand, the man worker may come in case of any problems at nights contrary to the women. We have been servicing in this sector for 30 years, we hired 3 women in total. Now therefore, I prefer to work with men in the accounting department due to these reasons. (Firm 15, Construction and Petrol Station)

Those employed in the sales and marketing departments need to drive. We do generally not prefer the women in that department. Those employed in the sales department are people who actively make sales. We need to carry out such a discrimination, because our sales are only based upon the agencies, and we do not have direct sales. Therefore, the basic tasks of our staff in that department are to contact with agencies, to maintain relationships with them and to follow the project. To cooperate with an agency is rather different. May be I cannot disclose it clearly...For example, you should go to the construction site, you should make contact with the person, engineer or architect in charge and you should promote our products to them. Therefore the women are generally employed in offices such in sales support departments in district offices, rather than field. (Firm 10, Industrial Material Production and Marketing)

In this context, supporting the vertical segregation argument discussed in 2.4.3, findings indicate that while young women are employed in desk-jobs inside of offices, young men are employed both in central and peripheral processes of the workload as a mastermind who manage, organize and perform job both inside and outside of the office. On the other hand, young women's desk-job preference, examined in 5.3.3, confirms employers' hesitation to employ young women in the field. However, the critical point in here is that young women's immobility is an outcome gender-based division of labour restricting young women's relations with public sphere and reproducing gender-based segregation and male dominance. Moreover, as supporting the discussions about young women's desk-job preferences, employers' tendency to employ young women in desk jobs generally relies on securing them from men-intensive working environments and phases of job requiring closer contact with men.

We are working with civil engineers. But the number of woman civil engineers in Turkey is rather low. For example, if you ask me the employability of the women in our corporation, I think I will not prefer to employ them. Because, the managers of the institutions and establishments that we are working with are generally men. Therefore, I think that the men and women may not establish good contacts and relations. Indeed, our relations sometimes require familiarity and intimacy. Sometimes, it is necessary for us to talk to men solely. Women can not do this and this will make things difficult for us. (Firm 15, Construction and Petrol Station)

If I shall speak of my sector, the young women have more disadvantages. Since, our sector requires cordial relations. We sometimes offer small sized bribes in order to complete our jobs in the courts. Women, especially inexperienced young women, may not keep these relations on an even keel. Therefore the men are generally preferred in that sense. The

process is directly related to the contacts of ours with the sole official. We need to have good contacts. When a woman is employed in that job, she will not establish these cordial relations or sometimes she may be disturbed. This effects the process of job. (Firm 11, Law)

Furthermore, as supporting young women's reluctance towards working in men-intensive working environments, the risk of sexual harassment makes employers straddle the fence.

We have a grocer's at the entrance of building. I hired a woman cashier for that job. When one of the customers molest that woman, I displaced her, and made my decision not to hire a woman again. (Firm 15, Construction and Petrol Station)

I am managing a public house. If one of the customers molests my female staff here, I feel myself responsible for that. If I hire a woman, I need to carry out some extra procedures. It is a great concern for me. I need to protect her. (Firm 1, Restaurant)

When it gets dawn, you may need to show a house. This house may not have illumination system or it may be furnished. Clearly speaking, molesting is frequently seen in our job. Interestingly enough, the age of the women is not so significant. Therefore, we are unable to work with women at nights. (Firm 12, Real Estate)

Accordingly, although the performer of sexual harassment is not young women, young women are sentenced to limited employment opportunities. In other words, sexual harassment functions as a tool excluding young women from some parts of labour market or segregating them into particular places. It fosters male dominance over women in both public and private sphere. On the other hand, findings also signalize the gap in -inadequacy of - legal regulations regulating sexual harassment in workplaces. Another dimension of employer's male preference is young women's *sensitivity*. Young women state that they are perceived as sensitive and irrational by the employers and this perception makes them less preferable by employers.

They do not prefer young women since we are more fragile. They think that we are not professional. According to them, men think more logically, they act more politically but we act emotionally and reflect our sentiments easily. We have therefore many disadvantages. If our employer becomes angry with us, we should be patient and react accordingly. (Ayşe, 23, Graduated from a university)

Young women's claim is confirmed by employers. According to employers, young women are sensitive, emotional and they reflect their sentiments to work. This makes working with young women much more difficult than young men for employers.

I need to consider if she is sensitive or not when recruiting a woman. The women are ready to cry. I do not understand as the problem will not be solved by crying. I hate those crying. Crying is not good in business life. Do the men cry deeply when losing their jobs? No, they continue to work. I cannot ask a woman worker why you did this. However, I can say everything and talk every matter with men workers. But, I feel accused in case of the same thing. Sometimes, I do not understand who is employer, me or her?(Firm 8, Lighthing Material Production and Marketing)

In line with the arguments of Cocks (1984), the split between reason and emotion is a central ideological constituent of the gender system confining women within a small circle of thought and action. Employers' approach to young women is the reflection of this gendered perception in which labour market is defined as a place of rationality. In this context, keeping sentiments and emotions out of workplace becomes a means of reproducing male dominance in the labour market, implicitly. Actually, as male category is defined by rationality and female by emotionality, it is not surprising the labour market revere men (rationality) and close its' doors to women (sensitivity or emotionality).

Another dimension of male-preference is the contradiction between job responsibilities and domestic responsibilities especially in private sector. As supporting the studies of Almquist (1977), Azmat et al. (2006) and Du & Dong (2008), according to young women, employers are reluctant to employ especially married young women and mothers. Since, according to them, marriage and children lower young women's adaptation to working conditions, productivity, mobility and flexibility. Accordingly, supporting the findings of Şenel (1998), Eyüboğlu et al. (2000) and Bolcan (2006), young women state that their marital status, their child plans, their children if available, the ages of children and the existence of someone who will take care of children become crucial parts of the young women's recruitment process.

Even in some of the public institutions, women are subject to such questions as "are you engaged or married?". It is sometimes even possible to see the article in the working contract that you will not deliver a birth within the 2 – 3 years. When the girlfriend of my elder brother was appointed, the firm had suggested this article. Because, the employer just considers that if this staff will marry one year later, she will be pregnant after 2 – 3 months and she will get maternity leave or will leave the job totally. We are just thinking to be employed, but the employers, on the other hand, are considering the 2 – 3 years after. (Özlem, 24, Graduated from a university).

Employers think that men labour force is more productive. Since, women have/will have a child, will get maternity leave, the child will be ill. Therefore, they may not be at workplace regularly. But the men are not in the same conditions and they are preferred by employers. Employers think that domestic responsibilities of women are more, but a man worker will not leave jobs due to their breadwinning responsibility unless I

dismiss him. They think that it is good for them to employ one man other than 2 women. Compatible with this, the employer has advantages. (Gülşah, 19, Graduated from a high school)

The employers generally prefer single women. For example, they asked me whether I had a child. If no, they asked me whether or not I would have one in the near future. I just said we do not think about it for now. But I think they make it a problem. Since they do not turn back to me. (Didem, 24, Graduated from a vocational college)

However, complementing the findings in 5.3.2, from employers' point of view, the problem is not young women's status of being bachelor or married, having children or not. As supporting the studies of Niemi & Lloyd (1979), Miles (2002), Eyüboğlu et al. (2005), Bolcan (2006), Du & Dong (2008), the main problem is young women's expected marriage and pregnancy. In other words, since marriage and pregnancy might lead to quit or maternity leave, employers act with deliberation to these possibility, contradicting with capitalist logic.

Some of them are interested in marriage, and some in birth. And when the child is born, they shall want maternity leave. We therefore have some precautions. Marriage and birth are of significance. Compatible with this, in most of the contracts, the marriage and birth are restricted. In most of the job interviews, the women are demanded not to deliver a birth for a certain period. After 6 months, it is not good to hear that *I will leave the job due to pregnancy*. (Firm 5, Hotel)

The single women have the marriage risk. When she is married, it generates a labour loss. If she is married, she bears the birth risk. Maternity leave, breast feeding leave, child's medical controls... Women may not work for 1 year. We do not have chance to employ someone in her position temporary... (Firm 3, Ship Building)

The education level and the references are secondary when employing a woman. If she is single, you consider what she will do after marriage. If she is married, you consider when she will give birth. If she has children, this time, you consider where children are and who will care for her children if I employ her in here. (Firm 8, Lighting Material Production and Marketing)

In this context, what makes young women disadvantaged in labour market is the risks which bachelor young women and married young women carry in terms of marriage or engagement and in terms of pregnancy and childbirth, respectively. These possibilities make them unreliable labour in the eyes of employers. In fact, employers are in favour of working especially with mothers due to their being more responsible and serious about their jobs than young women.

It is not so easy for an employer to decide to employ a single woman because single women are interestingly considering to become housewives after marriage. They leave their jobs immediately. Therefore, you can not trust them. If the woman applicant has children, you can

easily think that she is experienced and responsible. I would prefer to work with this woman, rather than work with someone who may consider leaving her job after marriage or pregnancy. (Firm 8, Lighting Material Production and Marketing)

The women with children are more advantageous for us. Because they will have less pauses. (Firm 7, Project development based Construction Engineering)

Namely, if a woman left marriage and pregnancy processes behind her, if she solved child-care problem by herself, if she is able to balance her domestic and job responsibilities and if she does not reflect her problems in private sphere to workplace, shortly, if she does not impose extra responsibilities and costs to employers' shoulder, employers look with favor on employing female labour. In other words, employers prefer to work with someone who will go on working until s/he let her/him go. It is due to the fact that recruitment process itself requires time, money and energy and it hinders the workload. From this point of view, these should be considered as conditions making young women the most disadvantaged group in labour market than other women in older ages.

On the other hand, women's failure in meeting these conditions and balancing their job and domestic responsibilities generate the problem of *abseenteism*, another important dimension of male preference. With respect to findings, supporting the study of Glass & Kawachi (2005), young women indicate that domestic responsibilities frustrate women's full concentration and adaptation to working life, generate absenteeism and make employers reluctant to work with young women due to young women's low efficiency and performance.

The employers prefer men because the responsibilities of women are little bit more. The women's responsibilities will increase day by day. They will get married and give birth to a child and they will have to ask for day off. Since employers look for effective workers, that type of situation will not be suitable for employers. The reason underlying employer's male preference is that men do not have any responsibility. Actually, men also have responsibilities, but their responsibilities are different from women's responsibilities. Since the men have less responsibilities, they tend to do any kind of work they are given. The employer cannot make use of women for every kind of work. Because of their responsibilities, they cannot enter to the working environment, easily. The employer considers the working conditions and just looks at whether they are able to perform given work or not. (Neslihan, 20, Graduated from a vocational college)

Young women's claim is confirmed by employers' statements. Supporting the studies of Eyüboğlu, Özar, Tanrıöver (2000), Seguino (2002) and Glass & Kawachi (2005), according

to employers, young women, especially married young women and young mothers, show more tendency of getting off from jobs than young men due to their domestic excuses.

The women often ask for day off with excuses such as *I have to be at home, my child is ill, I have to clean my house ...* For instance, yesterday I did not give a full day-off to my woman worker who got her painting done. All I could do is to give a half-day off which made her upset. However, I don't get that kind of reaction from the men. In fact, men have no such demands. They only ask day-off for their health problems or other important issues. Therefore, working with women workers is not attracting. (Firm 15, Construction and Petrol Station)

Once we observe discontinuous and irregular attendance at work, I will let them go. In job interviews, I clearly ask this to women applicants. I ask them *do you have habit of taking medical report, what is your reaction when you get ill?, do you have anyone to take care of your children?, who is looking after your children now?* I ask them all those questions in the first place. Employing a woman worker is very difficult thing to do in our company. I need to consider the possibilities during recruitment process. (Firm 8, Lighting Material Production and Marketing)

Supporting previous findings and discussions; domestic responsibilities, marital status and children do not directly generate male preference tendency. The factor that generates reluctance is employers' being doubtful about young women's ability of balancing their domestic and job responsibilities. This doubt makes private questions an important part of job interviews. It is the reflection of the contradiction between gender-based division of labour and capitalist logic based on profit-making. However, women's high absentee rates or their difficulties in managing *double burden* can not be perceived as their own preference or failure. Rather, it should be considered as the reflection of unequal gender-based division of labour suppressing young women's employment and their possibility of holding a job. It also should be considered in relation to new-right logic embedded in public policy since 1980s. Another dimension of male preference is *maternity leave* which can be discussed in relation to absenteeism. According to young women, employers are reluctant to work with young married women due to the risks they carry in terms of pregnancy and getting maternity leave. Moreover, according to young women being pregnant, on its own, may become a reason of dismissal.

They do not want women-related problems to impede their job. Therefore, they prefer men workers. Think about it... I am a teacher and when I get assigned or get married or when I get pregnant, I will have to ask for maternal leave. Another teacher will be appointed to replace me temporarily. I don't know, in such situation my students will get into trouble because of me. This type of situation interrupts education. However, the private sector is much more ruthless. I have witnessed a few

times. There are women who got fired just because they got pregnant. Especially, I would like to underline that matter. It is really important for the way the employers consider women. (Ayşe, 23, Graduated from a university)

Supporting the arguments of Lordođlu & Minibaş (1999), the findings indicate that perceiving pregnancy and motherhood as a natural, inevitable result of marriage becomes disadvantage for young women who are in their reproductive and marriageable ages. In this line, although employers define pregnancy and maternity leave as a right and a natural process, they hesitate to work with young women.

In the simplest term, they have a maternity leave period of 8 weeks before they gave birth and another 8 weeks after the birth. The women who gave birth to a child can get leave without pay for 6 months. What are employers going to do in that period of leave? I personally think that this period is natural and the employers have to bear it somehow. But, again what employers are going to do during the period. If the post of the women might tolerate this situation there is no problem. But for some companies and firms it is difficult to tolerate because it is really tough thing to do. Therefore, a question mark appears in the employer's mind during the recruitment period. (Firm 10, Insulating Material Production and Marketing)

Having child is a holy thing. But what I am saying is that I pay for them and expect a good performance from them. This is nothing to do with emotions. For instance, I pay TL 2 for a bottle to be mine and expect full performance from it. My expectation from the bottle is it to contain mineral water and to be glass. It is written 250 mlt on it, if turns out to be 50 mlt or contain water instead of mineral water then it means I got nothing in return. Just the same situation. I pay them a wage and their insurance in the end. I pay all those money to get service in return but when they get maternal leave, either 3 months or 4 mounths, I face with performance loss. The maternal leave is a great expense. I know the government undertakes most of the materal leave expense. But we still pay part of their wages. I don't have to pay for someone who isn't working. Since, I am obliged to carry on with one less worker here. Since, I am working with 15 workers in here and they are working in shifts, one less labor means a great loss for me. (Firm 1, Restaurant)

In accordance with the studies of Eyübođlu, Özar & Tanrıöver (2000), Glass & Kawachi (2005), as maternity leave imposes financial burden and obligates to work with a missing capacity, employers prefer to work with men workers. Especially in firms in which responsibilities/tasks are allocated equally, missing of one person retards workload and in that condition maternity leave is perceived much more prohibitive by employers. Basically, as employers consider absenteeism, maternity leave, workplace nursery and lactation room obligations and extra recruitment cost in case of young women's leaving their jobs, young women who are in their reproductive ages and who are perceived as potential mothers and wives are experiencing the most severest form of discrimination. In line with the discussions

in 5.2.3.1 and 5.3.4, especially workplace nursery and lactation room obligations are identifiers of expensiveness of young women's labour or employer's reluctance towards working with young women.

The financial obligation brought by recruitment of women workers might not be a big issue for big companies. However for small-scaled companies its' burden might be felt heavily. (Firm 6, Pharmaceutical Industry and Representation)

The obligation of opening a kindergarden and breast-feeding room may bring a great burden to the companies but we don't have such a problem. Especially for the big-scaled companies, opening such rooms might not be a problem at all, but for the others it causes some trouble. (Firm 14, Telecommunication Operator Service and Marketing)

In the light of the discussions in 4.2.3.1 and 4.3.4, although employers argue that daily nursery and lactation room obligations do not generate a problem for biggest firms and create discriminatory employment practices, the low numbers of workplace nurseries in Turkey, employers' tendency of keeping the numbers of women workers under determined number, the subjective questions put to young women in recruitment process, on the other hand, government's recent regulation about workplace nurseries, identification of workplace nurseries and lactation rooms with number of "women" workers indicate employers' and state's drawback from these obligations and reflect the invisible handshake between neo-liberalism/new- right and patriarchy. Furthermore, in the light of the discussions in 4.2.2.2, as unemployment is discussed through labour costs or flexibility/deregulation in Turkey, employers' insightful approach to the issue is not persuasive. Indeed, findings reveal that employers in feminized sectors acknowledge expensiveness of female labour. But, they argue that expensiveness is tolerated since the production process relies on female labour force.

It won't be a problem for us because we have to recruit women workers. Comparing with the men workers, the women workers' may be more expensive. But we are not giving up recruiting women workers. I really don't know whether we just respect to gender equality or we just need women's labour. We have to work with women in textile sector and we should consider the income we gain at the end of the day. (Firm 13, Textile and Retailing).

Another important dimension of male preference is young women's long unemployment durations. Supporting the statistics examined in 3.6, unemployment durations of young women, especially educated ones, are very long. Indeed, in the light of the findings, amongst 32 young women; 20 of them have been unemployed for one year or more than one year, 8 of them for 1-6 months and 4 of them for 6-12 months. Furthermore, 9 of 17 young women

who have been unemployed for at least one year are graduated from secondary school and remaining 8 young women are graduated from university. Supporting the studies of Russell & Connell (2001) and Tansel & Taşçı (2004), the length of the unemployment duration is used by employers as a signal of the quality of the employee which makes it harder for unemployed, especially young women unemployed, to escape from unemployment.

Long term unemployment, of course, causes suspicion. Frankly, I don't prefer the one who have stayed at home for so long. I prefer to work with active persons. I question the candidate who kept away from working environment for 1 year or longer. Because the one being away from work for long period may lose its abilities. (Firm 16, Telecommunication Material Production and Marketing)

Employers' way of approaching long unemployment duration is in accordance with the findings about re-employment challenge of young women, examined in 5.3.2. As supporting the study of Du & Dong (2008), although unemployment durations of young men are also long, the factor that makes young women disadvantaged is its being interpreted as sign of selectivity and low work-commitment.

Frankly, it makes me think about that. Is this person too selective, cannot she find what she wants or is this the way she generally behaves like? There are some candidates who made job seeking as a job for themselves. (Firm 2, Glass Material Production)

However, in line with the arguments of Çınar (1974), Ecevit (2008) and Gürsel, Güner & Darbaz (2009), it should be interpreted as a signal of gender-based discrimination in recruitment process or young women's difficulty in finding a job. In contrast to the premises of Preference Theory, young women's longer durations of unemployment can not be considered as their preference, low working desire or work commitment. The factor longer their unemployment duration is the invisible handshake between capitalism and patriarchy generating a difficulty in finding a job fitting with patriarchal working criteria and capitalist priorities, discussed in 5.3.3.

Basically, findings reveal that employers' employment practices reproduce or strengthen gender-based division of labour rather than challenging it. It is because of the fact that the articulation between capitalism and patriarchy and young women's positioning in it is in the interest of capital, state and the men in the household. On the other hand, findings reveal that young women's and employers' priorities in the labour market are contradicting. This contradiction leads to segmentation and crowding of young women in particular parts of labour market. Indeed, in the existence of employment creation challenge, this segmentation

and crowding increases young women's unemployment rates and decreases their job opportunities, detailed in the following subsection.

5.6 Gender-Based Segregation , Crowding and Unemployment

Findings examined in 5.3.3 and 5.5 point at a contradiction between young women's job priorities against patriarchy and employers neo-liberal priorities. This contradiction makes women's labour being excluded from and segregated and crowded into some sectors, occupations and jobs in the labour market which suppresses young women's employment chances and job opportunities. As argued by young women, women's systematic exclusion from some parts of labour market is based on patriarchal ideological separation of sectors, occupations and jobs as men's and women's within the scope of gender-based division of labour.

Especially in our society women are seen from a different perspective. My uncle's wife was a crane operator in Germany and retired there. She can be a crane operator in Turkey now. However they won't recruit you as a crane operator in here. It is my dream to be a police officer and I really work hard for it. However they only take on 305 women beside 6100 men. The number, at least, should be 1000. Even 1000 is inadequate but 305 is totally a joke. I am even alright to go to East part of Turkey. For instance, they can form a group of one man and woman or two women and one man for a police round. We all came from the same condition in the end. In similar, they heavily take on men in military services. I wonder why not women! Of course, everyone's capacity is different, but still they had better give more weight to the women. They always talk about the equality of the man and woman but there is not such an equality. (Hazel, 20, Graduated from a vocational college)

Actually I wanted to be a locksmith. My husband told me that they were looking for a man with high school graduation. Then I decided to go to attend a certification program but I couldn't do it as I received a treatment for 6 months. In fact, being a chauffer is good too. They don't take on women because they think that women cannot do it. We own an electric shop and we also make keys in there. I am in charge sometimes. Let me tell you something. A man comes and asks for his key to be copied. I tell him okay and ask, "*How many copy do you want?*" He directly ask me "*is there anyone else in the shop*" because he thinks that I won't be able to do it. I told him "*if I wasn't able to do, I wouldn't be here*". I really got mad the other day. I told him "*why you consider the women as useless in some occasions*", and added "*I get water from a flint*". He got his keys done but he said "*I will bring it back if it fails to unlock*". I told him to bring it back if anything like that happens and I promised him to give 10 more keys free of charge. I also gave him my business card but never had a phone call from him. Our people underestimate the value of women. They only consider the women with their physical beauty. According to them, the women get married, perform housework and cook. On the other hand the men can do anything because they are strong and brave fellows. (Zümrit, 22, Graduated from a vocational high school)

As supporting the argument of Walby (1990), gender-based division of labour sets up barriers to young women's entry in some parts of labour market. These barriers segregate labour market in compliance with men's and women's jobs. Indeed, unequal gender-based division of labour designates appropriate places for young women in the labour market in which they are not challenging the interests of capital, state and the man in the household.

It seems as if the opportunities of men are more. For instance, a woman cannot work in auto industry. I can tell you many other sectors in which the women have no place at all. Since those sectors appeal to the men, women's share from the cake is getting less and less. On the other hand, this is the way how I am brought up. The crane operator is a man, the nurse is a woman. I cannot be a crane operator. It is against my nature. The wage is important for me but I cannot be a crane operator anyway. (Merve, 24, Graduated from high school)

In line with Bergmann's crowding model (1974), the side effect of this process is young women's restrained employment chances and high unemployment rates among them. Furthermore, in the light of Ferber & Lowry's argument (1976), high unemployment rates and poor employment creation performance of implemented economic policies since 1980s intensifies the level of crowding and makes unemployment as a can of worms for young women. However, in contrast to Bergmann's model, in which crowding is leaned on employers' choices and discriminatory practices against women, findings of this study indicate that young women's crowding or being segregated into limited numbers of sectors, occupations and jobs can not be examined through employers discriminatory practices in recruitment process. Rather, in reference to model of the study, employers in recruitment process, state in regulations, families by socialization and permission mechanisms and young women, indirectly, by their job seeking, finding and accepting practices reproduce crowding and segregation and retrains young women's employment changes in the labour market.

5.6.1 In Pursuit of Job Priorities against Patriarchy

One of the most important dimensions of segregation is *job priorities against patriarchy*. Findings reveal that one of the features making a job women's is offered working conditions' compatibility with young women's job priorities examined in 5.3.3. Findings indicate that apart from employers' discriminatory gendered employment practices, young women's job seeking, finding and accepting processes in pursuit of patriarchal job priorities contributes to their segmentation and crowding in women's jobs and fosters their unemployment rates. However, young women's being in pursuit of patriarchal job priorities can not be interpreted as their own preferences. Rather, complementing the examinations in

5.4, both their job priorities and job preferences are the reflections of patriarchal bell jar guaranteed by mechanisms of permission and consent. In line with the studies of Ecevit (1998) and Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver (2000), young women's job preferences are also the reflection of young women's and young men's being canalized into different jobs by their families. For instance, with respect to findings, 4 of 32 young women, unemployed teachers, state that their employment opportunities are limited by their job priorities and the reason of their being teacher or being canalized into teachership by their families is provided working conditions of teachership meeting those priorities.

Women apply for a number of jobs but their options are not as much as the options that men have. Their space is a little narrower because there are always factors that have to be considered by the women like of employer, job and working conditions. The main factor that I have decided to become a teacher is the similar thoughts. To work half day and sparing the rest for myself is a good option because it is not taken kindly to see a woman outside as of a certain time of the day. All these factors such as working until late nights or sharing a working environment with several men are effective factors. The woman working in pharmacy and the other one working in a bar as a waitress are considered differently by the people. (Ayşe, 23, Graduated from a university)

The variety of jobs that women can perform is restricted. For instance, my father directed me to become a teacher because he thought that it is a job well suited to a woman. Its working hours is quite appropriate for a woman as it give chance of sparing enough time for herself and her family and domestic chores. (Funda2, 24, Graduated from a university)

As supporting the studies of Demirel et al. (1998) and Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver (2000), young women's job preferences do not challenge patriarchal ideological separation of men's and women's jobs and they generally search for *office jobs* composed of secretariat, accountancy, banking, computer programmer, teachership, computer-based designer, baby-sitter, cleaner, tea-maker, sales consultant with respect to their educational level. Supporting the arguments of Ecevit (1998) and Türk-İş Report (2005), findings also reveal that young women's having relatively high human capital does not break their '*women's job preference*'.

I think that young men have more job opportunities. They consider that they can do every job. The young women are more selective. For example, a boy friend of ours has become a policeman and he dispensed with appointed as a teacher. Men may directly change their professions. They may be appointed as other kinds of officials. On the other hand, I think that I will be a better mother if I am a teacher. My holidays, shifts are appropriate to me. I will work between 09:00 – 17:00. But the private sector expects me to work until 22:00. Under these conditions, I think that I will not be a good mother and wife. Many women think like this. They are selective. But the conditions are not so important for men. (Funda2, 24, Graduated from a university)

Although young women do not challenge patriarchal barriers by their job preferences, it is still very hard for them to find a job due to the mismatch between job priorities against patriarchy and offered working conditions in private sector. It can be argued that the more the economy and regulations of state follow neo-liberal premises, the less the young women have chance of finding proper employment opportunities in private sector. Moreover, when general employment creation challenge of economy comes together with job priorities against patriarchy, young women become the most vulnerable parts of unemployed population. On the other hand, even if young women are ready to accept all conditions in the private sector, the labour market does not call for young women's labour due to absence of job opportunities

In the light of the findings, one of the side-effect of this contradiction is young women's reckoning upon public jobs. In contrast to the studies of Demirel et al. (1999) and Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver (2000), findings reveal that young women (20 of 32 young women), especially high educated ones, prefer public jobs because such jobs provide working conditions meeting their human capital-based and gender-based job priorities: regular and definite working hours, social insurance, workplace nursery opportunities, job security and desk-jobs, examined in 5.3.3. These priorities are decent job priorities. Young men and other people in the labour market are also in pursuit of these decent working conditions. However, the point in here is that those job priorities are also gendered because these working conditions provide a chance to women, already excluded from decent employment opportunities in the labour market, for solving the contradiction between their job priorities and offered working conditions in the private sector. Accordingly, as emphasized in 5.3, young women's duration of unemployment's intertwining with KPSS preparation process confirms their public job preference.

We would like to be sure of ourselves. In public sector, your rights, shifts and leaves are certain. You have a weekend holiday. Nobody is entitled to hire you additionally. If they do, they have to pay your overtime payment. In addition, the women may have their legal maternity leaves, medical reports and rights. They do not ask *where I am* as I have a medical report or I am on a maternity leave. But in private sector these are not available. For example, one of my friends underwent operation. The physician delivered 20 days of relaxation leave, but my friend only used 1 week of this leave. She continued to work under hard conditions. But in public sector, this is a right for you. But, on the other hand, the public sector is under the privatization, so the reliability of the public sector was decreased. (Duygu, 24, Graduated from a university)

Of course, public sector. Because it is secure. In a bank environment for example, if your chief does not like you, it means you are under threat.

This is frequently seen especially among the women workers, but it is not valid in public sector. (Hazel, 20, Graduated from a vocational college)

In the light of the findings, public jobs are more attractive especially for married young women and young mothers because such jobs enable them to balance their domestic and job responsibilities. As seen in Gamze's experience, when a young woman does not solve child-care problem by individually or by the help of other women, employers' and state's reluctance towards providing workplace nurseries and the expensiveness of private daily nurseries obligate this young mother to search for public jobs.

I do not work in private sector. I would like to work in public sector, or other similar sectors. Because in public sector the shifts are certain and you have weekends. Now, nobody cares my children, and the private sector offers only 600-700 TRL at most per month. In this case, I need to leave my child to a kindergarten and I need to consider expenses of transportation, food and daily nursery. These will take all my wage. In that conditions, I am considering whether working is a good idea or not. But in public sector, the children are cared by the public kindergartens, which is more advantageous. (Gamze, 23, Graduated from a high school)

Furthermore, findings reveal that public jobs' providing job security and social insurance make young women's working more acceptable for families and husbands. In the light of the findings it can be said that job security and social insurance may bend the patriarchal job priorities both for young women and families.

My objective is to be a state official. If I will be employed in public sector, I will have a good future, and will not be afraid of being displaced. (Azime, 23, Graduated from a vocational college)

I am seeking for jobs in the borders of Ankara. But it is interesting that I will be appointed to a different city if I pass KPSS exam and my family will let me go. Since, they think that I will be employed by the state, so my life is under the guarantee of the state. They do not have any criteria for public jobs. (Berna, 22, Graduated from a vocational college)

However, public sector does/will no longer provide employment opportunities to unemployed population, especially for young women. It is due to the fact that structural adjustment process and related policies are based on reducing the size of public sector and expanding private sector as argued by Miles (2002), Mitra & Singh (2006), Du & Dong (2008). In accordance with the argument of Miles (2002), the process is more hurtful for educated young women pinning their faith upon KPSS exam. In this context, supporting the crowding model examined in 2.4.3, findings indicate that the hostility against young women in private sector, the reduction in the numbers of public jobs and the poor employment creation performance of implemented policies restrain young women's employment

opportunities, make them crowding into few number of jobs and increase their unemployment rates.

Young women's public job preference is confirmed by employers as well. Supporting the findings in 5.3.3, according to employers young women's difficulty in finding a job in private sector is not an outcome of their discriminative practices and job creation, rather, an outcome of young women's selectivity or dislike for the jobs. Employers argue that although they would like to work with young women, young women, themselves, do not apply to job vacancies and even if they apply, they give negative response to the job offer and do not accept offered working conditions in private sector.

Those young women employed in private sector do not carry their problems with them. Others leave from their jobs within few months due to working conditions. Young women are very interested in working from 09:00 to 17:00, sitting, shopping, caring children freely as available in public sector. (Firm 15, Construction and Petrol Station)

According to young women, the job should not be so far, it should start at 09:00 and finish at 18:00. But it is impossible in private sector. Therefore, it is normal for them to seek a job in the public sector. Public sector is unable to employ whole of them. But it is difficult for them to find a job in private sector with their expectations. (Firm 7, Project development based Construction Engineering)

Despite employers acknowledge the inconsistency between offered working conditions in private sector and expectations of young women, they approach it in a gender-blind perspective and perceive these expectations as signals of disliking a job and being selective. However, in contrast to the premises of preference theory, the contradiction between young women's job priorities and working conditions in private sector is not an outcome of young women's selectivity or low work commitment. Rather, the main underlying reasons of the rejection and elimination rely on patriarchal limits determined by gender-based division of labour. In other words, as supported by the findings, places in labour market are both determined and filled by patriarchy (Hartmann, 1990; Fine, 1992) and its articulation with capitalism.

5.6.2 Invisible Handshake of Neo-Liberal Capitalism and Patriarchy

In the light of the findings in 5.6.1, young women's being in pursuit of job priorities against patriarchy obligates them to be more selective and rejective, makes them crowding into some parts of labour market and narrows their employment chances. However, even if young women challenge these patriarchal barriers and are poised for accepting all working

conditions required by the job, the gatekeepers of labour market, employers, will block of young women's working in jobs and levels of jobs reserved for men. In this context, in accordance with the premises of occupational segregation theory, the outcome of young women's exclusion is their segregation in labour market both horizontally and vertically (Hartmann, 1990; Ecevit, 1990,1998; Rees, 1992; Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver, 2000; Abbott, Wallace & Tyler, 2005; Bolcan, 2006). Findings indicate young women's exclusion from production process and field works and being located in desk-jobs, the most appropriate places for them.

We are working in the heavy industrial sector, and now the numbers of women in the field are zero. We do not consider working with them. Why? This is biologically not compatible with the women. It is a heavy and grind job. It is a male environment. We only employ women in office environment such as in accounting department. We unfortunately do not consider that woman shall be employed in the field even if she is an engineer. (Firm 3, Ship Building)

We are also manufacturing. But, we have no women staff in the department of manufacture. There are women in positions such as manager assistant, accountant assistant and IT assistant in centre. On the other hand, we have no woman staff in distribution and marketing departments as well. (Firm 8, Lighting Material Production and Marketing)

In my own sector, the rates of women to all other workers are 11%. But if we exclude the blue collar workers, this rate reaches to more than 25%. No women workers are available in the manufacturing site. They are generally employed in the quality control Lab, accounting department, call center and reception. It is difficult for us to employ women in production process. Since we generally prefer that our staff is graduated from vocational high schools and two year vocational high schools. But the numbers of women graduated from such departments and schools are limited. (Firm 10, Insulating Material Production & Marketing)

Young women's exclusion from production process is mainly based on usage of machines in production. As women are generally considered as persons standing aloof from mechanical, technical knowledge and education and as technical knowledge is perceived as the master of men, young women are excluded from machine-based production process. On the other hand, as supporting the studies of Elson & Pearson (1981), Ecevit (1998), Moghadam (1999), even if they are employed in production, they do repetitive, tedious, monotonous manual jobs such as wrapping, shelling, cleaning and etc requiring so-called feminine qualities of docility, discipline and manual dexterity.

Women are not employed directly in manufacturing. They are generally employed in the packaging. Because machines used in liquid and solid production are generally operated by men workers and this requires a man

power. On the other hand, women are employed in light duties in production process requiring manual dexterity or they can be employed as cleaner. I am talking about blue-collars. On the other hand, if we consider white-collars, quality control lab is full of women workers. It is a feminine job and environment. They work in a clean, stable and individual environment. They may be also employed in accounting and human resources departments. (Firm 6, Pharmaceutical Industry and Representation)

I worked in a food sector. In this sector, women are frequently employed in the cleaning departments, but men in the packaging. Since, some machines are used for packaging and it includes some small work accident risks. Women do not want to work in this job. On the other hand, employers also do not want to take this responsibility. Since, women are not as careful as men. (Firm 3, Ship Building)

In this context, as supporting the study of Ecevit (1998), in spite of their being cheap and flexible labour, employers are the bearers and reproducers of patriarchal pre-conceptions, job priorities against patriarchy or gender-based division of labour and try to place young women to appropriate places in the labour market with regards to these patriarchal prejudices. This makes it impossible to explain young women's unemployment by solely capitalism. As mentioned above, the separation between men's and women's job obligates young women to be stalemated in feminized parts of labour market and compete for limited employment opportunities. However, young women's position in feminized parts of labour market is unpromising. Complementing the studies of Elson & Pearson (1981), high unemployment rates, poverty and economic crisis make young men accept women's jobs. Moreover, if it is considered that feminization of labour force and service sector have not experienced in Turkey, men's positive approach towards women's jobs restrain young women job opportunities and employment chances in service sector.

The economic crisis become chronic. Men and women start to do same jobs. For example, men may be employed in underwear depts in a store. If they do not, the employer demands this. But in previous periods, this was not in that way. When we saw a man in underwear dept, for example, my grandmother showed reluctance towards buying something from there. On the other hand, maybe some men do not want to work in a heavy job. They may not want to carry something. In that case, it is not important for them to be employed in women's jobs as they have a job. (Zümrüt, 22, Graduated from a vocational high school)

It is the reflection of the fact that all jobs are men's job in the labour market. Because the primary labour force in the labour market is male labour force and their unemployment can not be tolerated. As supporting Bergmann's crowding model (1974), findings reveal that in the existence of high unemployment rates, segregation and crowding reduces the demand for young female labour and obligate young women to be unemployed or accept unsecure,

informal, secondary or flexible employment patterns which generates another kind of segregation. In the light of Marxist Feminist and Socialist Feminist premises, employers do not hesitate to discriminate against young women and to be favour in maintaining the superiority of men over women as young women are still able to contribute to employers' surplus inside of the household by their reproductive responsibilities, as reserve army of unemployed young women suppresses labour's rights in the labour market, and finally, as gender-based occupational segregation renders exploitation of female labour.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter focuses on revealing patriarchal capitalist nature of labour-capital matching process representing an employment bargain between young women's labour and capital. Young women and employers enter an employment bargain through their priorities derived from the articulation between capitalism and patriarchy. Their priorities are contradicting priorities. The contradiction between gender based division of labour and profit-making logic of capitalism or the mismatch between young women's job priorities and offered working conditions in the private sector generates gender based segmentation of young women in particular parts of labour market. However, this segregation can not save young women from unemployment. Because, this contradiction also generates crowding of young women in these particular parts due to employment creation challenge of implemented economic policies since 1980s. Indeed, the gender based crowding of young women restricts their employment changes, increases unemployment rates among them -especially among educated ones having human capital-based job expectations and gendered job priorities- and obligates them to accept flexible, informal, unsecure employment patterns. Findings indicate that although young women are well aware of their vulnerable and restricted position in labour market, they have no alternative than being in pursuit of job priorities reproduced and protected by family, husband, neighbourhood, employers, and compulsorily by themselves. Because, at the end this contradiction becomes an articulation and the patriarchal capitalist system maintains and reproduces itself by these contradicting priorities guaranteeing the dominance of male and capital both in public and private sphere.

CHAPTER 6

INSTITUTIONAL BASES OF YOUNG WOMEN'S UNEMPLOYMENT

6.1 Introduction

Reasons and characteristics of young women's unemployment can not solely be examined within the borders of labour - capital matching process. Young women's unemployment is a structural problem, and therefore, the reasons of young women's unemployment and the decisive role of institutions on it can not be exhibited adequately without discussing patriarchal capitalist practices and applications of institutions. Moreover, approaching young women's unemployment in an institutional manner makes it possible to place subject to its social-political context and saves it from the misperception in which all responsibility is laided on young women's and employers' shoulders. Indeed, as examined in chapter 5, labour capital matching process is over and above young women's job seeking, finding and accepting and, employers' hiring and firing practices. In this context, this chapter questions patriarchal reasons of young women's unemployment in job seeking process, human capital discussions, macro- economic policies and debates, state's and family's approach to young women's unemployment and malestream configuration of trade unions.

6.2 Gendered Job Seeking Process

In the light of the findings, one of the important dimension of young women's unemployment and their long durations of unemployment is the way they seek for a job, the networks they depend on and the mechanisms and tools they employ in their job seeking process. According to employers, the underlying reason of young women's being unable to find a proper job for themselves is the fact that they are more passive job seekers than young men.

A man has to seek a job. But the women are more passive seekers, because they may not apply to all job advertisements they find in a newspaper. They need to have references, they may not know where they will go for job interview or they may have familial or other similar reasons. (Firm 13, Textile and Retailing)

As supporting the study of Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver (2000), findings confirm that young women are passive job seekers. However, findings also point at its patriarchal nature and

indicate that the fact that young women are passive job seekers is not an outcome of their own preferences, low working desire or levity about job seeking. Rather, it should be interpreted as the reflection of their being kept at a distance from active job seeking by patriarchal restrictions. Indeed, in the light of the findings, young women's disadvantaged position in job seeking process is based on their restricted relations with public sphere where jobs and job informations concentrate in.

Men may easily apply to all kinds of jobs or they may easily enter and leave different places. I myself, for example, do not prefer to enter into a building alone which seems unreliable from its outer surface. I am scared of being exposed to unwanted behaviours which may occur in such a place. What can I do if someone locks the door? (Funda2, 24, Graduated from a University)

A man may directly go to job interviews. However, as a female, I am questioning whether I should go there or not. For example, the location is of great importance. I am calling the location first; for example, if it is located in Ostim, I do not go there. I am anxious about going there as the men population is relatively high in that place. Because I do not trust people. On the other hand, a man is free to go to such places and easily make his job interview and come back. (Filiz, 23, Graduated from a High School)

In this context, findings indicate that one dimension that keeps young women apart from active job seeking is their *fear of being exposed to unwanted behaviours* generally coming from men. Supporting the argument of Abbott, Wallace and Tyler (2005), it is the reflection of young women's pre-estimations about their actions to minimise the possibility of violence or sexual attack that restricts their job seeking practices. Moreover, it can be also interpreted as male control over job opportunities and women's relations with public sphere as mentioned by Mackinnon (1987) and Ramazanoğlu (1989). When a young woman begins to seek for a job and job vacancies, their possibility of applying for them and going interviews depend on where they will go, at what time and to whom they will talk. Apart from the fear of being exposed to danger, in the light of the findings, another important factor restricting young women's job seeking is their *domestic responsibilities*. Indeed, as supporting the study of Hirata & Senotier (1997), especially married young women's and young mothers' domestic and caring responsibilities suppress the time and energy devoted to job seeking.

As my child is so little, it is hard for me to seek a job. I actually know that it will be easier for me a few years later. She will go to a kindergarten or my parents will look after her. Then, I may find a job easily. It is hard to seek a job when you are a mother or married. Particularly when the husband is so jealous as mine. He even gets angry with me when I come here, I even uneasily got the permission to come here. (Burcu, 22, Graduated from a high school)

A mother may not entrust her child to anybody. For example, I may not leave my child to my husband because men may not care the children. Moreover, the responsibilities of the house such as cooking are loaded to women. Therefore, men have more advantages compared to the women when seeking a job. (Azime, 23, Graduated from a two year Vocational high school)

As I am a mother, I may not freely seek a job by having a look at advertisements or I can not apply for those jobs on the newspapers when my son is at home. But a man may seek from advertisement to advertisement, he may search via internet, he may have a look at newspapers...Men have more advantages. (Gamze, 23, Graduated from a High School)

In this context, if it is considered that they have children in pre-school ages, findings also signalize that young women are in need of someone that they can consign their children to seek for a job freely. Eventually, in the light of the findings, the contradiction amongst gender-based division of labour, namely the determined patriarchal rules of young women's relations with public sphere and active job seeking requiring mobility, time, energy and money restrict young women's job seeking practices, their possibility of finding a job and extend their durations of unemployment. Accordingly, in order to examine patriarchal bases of young women's job seeking process, employed job seeking mechanisms, tools, social networks and contact persons should be discussed more deeply.

6.2.1 Employed Job Seeking Tools: Being in Favour of *Kith and Kins*

In the light of the discussions in 4.4.3, the disadvantaged or restricted position of young women in job seeking process becomes much more clear when employed job searching tools are examined. In accordance with the studies of Çabuk (1999), Demirel & et al. (1999), Eyüboğlu, Tanrıöver & Özar (2000), Bolcan (2006) and Du& Dong (2008) and statistics, findings reveal that although young women employ more than one job searching tool, their job seeking process, especially poorly educated ones' job seeking process, relies heavily on their kith and kins. Moreover, as supporting the findings of Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver (2000), although high level of education increases young women's chance of benefitting from different job searching mechanisms and tools, it does not challenge the dominance of kith and kins in job seeking process, detailed in 6.2.2.

One dimension of young women's job seeking is to follow job vacancies from *newspapers* and *internet*. Findings indicate that internet is used especially by educated young women because it requires an access or a connection to internet and an ability or a knowledge of

using a computer. According to findings, only nearly half of young women (14 of 32 young women) are able to use internet to follow job vacancies. Moreover, those young women seeking by internet consider it as an effective job searching channel for themselves and employers.

An employer thinks that if s/he releases a job advertisement in a newspaper, many people may not see it as the numbers of persons buying newspaper is low. But in the internet, many people click on the links and the employers are free to see the photos, educational backgrounds, qualifications and experiences of applicants. It is easy for them. Otherwise, they have to answer many phone calls in a day. They prefer this, so we are directed to using it, as well. (Özlem, 24, Graduated from a University)

I never attempted to seek a job that I found in a newspaper advertisement. I am always following the advertisements on internet. The advertisements in the newspapers are deceptive. And as the internet is accessible now, the newspapers are not preferred for job advertisements by employers. There are some career sites in which we are able to publish our resumes, and apply for the most appropriate advertisements we prefer. (Duygu 24, Graduated from a University)

With respect to young women's statements, employing internet as a job searching tool provides flexibility to employers and young women. Young women's being able to see TOR and working conditions of the job, and the employers' being able to see qualifications of applicants before coming face to face save time and energy. In this context, as using internet as a job searching channel has been increasing day by day, many young women's being unable to use internet for job searching restricts their access to informations about better job opportunities and limits their employment chances.

On the other hand, findings indicate that following job advertisement on newspapers is not as widespread as thought. With respect to young women's statements, the factors making young women distant from employing newspapers as a job searching tool are their previous negative experiences. These experiences generate mistrust on vacancies on newspapers.

The job advertisements on newspapers do actually not attract me. I may not rely on them. You see a job advertisement on newspaper, when you arrive there, you realize that it is a disgusting place. I experienced and witnessed this once or twice. I went to Sihhiye for a job interview. It is not an office, but not a house, a man was sitting on the table. I asked the work and he said that I would answer the telephone calls but the telephone did not ring. Interestingly, they were looking for a woman worker. I do not rely on newspapers. (Gamze, 23, Graduated from a high school)

I occasionally was looking for jobs on newspapers. One of the job advertisements, it was written that a woman secretary was needed to the

real estate agency. It was also mentioned that the wage was quite high. I asked my mother and we called it. The man said that he was residing in Ankara Hotel and told me to meet there. I asked whether he had a permanent office. The man said that he was always travelling and he preferred to stay with his secretary. I only said “have a nice day” and ended the call. (Merve, 24, Graduated from a vocational high school)

I frequently seek the advertisements on the newspapers but my father accompanies me when I going to interviews. Since, when you call the advertisement, employers may ask your weight or length. I witnessed this before and I responded him whether he looked for a model or a sales consultant to a telephone agency. When my father heard this, he got the telephone from me and they argued. My father does not enforce me, I asked him to come with me, because I was afraid. (Hazel, 20, Graduated from a vocational collage)

Although it can not be generalized that all job vacancies on newspapers bring risk of exposing to unwanted behaviours, these negative experiences make young women keep themselves away from using newspapers as a job searching tool. This can be also interpreted as one of the reasons of young women’s being reckon upon their kith and kins in job seeking process. Furthermore, findings reveal that mistrust on newspapers makes men (father, husband, boy friend) a part of job seeking process. However, according to young women, although they are obligated to go to job interviews with a man because they are scared of being exposed to danger, employers think negatively on this situation and denounce them for being diffident.

I occasionally go to job interviews with my husband. The newspapers are especially not reliable. In job interviews to which I went with my husband, the employers asked if he is my husband. When I said “*yes, he is my husband*”, they got angry. They told me they would re-call, but they did not. (Didem, Graduated from a vocational college)

Newspapers are not reliable. When somebody accompanies you, they think that you are not a self confident person and they eliminate you in the first place. I went my first job interview with my father since it was my first interview and I was afraid. However, employer said that I would have to go alone. According to him, I disclosed my passivity and diffidence by going there with my father. (Filiz, 23, Graduated from a High School)

On the other hand, young women’s emphasis on employers’ frowning on their coming interviews with a man is confirmed by employers. Indeed, with respect to the statements of employers, when a young woman comes to a job interview with a man, they eliminate this young woman at the begining because it is considered as a signal of diffidence and lack of confidence.

I think that those applicants accompanied by other persons do not have self confidence. I may understand when they come with their fathers. But they sometimes come with their boyfriends and they are waiting here for hours. (Firm 15, Construction & Petrol Station)

I am seeking for a secretary for a long time. I interviewed with an applicant just before you. She came with her father. Her father examined the environment and answered the questions that I asked her. She was 30 and would be employed in the first time. My husband intervened to interview from his office inside, and said that *Mr. gentleman, not you but your daughter would be employed*. Our financial consultant will recall and if her father does not approve, she will not come. She studies in the Open Education Faculty. She was graduated from a university but tries to be graduated from a 4 year faculty. But, she does not reject her father's intervention. (Firm 7, Project development based Construction Engineering)

I am very interested in employing women, nevertheless, they are coming to the interviews with their boyfriends, and even sometimes their boyfriends are speaking on their behalf. Those coming with their boyfriends have especially disadvantages. Those young women are over their 18. If they do not rely on themselves, how will they be successful in the business life. (Firm 5, Hotel/Lodging Industry)

In line with the findings, men's intervention to job seeking process can not be interpreted as a signal of young women's diffidence or lack of confidence. Indeed, in accordance with the argument of Abbott, Wallace and Tyler (2005), it should be considered as a reflection of young women's effort to save themselves from being exposed to unwanted behaviours. Moreover, in line with the findings of European Survey on Working Conditions (2007), especially young women's being mostly at the risk of exposing sexual harassment justifies young women's chary. On the other side, as supporting the findings of Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver (2000), men's involvement in job seeking process become a mechanism reproducing fathers, husbands or boyfriends *so-called* right to commend on young women's decision-making about an offered job. It also functions as a mechanism guaranteeing job priorities against patriarchy - examined in 5.4- and restricting young women's job searching and finding possibility.

Another important job searching tool is *official channels*. In line with the findings of Çabuk (1999), Demirel et al. (1999), Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver (2000) and statistics, examined in 4.2.2.1 and 4.4.3, young women's employment of İŞKUR as a job searching tool is very limited. In the context of this study, only 20 young women have applied İŞKUR for job seeking. Moreover, findings reveal that İŞKUR was not their first door knocked for a job. Indeed, young women generally apply İŞKUR after trying other job searching tools and they do not give up searching by others completely. This can be interpreted as non-institutionalized configuration of job seeking in Turkey. It also leads someone to think about its effectiveness.

In Turkey, unemployment problem is approached through Active Labour Market Policies. As discussed in 4.2.2.1, these policies are reduced to vocational training courses in Turkey provided by İŞKUR to improve employability, marketability and human capital of unemployed persons. In line with the findings, a considerable amount of young women express a positive opinion about İŞKUR's vocational training courses and believe that received certificates will be useful and helpful for finding a job.

I think this course will positively contribute to my job seeking process. My profession is also based on computer... Fullness of my CV may get employers' attention. (Azime, 23, Graduated from a vocational college, Trainee in İSKUR Autocad Course)

I believe that this course will be helpful in my job seeking process. It will be on my CV and this can be useful for me. (Berna, 22, Graduated from a vocational college, Trainee in İSKUR Computer Programming Course)

However, findings also reveal that although certificates and courses are perceived useful and helpful in terms of gaining additional skills and qualifications that can be offerable to employers, İŞKUR is not considered as an effective institution by young women with regards to employment. In other words, although young women are hopeless about İŞKUR's possibility of finding a job for themselves, they apply İŞKUR and attend these courses to benefit from unemployment insurance, certificates and the small amount of money paid to course attendees.

The objective of my application to İSKUR is to receive the unemployment compensation after being made redundant. I have no hope that İSKUR will find me a suitable job. I also do not think that İŞKUR is able to find jobs to someone. I solely applied to İSKUR due to unemployment insurance, Afterwards, I became aware of such courses and I came here. But I think that these courses are provided as a hush money since there is no job available. They are not functional. (Merve, 24, Graduated from a high school, Trainee in İSKUR Computer Programming Course)

Young women's mistrust on İŞKUR or emphasis on its failure in providing employment to young women is justified by statistics. The statistics introduced in 4.2.2.1, points at a contradiction between the numbers of young women participating and completing these courses and being employed. In line with the argument of Toksöz (2007), young women's disadvantaged position in these employment rates can be interpreted as the reflection of gender-blind approach of İŞKUR reproducing determined roles of young women in society in its offered programmes. Accordingly, it can be also interpreted as ineffectiveness of provided courses. Indeed, considering the areas of courses provided to young women (cosmetician expert course, baby-sitter course, computer programmer course, auto-cad

course, call-center customer services course), it is extremely outstanding that the young women are still directed to women's jobs by İŞKUR although the need for intermediate staff has repeatedly been expressed by employers especially for Turkey's changing role in new international division of labour. On the other hand, as supporting the arguments of Martin (1998), Kapar (2006), Erdayı (2009), young women consider these vocational training courses in relation to the employment opportunities in the labour market and they emphasize on the absence of job opportunities.

I just comment on the programming course; you need to spend at least 4-5 years for programming. You need to be trained from the very beginning. This is not easy with such a 2 month course. I sometimes think that they try to stall us with these courses. These courses are diversion tactics. However, it fits my purpose. Since, I participated in this course in order to meet my KPSS course installments. Otherwise I would not meet it. My financial conditions are not satisfactory but I have to go to course to be successful in the exam. I thought that İSKUR would deliver me a regular wage, and therefore I would give that wage to the KPSS course. Otherwise, such courses are deceptive. Many unemployed do their applications to İSKUR with various hopes. You are called and invited to a course. Interestingly, you think my travel costs will be met, a certificate will be issued and a job opportunity will be provided...This is not true. There are so many people graduated from universities. As far as I know, the BA/BS graduate rate in Turkey is 7% and 90% of this rate is unemployed. Therefore, it is not credible that you will find a job with a certificate provided by 2-3 month courses. (Gamze, 23, Graduated from a high school, Trainee in İSKUR Computer Programming Course)

In this context, vocational trainings and received certificates will remain as a lingering period or delaying tactics without considering high unemployment rates in respect of job creation challenge of economy. Young women's emphasis on job deficit also challenges the presumptions hitching unemployment on to young women's low human capital, as examined in 4.2.2.1 and 4.3.2. Findings indicate that young women's mistrust on İŞKUR's efficiency conducts them away from employing official job seeking channels and restricts their chance of finding a job. In this context, young women's difficulty in finding a job although they have certificates and trainings justifies Toksöz's (2007) emphasis on increasing the number of young women benefiting from employment-guaranteed vocational training courses and adoption of gender equality as a mainstreaming perspective in active labour market policies of İŞKUR.

6.2.2 Men as Gatekeepers of Labour Market: Having an Uncle

In line with the discussions in 6.2.1, young women's disadvantageousness in benefiting from different job searching tools effectively constrains or reduces their job seeking to kith and kins. Findings reveal that searching by kith and kins is considered as the most effective way of job seeking by young women.

I think relatives are much more effective in job seeking process...For example, with regards to the influential contact. (Ilkay, 20, Graduated from a vocational high school)

Actually, I am employing all kinds of tools. I am following the advertisements on newspapers and in internet. But when a relative is the mediator, it is easier to find a job. (Zehra, 22, Graduated from a University)

Statistics indicate that especially young people's job seeking relies on kith and kins. It is an unsurprising outcome of their inexperience and lack of social capital. It is also the reflection of the non-institutionalized configuration of job searching and the prevalence of *preferential treatment* in Turkey breaking employment's connection with objective criteria such as qualifications. However, young women's kith and kin-based job seeking does not imply that employing kith and kins as a job searching tool enables them to break cycle of unemployment or patriarchy. In line with the studies of Beck, Wagener & Grix (2005), Du & Dong (2008), young women's restricted relations with public sphere -with regards to gender-based division of labour- obstructs their access to social networks and their chances of investing on their social capital. On the other hand, it should not be ignored that those women are young and inexperienced. Accordingly, seeking by kith and kins does not increase young women's possibility of finding a job or being employed.

Findings reveal that the gatekeepers of labour market –the persons who would help young women to find a job and to access informations about jobs- are men. It is an unsurprising outcome of malestream configuration of labour market. In contrast to findings of Hanson & Pratt (1991), arguing women's reliance on female channels of communication in job seeking, 19 of 32 young women state that they hear of and get informations about jobs from men. In the light of the findings, this is because of men's having social networks, social capital, high standing position in the labour market and their being closer to job informations.

Men...Since they have considerable social networks. They are the superior gender in Turkey, now. I will be enabled to be employed in

Turkish Petroleum after KPSS exam. My aunt retired from TP. She knows two managers there; one is woman, and the other is man. My aunt is a close friend of the woman, but she called the man and contacted with him. I think she believes his capacity more. It is not intentional, her brain does this automatically. (Merve, 24, Graduated from a high school)

I think men have more acquaintances and networks. For example, my aunt's husband called some private courses and directed me to them. I have closer connections with my aunt than I do with him. But uncle has a greater social environment and networks and my aunt told him directly. (Funda 2, 24, Graduated from a University)

However, young women's tendency of reaching out men for a job does not imply that young women are not supported by women. In the light of the findings, although young women generally contact with women -mother, relatives or female friends- at the beginning, the role of these women is being a mediator for reaching out men having large social networks and being in higher positions.

Women mostly help women...But as men have been working for a long time, the persons that we try to reach out become *uncles*. For example, the judges in the courts are generally men. Out of 50 judges or maybe out of 100, only 1 is a woman. If the numbers of women were high, we would try to reach out *aunts*. But, the educational background of men are better and consequently they are in higher positions. (Burçin, 23, Graduated from a vocational high school)

Generally men... Since, in my environment the number of women working and being in higher positions is very limited. The authorizations of a simple officer and senior manager are different. No women in my environment are working in such higher positions. On the other hand, those who were working before left their jobs after birth or retired. (Özlem, 24, Graduated from a University)

In this context, findings indicate that the factor making men as gatekeepers of labour market is women's less representation in labour market, especially in higher positions. It obligates young women to find *an uncle at court* to be employed. Some young women state that both men and women can be gatekeepers of labour market due to the fact that having information about job is not depend on gender but on the level of status and social capital of him or her.

It varies to the jobs. If a man has got a workplace, for example, and sits in this workplace till the night he has some networks. But if a woman goes to school, she has more networks than this man and she will be more beneficial. (Zümrüt, 22, Graduated from a vocational high school)

It is reasonable to argue that the person who will be reached out depends on his/her status, not on his/her gender. However, women's high unemployment rates, low employment rates, low labour force participation rates, concentration in informal, unsecure, flexible parts of

labour market and low representation in higher positions confirm male-dominance in labour market. These rates imply the fact that women are lack of sufficient power, social networks and social capital enabling them to be a gatekeeper. On the other hand, men's being gatekeepers of labour market points at an important fact. Indeed, it implicitly functions as a mechanism reproducing *male control over job opportunities* and guaranteeing *placement of young women to appropriate places* determined by the articulation of capitalism and patriarchy.

6.3 Low Human Capital or Unemployed Capital

With respect to the Human Capital Theory, examined in 2.2.2, women's unemployment and inferior position in labour market are dealt in relation to their position in the family inducing low skills, low labour market experiences and fewer qualifications, without challenging patriarchal nature of gender-based division of labour. In line with the discussions in 4.2.2.1 and 4.3.2, although it is reasonable to emphasize on improving young women's human capital –by virtue of their inferior position in education statistics-, findings of this study indicate that: 1. Young women's disadvantaged position in human capital indicators can not be interpreted as their own preference. Rather, it should be examined within the scope of patriarchal nature of gender-based division of labour and male-breadwinner ideology directing decisions of family and young woman about education; 2. The examination of young women's unemployment can not be simplified to improve their human capital. Rather, high unemployment rates among educated young women and low labour force participation rates among low-educated women draw attention to “the poor job creation capacity of economy”, “the disconnection between education and labour market called as ‘skill mismatch’” and “the articulation between patriarchy and capitalism”.

6.3.1 Dissolution of the Relationship between Education and Employment

One dimension of human capital is education level. In accordance with the premises of Human Capital theory, employers point at young women's lower education level as one of the reasons of their high unemployment rates.

The basic underlying reason may be the unequal educational backgrounds of those men and women. When considering the education backgrounds, those educated women are less in number. When we publish an advertisement that requires at least a high school graduation, the number of women applicants is generally less compared to those men. When

education levels are not equal, the opportunities will not be equal, either.
(Firm 6, Pharmaceutical Industry and Representation)

As education is an important indicator of young women's "labour force participation", "marketability and preferability" and as it helps them "to attain more rewarding jobs", employers are right to emphasize on the low education level. However, in order to draw a true picture of young women's inferior position in education, two factors implying gendered nature of educational attainment should be added to analysis. Firstly, especially in conditions of economic difficulty, families' son preference in terms of investing on their children's human capital should be considered as emphasized by Demirel et al.(1999), Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver (2000), Şahabeddinoğlu (2002), Ecevit (2008). Secondly, it should also be considered that education is more rewarding for men in labour market and it is unable to overcome the patriarchal barriers in front of young women (Niemi & Lloyd, 1975; Meulders, Plasman & Stricht, 1993; Ecevit, 2000; Miles, 2002; Seguino, 2004; Glass & Kawachi, 2005; Toksöz, 2007; Ulutaş, 2009).

In other words, although it is important to fill the gender-gap in vocational and university education, the reasons of young women's unemployment can not be reduced to their education level. Indeed, in accordance with the studies of Toksöz (2007), Ercan (2007), Ecevit (2008), Erdayı (2009), policies and regulations that focus on improving human capital are challenged by high unemployment rates among educated young women in Turkey. In the context of this study, 5 of 32 young women finished primary education, 14 of them finished secondary education (9 of them are high school graduate and 5 of them are vocational high school graduate) and 13 of them finished university education (7 of them are 2-years vocational college graduate and 6 of them are 4-year university graduate). Thus, with respect to their educational profile, it can be said that unemployed young women's concentration in secondary education and university education makes them represent the experiences of the group putting up with unemployment profoundly.

In the light of the findings, both less and high educated young women do not perceive their unemployment as a part of their educational level. In fact, as supporting the studies of Toksöz (2007), Ercan (2007), Ecevit (2008), Erdayı (2009) and Doğan (2009), young women consider unemployment as an outcome of job creation challenge of economy in both public and private sectors by emphasizing high unemployment rates among educated people. Although less-educated young women do not ignore education's potential of offering good

jobs, good career, high wages and economic independency, they find reasons of their unemployment into the job deficit in labour market.

I think the reason of my not finding a suitable job for me is not my educational background. It is irrelevant. When I look around, I realize that a shoe polisher may even be graduated from high school. I think the educational background is not associated with the unemployment. Unemployment is a general and structural problem. (Songül, 24, Graduated from a Primary School)

The unemployment rates of those educated persons are based upon governmental policies. In the past, the education was of primary importance, but now it is irrelevant. Since, no job opportunities and sectors are available in the labour market now. Many of them are privatized by the government. It is not important to be graduated from a university, anymore. None of the employers consider the educational background. They only consider your contributions to the establishment. Educational background is also not important for the employers anymore. (Zeliha, 24, Graduated from a Secondary School)

If I had graduated from a higher level, I would have been employed. But now those graduated from universities are the same as me. I think that challenge arises from the governmental system. In fact, it does not establish job opportunities. Some of those educated are employed in the public sector but some are not. For example, most of the people are looking forward to be appointed as a teacher. But it is very difficult now. Then, they work as an installer though they would not like to. (Huriye, 21, Graduated from a Secondary School)

Moreover, with respect to findings, the insistence on job deficit is stronger among high educated young women. As supporting studies of Ecevit (1998), Miles (2002), Moghadam (2004) and Mitra & Singh (2006), high educated young women, especially the ones graduated from universities, state their difficulty in finding a job and emphasis more on the contradiction between the numbers of people graduated from universities and the employment opportunities in the labour market.

That is definitely due to the governmental system, itself. In the Student Selection Examination (ÖSS) many students are enrolled in the faculties. For example in my faculty, every year 200 Turkish Language teacher candidates are graduated. Every year! The number of the appointed Turkish Language teachers on the other hand is only 300. Considering that rate throughout Turkey, only the numbers of Turkish Language teachers graduating from our faculty can be employed. The gap between appointed and selected students is vast. They may select and enroll the students according to the current situation, and they may declare that this department is not vacant for now. (Funda, 24, Graduated from a University)

The number of placed students has increased this year. They thought they would educate more persons in the universities. It can be considered as a positive thing that many people will be educated in the universities. But,

if the current conditions of Turkey are considered, this means many more people will be unemployed. Now that the number of the placed students has increased, then those graduated persons should be employed. But this is not the case. (Duygu, 24, Graduated from a University)

Young women's pointing their finger at state as a responsible for unemployment implies or confirms adopted export-oriented growth model's failure in job creation especially for educated young women's labour (Ecevit, 1998; İlkkaracan, 1998). Moreover, in accordance with the examinations in 5.3.3, as young women are in favour of public jobs to meet their job priorities against patriarchy, high educated young women's emphasis on job deficit reflects neo-liberal privatization policies' destructive effects on educated young women's employment chances in public sector as argued by Miles (2002), Mitra & Singh (2006), Erdayı (2006), Du & Dong (2008). In this context, the gender-gap in educated youth's unemployment rates implies complex patriarchal nature of young women's unemployment which can not be explained solely by their education level.

On the other hand, findings indicate that employers consider high unemployment rates among educated young women in relation to their high expectations. According to employers, there is no unemployment problem in Turkey, the main problem is "*disliking of jobs*" among young people, especially among young women.

I generally prefer those young women graduated from universities and residing in Ankara. However, young women do not apply. I think they are interested in easier jobs. We found one last month and she said that this job was not appropriate for herself and she left her job. I think young women are not attracted by that job because they are very interested in desk jobs. Those applying to our advertisements express that they are not interested in marketing or they say that I can do but I demand higher wages. That is, they dislike jobs. They are graduated from faculties with great expectations yet many are available with the same qualifications. (Firm 16, Telecommunication Material Production and Marketing)

We grew up a choosy generation. As they are choosy, they are reluctant to accept the current conditions of the country. But they have to accept such conditions. As long as those consider that they have been graduated from universities, they should not be employed in such little jobs and they should be employed in higher positions, they will not be employed for one year but even for 2 years. It is true that the business world needs qualified staff. Actually, we are in need of qualified staff and seeking for such a staff for long time. However, those graduated from universities do not accept our job offers. But we should see the reality and accept that being graduated from a university is not an extremely important/valuable thing anymore. We accept those not graduated from universities, try to train them and make big efforts for them. But if we employ those qualified and graduated from universities, we will more easily win, but unfortunately they do not accept. (Firm 8, Lighting Material Production and Marketing)

On the other hand, employers' emphasis on job expectations is confirmed by young women's reluctance towards accepting all kinds of offered jobs. In the light of the findings, high educated young women are well aware of the existence of job opportunities or empty places in labour market. However, they are reluctant to apply and accept those job opportunities because they are under their qualifications and education level.

The day before, we conversed upon that matter with my boyfriend. I just said that *My love, I am very fed up being unemployed, I want a job*. He answered that *Ok then, you can apply for being a cashier*. Of course I rejected. I cannot tolerate such a low position. This is not because I cannot do this job. I did the same job when I graduated from high school. But now, I am a university graduate, there must be a difference. (Berna, 22, Graduated from a vocational collage)

Of course, we can not accept all the job offers. For example I was offered to be employed as a cashier for 3 months. I am not looking down on this job but I was graduated from a university. The educational background of the workers in such jobs is lower than ours. I cannot adapt to this environment. The relations are simple, dialogues are common, so I do not want to work there. My family also rejects that position due to my educational background. Thus, I am also afraid of the understandings of my relatives and family. But if I were a young man, they would not consider the quality of job and their importance would only be my employment. Since, young men's being at home is an intolerable situation. I also may not be happy in such a job. I do not prefer to work in a job under my qualifications. (Funda2, 24, Graduated from a university)

Generally, my expectations do not match with the offers. When I go to a job interview, I generally expect 800 – 850 TRL per month, plus travel expenses and foods. But, the offered conditions are generally different from my expectations. They offer 500 TRL per month, they expect me to work at weekends. I watched on TV that a man sent an e- mail regarding a job offer for night watchman in Çayyolu, and declared that nobody applied to that job. Will I apply to that job? We have many boyfriends in here graduated from the departments of maths and physics, will they be employed as night watchman? I am not looking down on any jobs. But, there are many people graduated from 2 year, 4 year faculties and you can not expect them to accept those jobs. I know the conditions but just leave us free to make decision for our employment. Do not leave us in a position that we beg for *please accept me as your worker*. (Özlem, 24, Graduated from a university)

Although findings point at young women's reluctance towards accepting job offers under their human capital, their job expectations can not be interpreted as disliking a job. In fact, supporting the findings of İlkkaracan (1998) and Miles (2002), it should be interpreted as *qualified job creation challenge* of economy especially for high educated young women. In other words, young women's reluctance towards accepting jobs not fitting with their human capital is very normal. What is not normal is the contradiction between the emphasis on

human capital in policies, regulations and official documents and the lack of proper jobs for those having a high education level and job experience.

They think that unemployed persons dislike jobs and are too choosy. They try to present that no unemployment is available, there are lots of job opportunities but nobody apply for those. But this is irrelevant. We do not want to select jobs but we want to be selected...(Duygu, 24, Graduated from a university)

In this context, as supporting the discussions in 4.2.2.1 and 4.3.2, findings challenge active labour market policies and their effectiveness in which employment strategy is based on improving human capital of labour. On the other hand, in direction of the examinations in chapter 3, employers' emphasis on high expectations and selectivity of young women is unsurprising outcome of the articulation between neo-liberal capitalism and patriarchy. As confirmed by young women's previous job experiences examined in 5.3.1 and 5.3.3, this perception can only be interpreted in relation to this articulation that make *offering hard, informal, insecure, inferior working conditions and low wages to women* a habit or a common practice. This tendency of patriarchal capitalist labour market compresses employment chances of young women, especially educated and experienced ones. Since, those educated and experienced have a considerable difficulty in finding a job meeting their education-based and patriarchal-based expectations. Moreover, in line with the premises of the Marxist Feminist reserve army of labour thesis, this reserve army of educated young women unemployed enables employers to control and suppress expectations of employed and unemployed labour force. Therefore, high rates of unemployment among educated young women can be considered an intentional patriarchal capitalist strategy.

Apart from qualified job creation challenge of economy, as supporting the findings of Miles (2002), according to educated young women another dimension of unemployment is the contradiction between skills demanded by employers/labour market and gained from education. This is generally called as *skill mismatch*.

As I am not qualified, I apply to the private sector jobs such as cashier, sales consultant, sales staff or pollster. These are not permanent jobs. It seems I have a profession. But I have to say that we are not well trained at school, as in here. For example, I was not trained at school about any of these tools used here. When I first arrived here, all the tools and devices were foreign to me. I also told this to my teachers. The employer asked me *which one of those tools can you use?* I answered: *only 1*. He said: *You graduated from a vocational high school, you should know them, you should have experience*. In short, when they asked whether I knew those

devices or not and when I answered no, they told me to call back later on, but they did not. (Merve, 24, Graduated from a Vocational High School)

Today it is easy to find someone graduated from school of economics and administrative sciences. For example, accounting. I have been graduated from the department of economics but I cannot solve a simple accounting problem. Because, the school just taught me to draw "T" and "ledger" theoretically but it is not appropriate to the practice. I wish I had studied computerized accounting for 2 years, and graduated in the 6 years. Then, I could say that the unemployment problem belonged to me. When I apply to an advertisement of front office staff, they ask you "*You graduated from Gazi University, good. Which one of the accounting computer programs can you use?*" I just say: *I can draw "T", I can write Cash Code 100, and Banks 102 Codes.*" On the other hand, for example, business English is also significant for us. Unfortunately, in school curriculum, I have taken 2 hours of business English, and the instructor distributed us photocopies, and told us the exam questions. I did not learn anything from that course. (Özlem, 24, Graduated from a university)

Young women's emphasis on the disconnectedness between education and labour market is confirmed by employers. According to employers, although there are a lot of educated young unemployed in the labour market, they have difficulty in finding a qualified labour meeting their expectations.

I know we have high rates of unemployment. But, I am just coming from factory. I went there for job interviews about some positions. We are seeking for qualified workers, but unfortunately the applicants are not qualified as required. That is the problem. We will provide a job, the conditions and standards of the job are very good but no appropriate applicants are available. Those graduating from universities are not sufficiently qualified and skilled. We generally prefer workers graduated from vocational high schools. But, if we do not find, we cannot do anything. (Firm 10, Insulating Material Production and Marketing)

In line with the arguments of Yalınpala (2002), Koray (2008) and Doğan (2009), employers' emphasis on qualified labour confirms neo-liberal restructuring of production process that excludes unqualified labour from employment opportunities and requires flexible, multilateral skills and qualities which can be easily canalized into various parts of production process. However, supporting the arguments of Erdayı (2006), Toksöz (2007) and Ecevit (2008), findings indicate that the qualified labour demanded by employers is not university and high school graduates. Rather, employers are in favour of vocational schools and emphasize on their difficulty in finding vocational school graduates, meeting their qualification expectations

All young people intend to graduate from a university but the most important issue is that the technical positions are not available anymore. For example, the vocational school graduates of technical drawing, the constructionists are not available. Because young people do not prefer such departments, they certainly and always try to graduate from a

university. Therefore, should they accept, we employ the construction engineers as technical painters. (Firm 7, Project Development based Construction Engineering)

Those graduated from vocational high schools are more preferred. The constructional works controlled and operated by those graduated from vocational high schools are different from works controlled by those graduated from the faculty of engineering in the university. The people graduated from universities may be aware of the procedures in theory, but not in practice. On the other hand, those graduated from vocational high schools may even imagine strange designs and calculate quantities easily. Because, those people erected buildings in their high school periods. But intermediate staff is not available any more. (Firm 9, Construction)

In this context, as supporting the discussions in 4.3.2, employers' preference for working with vocational school graduates is the reflection of the fact that labour market in Turkey is in need of intermediate labour/staff with regards to its changing role in the new international division of labour. Turkey has shifted its' *labour-intensive industrial production*- based competition strategy to *technology-intensive industrial production* in order to find a place in new international division of labour. This preference or demand, on the other hand, suppresses the demand for general high school and university graduates who are lack of vocational skills and knowledge expected by employers.

However, in the light of the discussions in 4.3.1, the critical point in here is the fact that the restructuring in labour market damages especially the labour market position of woman's labour that should be interpreted in relation to the articulation between capitalism and patriarchy. Although labour market in Turkey is calling up for vocational school graduates, young women do not have chance to benefit from provided employment opportunities. One dimension of their exclusion is their low representation in vocational education as argued by Ecevit (2000) and Bolcan (2006). On the other hand, the main problem is not solely low representation of young women in vocational education and vocational schools but their low representation in vocational training programmes.

I do not believe that young women are not employed deliberately. I think it is a must to analyze the numbers and the rates of young men and young women studying in industrial vocational high schools. We, for example, accept interns from the industrial vocational high schools, but no applications were done by young women graduated from such schools. We at least accept and employ 4 – 5 interns per year. If they prefer studying in universities following their high school educations, we support them, if not, we employ them. But no girls were directed to us from these schools. Maybe we need to negotiate with the school administration on this issue. On the other hand, young women studying in such schools do not make any efforts. Therefore, automatically, the

persons operating machines in production process become male workers.
(Firm 8, Lighting Material Production and Marketing)

In direction of studies of Miranda (1977), Akhun, Kavak & Selamoğlu (1999), Moghadam (1999), Koray (2008), Ecevit, (2008), young women's disadvantaged position in vocational education and technology-intensive industrial production should be interpreted as an unsurprising outcome of gender-based division of labour that puts a distance between machines, technology and women. In other words, as supporting the discussions in 4.3.1 and 4.3.2, findings reveal that as expectations from intermediate labour are having technical knowledge, being able to use machines and working in technology-intensive parts of production process in factories and fields (such as in construction site, ship-building site, petrol exploring area), the articulation between neo-liberal capitalism and patriarchy and the patriarchal job priorities segment labour market through gender, suppress young women's employment opportunities and remain them permanent members of reserve army of labour.

These observations can be confirmed by the gender-gap in employment rates of vocational school graduates and the gender-based segmentation in vocational education. As supporting the arguments of Toksöz (2007) and Tan (2008), vocational school graduates young women, in this study, were graduated from the departments of office management, child development, textile, accounting and computer programming reflecting the gender-based segmentation in vocational education. However, discussions point at the fact that those gendered vocational trainings are far from providing employment opportunities to young women due to general qualified job creation challenge of economy and intermediate labour demand in the labour market.

6.3.2 Gender Gap in Job Experience

Another component of human capital is job experience. Findings indicate that although young women are reluctant to acknowledge the influence of education level on employment, they consider *inexperiency* as an obstacle for their labour market entrance.

Experience is not a congenital grant to the humans. You are always asked for your experience? I do not have. How can I find out the experience? How can I get it if you do not give me the chance to be experienced? I always hear from the employers that *they can not employ me since I do not have an experience*. Okay, I agree. You may seek an experienced staff for the position, maybe you are right. However, it is almost not applicable to expect who can do what. Maybe I have many skills inside me, why

don't you try me once? I am really getting angry with this approach. (Merve, 24, Graduated from a high school)

Experience is of significance. The employers initially ask for at least 1-2 year experience and then ask for the workplaces in which you were employed before. I have just graduated, and never been employed, just let me start to learn something near you. At least one month should be given for the testing period. (Burcu, 23, graduated from a high school)

In this context, findings reveal that job inexperience generates an obstacle especially for the first time job seeker educated young women spending most of their time in education. On the other hand, young women's emphasis on job inexperience as an obstacle for employment is confirmed by employers. Supporting the studies of Russell & Connell (2001), Beck, Wagener & Grix (2005), findings indicate that although it is changeable in accordance with the position, job and sector, job experience is a more important criterion than education level for employers and they are skeptical about employing someone high educated but inexperienced. Although job inexperience is an important dimension of general youth unemployment with respect to the findings, both employers and young women insist on a gender-gap in job experience. According to the employers' view and in accordance with the premises of Human Capital and Preference Theory, examined in 2.2, young women's disadvantaged position in job experience is the consequence of their position in the family or the general society.

Working is not a responsibility loaded on the shoulders of a young woman when she is at the family house. Differently, as young men will marry, have children, be breadwinners of their families, families support their son's employment and direct them to working life. Therefore, they are prepared for the life. But this is not same for young women. It is based on a consideration that we can meet her needs now, in the future she will marry, and her husband will continue to meet her needs. There is a high rate of protection for young women in the society. But this is not a true approach. This creates a challenge. The young women are not prepared for the working life. They are grown to raise their children, do the house works and service to the family. On the other hand, young men are raised to earn money and establish an authority in the family structure. This should be eradicated. It is not correct to expect that young women will extend beyond this approach. Since, they are raised with that consideration. However, the labour market does not allow such approaches. If a young woman wants to take place in the working life, she should be aware of this fact, and make her decision rapidly. The successful women of today are the ones who can overcome this challenge. (Firm 8, Lighting Material Production and Marketing)

In the light of the findings, supporting the studies of Mincer (1962), Mincer & Polachek (1974), Becker (1995) and Hakim (1995), although employers are well-aware of restrictive and inhibitive effects of young women's positioning in the family, they consider it as an outcome of young women's indeterminacy and disinclination without challenging its

patriarchal nature. On the other hand, employers' emphasis on women's positioning in the family as an obstacle to young women's human capital accumulation is confirmed by young women. However, in contrast to the premises of human capital and preference theory in which patriarchal power relations are neglected, according to young women, the gender-gap in job experience is based on unequal gender-based division of labour and male-breadwinner ideology. These are considered as factors suppressing their mobility and employment chances in labour market by young women.

The women have more disadvantages. Young men start to see all kinds of environments including working environments from the very beginning of their life. On the other hand, you as a young woman would not like to intend to be employed in an unreliable environment, you would not be so willing to be employed in a job found from internet. The men are always in those environments and they have no risk of being damaged and sexually abused. They have chance of trying different jobs. They are active in all areas. (Berna, 22, Graduated from a vocational collage)

We are raised in that manner. They always say that you are a young woman, stay one step behind, be well-behaved, wash the dishes. The families place young men in any jobs if they do not study. But it is not the same for young women. You cannot walk to all job advertisements, you cannot assess and apply all the job offers you see on the internet. I need to consider the job offer numerous times. I really tried to find a job. I looked for jobs through relatives and close friends. But I cannot find an appropriate job for myself because I have no certificates or other qualifications. On the other hand, I have no job experience. If nobody gives me a chance, how on earth can I be experienced? But men have the limitless experiencing chance, and may be employed, thereof. They may enter into any jobs, and may exit whenever they want to. They may seek the jobs all the day on the internet or the newspaper. Men have more advantages. (Gamze, 23, Graduated from a high school)

In this context, supporting the arguments of Walby (1990), Rees (1992), Toksöz (2007) and findings examined in 5.3.3 and 5.5; the hidden patriarchal rules of young women's working, their being obligated to find a job meeting job priorities against patriarchy, the determined rules of young women's relations with public sphere, the existence of discrimination in labour market and young women's intermittent working patterns hinder either their chance of gaining job experience or chance of employment. It also becomes another mechanism excluding young women from better job opportunities and reproducing male dominance in labour market.

6.4 Trivialization of Young Women's Unemployment

Supporting the studies of Bruegel (1979), Elson & Pearson (1986), Ecevit (1998), Miles (2002) and Du & Dong (2008), according to young women, young men's being positioned as

a breadwinner of the family makes women's working unnecessary that undermines their job seeking efforts and trivializes their unemployment.

It is generally argued that the women should stay at home and raise their children. Nobody considers the future of the children. The monthly salary of my husband is 1000 TRL. We live in a rented house. I am thinking about my child's future. He will start school. If I have one more child, what will we do? The unemployment of men is more considered. Because they are breadwinners. My uncle has got two children, one girl and one boy. I am more focused on the boy than I do on the girl. Even me. Because, I think that the girl will marry, her husband will meet her expenses and she may stay at home rather than working. But it is not the same for the boy. The men do not have domestic responsibilities, they have nothing to do at home and therefore they should work. But the women have domestic responsibilities and they can spend their time at their homes. (Gamze, 23, Graduated from a high school)

I think women should work even if men don't. According to the people in my environment, women may stay at their homes if their husbands are working in a good job. But, men need to be employed. If a father or husband is not employed, this causes a crisis but this is not the case for women. My environment generally considers that the woman may be cared by her husband. They offer me to get married again. There are many people who say that why you make an effort, it is unnecessary, you can stay at home and your father may meet your expenses. (Burçin, 23, Graduated from vocational high school)

The emphasis on the division of roles as a breadwinner and a breadmaker is an unsurprising outcome the perception in which gender-based division of labour is perceived or promoted as functional for the maintenance of the family in particular and the society in general. This perception is an extension of the Parsonian Functionalist premises, examined in 2.2.1. However, as stressed by young women, the implicit function of the gender-based division of labour is trivialization of young women's unemployment that restricts their employment possibilities, legitimates gender-based discrimination in recruitment process and reproduces male dominance in both public and private sphere. Moreover, in line with the premises of Marxist Feminist and Socialist Feminist perspectives, emphasis on gender-based division of labour signalizes the invisible handshake between neo-liberal capitalism and patriarchy in which state and family become bearers of employers' interests by systematically trivializing young women's unemployment. Accordingly, this part of the analysis aims to examine the mechanisms reproduced by state and family that trivialize young women's unemployment.

6.4.1 Public Policies Devoted to Male-Breadwinner Ideology

With respect to the discussions in 4.2, within the scope of new-right ideology, state's success is relied on its ability to make women busy with their domestic responsibilities, especially with the caring of child, elderly and husband, and enable men to earn family wage. In the light of the findings, young women emphasize on the fact that the state gives priority to men's unemployment or employment, and accordingly proposed employment policies are in favour of men's employment due to their being breadwinner of the family.

State gives more weight to men's unemployment than women's unemployment. Since, state considers that the man should earn money for his family. (Ilkay, 20, Graduated from a vocational high school)

Men's unemployment is more important than women's unemployment for state. Since, state considers that women will marry and they can be the wife of their house and mother of their children. But, men's unemployment would establish challenges and unemployed men may take exception to their situation. On the other hand, I think unemployed women will accept their situation more easily. Because they are more emotional. When men are unemployed, they may disturb someone, steal something, do something bad. Therefore, the unemployment of men may become a challenge for the government. (Funda 2, 23, Graduated from a university)

In this context, in accordance with studies of Bruegel (1979), Miles (2002) and Du & Dong (2008), findings point at the fact that while men's unemployment is gained priority in public policies with respect to its being considered as a social problem and a potential disruption in the social order, women's unemployment is ignored, remained at the end of agenda and considered as a special problem requiring special solutions. It can be interpreted as a strategy used by state for cutting public expenditures and passing its caring responsibilities to women's shoulder. It is clear that the side effect of this approaching is trivialization of young women's unemployment that hinders their employment chances and legitimates gender-based discrimination in the recruitment process.

Moreover, in accordance with the emphasis of Ecevit (2000) and Toksöz (2007), young women's emphasis on their ignorance in public policies is the reflection of gender-blind configuration of social policy in Turkey. Young women's statements point at the fact that applied and proposed public employment policies are far from enabling them to participate labour force, improve their labour market position and become employed.

It seems that the government is reluctant to concern women's unemployment and do something for it. The rates are clearly seen. When I

consider the public sector, I cannot see that the women are more preferred for the public positions. However, the women may be more concerned. As men are employed more, it can be said that state develops its policies based upon the men. In my opinion, the closure of daily nurseries in workplaces, Prime Minister's 3 children offer signal the fact that state's policies are leaned on exclusion of women from social life and working life. What is expected from a woman is staying at home and caring the children. Although it is speculated that the women should be employed, no active action is available. When the women deliver 3 times and no kindergarten is available for those children, what can the women do? (Burçin, 23, Graduated from vocational high school)

Men are able to find a job somehow. It is related to the personal characteristics but the unemployment of women is less considered. Since, women are always regarded as the wives of their houses and the mothers' of their children. It is generally considered that it is not necessary for women to work and they can stay at their houses. Therefore, I do not think that the state considers women's unemployment. The state should encourage women because women are more disadvantaged than men in terms of working conditions. Men are able to work in the night shifts, under hard working conditions. But women have limited opportunities due to their domestic responsibilities such as doing houseworks, caring for children and other persons in the household. Therefore, as our state is a welfare state, it may encourage women by providing some opportunities. The women may have 4 – 5 children in Europe. My cousin resides in Germany. She delivered a child, and the state offered her to move to a larger house, because of the legal procedure that requires a supplementary room for the child. She has no family there, and a nurse has come to house, and introduced her how to care a child for 2 months. The state gives them such an assurance. If she were divorced now, the state would provide a house and a job. But here, a kick also comes from the state, itself. We are living by chance. (Özlem, 23, Graduated from a university)

In this context, although young women's unemployment is perceived as an outcome of their preferences and low work commitment, findings exhibit that young women's employment goes beyond their individual preferences and struggle, and requires institutional support challenging patriarchal barriers in front of them. In other words, as supporting the findings examined in 5.3.3 and 5.5, young women are in need of a public support and policies to balance their domestic and job responsibilities. However, in line with the discussions in 4.2.1, overcoming the contradiction between gender-based division of labour and capitalism via public policies has become senseless since 1980s. Because, as supporting the arguments of Pateman (1992), Meulders, Plasman & Stricht (1993), Briar (1997) and Seguino (2004), state's patriarchal capitalist political approach to young women's unemployment confirms rather than challenges women's patriarchal capitalist positioning in the labour market. Therefore, it can be argued that the state is implicitly a performer and bearer of the *gender-based discrimination* in the labour market.

On the other hand, supporting the argument of Briar (1997), applied and proposed public policies may reproduce women's vulnerability and become obstacle to young women's employment despite they take aim at gender inequality. Since these policies are ensued and derived from gender-based division of labour which reproduces gender inequality in itself. Indeed, employers emphasize on the fact that some regulations about women in the labour law may generate reluctance against employing a woman.

Some legal regulations may sometimes be benefited by the women. After marriage, a woman may think that *she takes her severance pay, and can stay and work at home rather than working for someone*. Since the regulation gives this opportunity to young women in the first year of marriage. The legislation about severance pay is the acknowledgement of the fact that women can leave their jobs with their own requests. This legislation legitimates leaving a job. (Firm 3, Ship-Building)

For example, the proposed regulation concerning the leave rights of women in their menstruation periods. Such a regulation means that employers will not employ women workers. We have 100 workers and 50 of them are women. How can I follow their menstruation cycles. Moreover, it does not concern me. If I have orders in those periods, what will I do? Since my staff capacity shall be decreased and I may not deliver the order on time. In fact, this can not be considered as a right for women but on the contrary it is a blow to women's employment. (Firm 8, Lighting Material Production and Marketing)

In this context, as discussed in 2.4.1, findings challenge liberal feminists' emphasis on legal regulations for improving women's labour market position and indicate that gender-blind policies reinforce discriminatory practices of employers against women and restrict young women's employment chances. Accordingly, as emphasized by Toksöz (2007) and Ecevit (2008), Turkey is in need of a comprehensive national women's employment policy prepared in direction of the gender-mainstreaming approach. On the other hand, in line with the discussions in 4.2, it should be emphasized that state's approach to young women's unemployment is also the reflection of the articulation between neo-liberal capitalism and patriarchy. This articulation offers entrepreneurship, part-time jobs and flexible employment patterns to young women and remain them a part of reserve army of (unemployed) labour. By reproducing gender-based division of labour in public policies, state also contributes to exclusion, segmentation and crowding of young women in the labour market.

6.4.2 Son/Husband Preference

Gender-based division of in which men are perceived as a breadwinner and women as a bread-maker also induces trivialization of young women's unemployment in the family and

makes family as a part of gender-based discrimination. As complementing the findings examined in 5.2, although families support their daughters' working, the quality of support giving to young women and young men is different. In accordance with studies of İlkaracan (1998), Demirel et al. (1999), Ecevit (2000, 2008), Eyüboğlu, Özar & Tanrıöver (2000), Miles (2002), Bolcan (2006) and Şahabeddinoğlu (2007), young women stresses on that families show son preference in terms of using resources and providing opportunities with respect to men's breadwinner and supporter role in patriarchal family.

When I was studying in the vocational high school, I had a friend studying in the same department. She has an elder brother. The opportunities provided for her brother is very well. He was going to private school, he was enrolled in many courses to have certificates, he was supported and encouraged etc. My friends always said that she did not have the opportunities provided to her brother. The families and society as well behaves differently to men with regards to their breadwinner role. (Merve, 24, Graduated from a vocational high school)

Aslan, my brother, intends to be a doctor. Aslan will care my mother in the future. Many things are provided to Aslan, but not to me. Because, according to my mother, I am not a permanent member of the family. I will marry. She says that when I marry, my husband would meet my needs. Therefore, sons are treated well. (Melek, 19, Graduated from a high school).

The families are more focused on their son's unemployment since men are breadwinner and supporter of the family. If solely father is working in the family, it is considered that the son will care his family after the death of the father. (Azime, 23, Graduated from a vocational collage)

In this context, supporting the findings examined in 6.3, families' son preference debars young women from investing on their human capital and hinders their employment chances. Findings point at families' son preference in job seeking process as well. In accordance with the findings of Miles (2002), families give priority to son's employment and use their connections and resources (financial and social capital) for son's job seeking and employment with respect to the breadwinner and supporter role of son in patriarchal family. It becomes much more observable when both son and daughter are unemployed.

In most of the society, men are considered to be employed but not to sit at homes. For example, I have a brother. When my brother does not work, he draws my parents' attention. But, I am never asked why I am not working, why I am not finding a job or why I am not seeking a job. But if my brother is unemployed for solely one week, a crisis starts in the family. At present, my brother is employed in a private hotel. But, my mother wants him to be employed in a public institution. I am also interested in being employed in a public institution. But, when my mother is reading a job advertisement on the newspaper, she says "just call Okan" I am also seeking a job but she does not consider me. It may be due to

that my brother has a family, and a child, and has got many responsibilities. (Funda, 24, Graduated from a University).

In Turkey, sons have the priorities in the family as they are male. Men are breadwinner of the family. For example, my mother is a housewife. If my father had not worked, a strange situation would occur. My mother is not working but it is not perceived as a strange situation. She can remain a housewife. For example, I am not working, my little brother is also not working. He will have graduated from his school within two years. If he will not start working as soon as he has graduated from his school, my mother will start to complain. She also feels sorrow for me. She gets sad about my being dismissed. But if Murat had been dismissed or unemployed, it would be different. She is always ready to provide all kinds of opportunities for him. (Merve, 24, Graduated from a high school)

It is the reflection of male-breadwinner ideology, in which women's labour is positioned as a secondary labour working for "pin money" and in which women are perceived as firstly wives and mothers then workers. In this perception, working is an unnecessary or extra thing to do for women (Elson & Pearson, 1986). This perception trivializes young women's unemployment, legitimates employers' discriminatory practices against young women and therefore, suppresses their employment chances. Moreover, if young woman is married, if both wife and husband are unemployed in this household, husbands' unemployment will become a priority for wife and their families.

I am supported by my family. But the support provided by family to me and my husband is different. They give weight to my husband's job seeking. It is logical that the woman waits her husband's employment before starting to seek a job for herself. After her husband finds one and gets over, she can seek for herself. (Songül, 24, Graduated from a primary school)

The unemployment of my husband is of primary importance. I have the secondary importance. I think he will be humiliated if he is unemployed since the social environment will speculate about that condition. They would start to say that his wife is able to find a job, but he is not. Probably, they start to consider that the married man is unemployed and not able to bring home to bacon. (Zümrüt, 22, Graduated from a vocational high school)

The unemployment of men in the society attaches the greatest importance, because the men are the breadwinner of their families. For example, if my husband were unemployed, they would start to think that Filiz is working but her husband lazes something away. But when I'm unemployed, this will not get someone's attention. (Filiz, 23, Graduated from a high school)

Findings reveal that young women are obligated to wait their husbands' employment to start seeking a job for themselves due to patriarchal pressures in which men's unemployment is perceived as a failure of husband in earning family wage and bringing home to bacon. When

both wife and husband are unemployed, young women's finding a job before husband will be an unacceptable situation. This situation will be considered as a challenge to male power and dominance. As argued by Walby (1990), it can be interpreted as the reflection of an ideology that supposes an unemployed woman easily "disappears" from unemployment rolls into the home and she can busy herself with her domestic chores. Ultimately, as family is the bearer of patriarchal premises, like state, young women's unemployment becomes a secondary and ignorable problem into family that restricts young women's employment chance by leaving them alone in their struggle for finding a permanent place in labour market. Moreover, by this way, family also becomes a bearer of states' and employer's interests and reinforces and legitimates the discrimination against young women in labour market.

6.5 Young Women's Perception of Trade Unions

In line with the discussions in 4.3.3, one of the important dimensions of young's and women's unemployment is their weak relationship with trade unions and their low number or less representation in them. Findings reveal that none of the young women, having job experience and being dismissed, were trade union member before. Furthermore, many of them do not have any idea about what trade union is, whether trade unions support unemployed workers, whether it provides job security and what can be employers' perceptions about them. These are of the beaten path for 16 of 32 unemployed young women. However, in accordance with the arguments of Ecevit (1991), Koray (1993), Erdoğan & Toksöz (1995), findings confirm that "the higher the education level, the higher the young women are cognizant of or interested in trade-unions". While 4 of 5 primary school graduates and 9 of 14 secondary school graduates young women do not have any idea about trade unions, it is only 2 among 13 young women graduated from university.

In accordance with the studies of Bruegel (1979) and Du & Dong (2008), in the light of young women's previous job experiences/working histories examined in 5.3.1, one dimension of young women's weak relationships with trade unions is that young women have worked in private sector jobs and less-unionized, smaller workplaces without social insurance. In line with discussions in 4.3.3, although patriarchal capitalist labour market places young women into atypical, informal, flexible, insecure and unstable employment forms, trade unions' being far from developing a comprehensive view point to labour market

make young population, especially young women, much more vulnerable to redundancy and unemployment.

In the light of the findings, another dimension of young women's weak relationships with trade unions is their disbelief in trade unions effectiveness strengthened by recent Tekel workers' experiences. Young women do not believe that trade unions are effective in securing workers' rights, providing job security, supporting unemployed people and, determining and influencing public policies.

Working conditions in our country are not regulated. The protective rights regulating workers' labour market position are not clear. Trade-unions seems like existing but they are not functional in practice. In Tandoğan square, many protests have been performed, but in fact the rights are not actually protected. The teachers have the same conditions. Those teachers who are not appointed arrange many meetings and protests, but they cannot get their rights. Of course, the employer shall prefer those who are not union member, as those have no protectors. But this is not of importance any more, because trade unions are unable to protect workers and their rights. (Ayşe, 23, Graduated from a university)

The unions do not assure a job security. They only huddle workers together and carry out protests. As trade unions perceive their members as workers in general, they do not consider their individual problems, for example their unemployment. In trade-unions, workers act together, perform a protest together, stage a hunger strike together, seek their rights together. I do not think that they support someone in job seeking and finding. (Hazel, 20, Graduated from a vocational collage)

A trade union does not assure a job security. This was seen in Tekel workers' protests. Moreover, trade unions provide a security only when you are employed in somewhere. They do not help during your job seeking process. (Özlem, 24, Graduated from a university)

In this context, although young women represent the most vulnerable parts of labour market, they are reluctant to seek a remedy for their problems through trade unions. Since, they are doubtful that trade-unions improve their working conditions, assure job security and support them in job seeking and finding process. As supporting the arguments of Türel (1997), Ecevit (1998), Yalınpala (2002) and Özkaplan (2008), young women's emphasis on weakness and ineffectualness of trade unions points at structural adjustment policies and their destructive impacts on organized labour and power since 1980s. Moreover, this emphasis should be interpreted in relation to the malestream configuration of trade- unions that trivializes and ignores women's problems in the labour market and debars women and young women from organized institutional support as argued by Tokol (1998), Yeğen (2000), Toksöz (2005), Urhan (2006), Yıldız (2007).

On the other hand, in line with the argument of Başkaya (2004), weakness and ineffectualness of trade unions and, young women's reluctance towards trade-union membership are also an outcome of high unemployment rates and large reserve army of unemployed in labour market in Turkey. Since, high unemployment rates suppress both organization and struggle power in trade-unions. Accordingly, as supporting the studies of Tokol (1998) and Yıldız (2007), findings indicate that one dimension of young women's weak relationships with trade unions is based on employers' reluctance towards working with union members.

Those who are not union member suit employers' interests. If a collective bargaining is existed you are under the assurance. But it should not be forgotten that union members are workers who are always afraid of employers. Because, by becoming a member of the union s/he begins the match 1 – 0 defeated, and if any mistake is made by him/her, she will lose the match 2 – 0 at the end. But I think, regardless the afraid of dismissal, it is a requirement for all the workers to become members of the unions. (Özlem, 24, Graduated from a university)

Employers prefer those workers without any membership to union. The employers always prefer those who are not resistant and who may be mistreated. (Funda1, 24, Graduated from a university)

In this context, trade-union membership makes labourers work on edge of the knife, closer to unemployment risk and it makes them disadvantaged in recruitment process. Young women's low employment and high unemployment rates, their being intensified in unsecure, unstable and small scale parts of labour market, their difficulty in finding a job, meeting patriarchal job priorities and trade-unions' malestream structure obligate young women to be estranged from trade-unions. However, the findings of this study point at the fact that young women's unemployment is over and above of their individual struggles and it requires institutional support challenging patriarchal barriers in front of them.

6.6 In Pursuit of the Flexibility

Women's and youth's unemployment in Turkey is considered as an outcome of the rigidity of labour market regulations, composed of financial, legal and bureaucratic burdens, in declarations and documents of employers' organizations, international and national institutions. Supporting the discussions examined in 4.2.2.2, findings reveal that employers perceive non-wage labour costs and taxes as obstacles against employment and reasons of high unemployment rates in Turkey.

When compared to many countries, the labour costs have initiated to increase in Turkey. For example, if we consider India and China, the labour costs in these countries are much lower than in Turkey. The textile manufacturing sites have started to be established in Africa, Egypt and Tunisia. Because, the textile is a labour-intensive production, it requires many workers and low labour costs in these regions generate advantages for employers. If a corporation hires 3 workers rather than 5 workers due to high labour costs, as long as the labour costs are reduced, more workers will be employed. When you give 1000 TRL per worker, the cost of this to the employer is approximately 2000 TRL. Therefore, the employment of one more worker is always deeply considered by the employers themselves. The private sector corporations intend to make the higher profits with less labor. The public good is not the main objective. Of course, social responsibilities and other similar tasks are available, but the main objective is profit-making. In order to reach to that objective the minimum numbers of workers are considered. On the other hand, taxes are also very high in Turkey. (Firm 10, Insulating Material Production and Marketing)

You cannot create employment opportunities in a country where the labour costs are so high. Unfortunately, it is not possible to reach to the demanded employment rates. For this, some discounts are required. The employers have so high costs. In Turkey, all of the costs are to be met by the employers. The workers are only considering the net salary they are paid. Due to these reasons, we resist employing additional workers. We try to do more business with less workers. (Firm 8, Lighting Material Production and Marketing)

The costs are actually very high. The insurance costs are higher than the minimum wage itself. Then, I am considering to pay more than the minimum wage to the workers, but to expect more performance from them. It is true that workers are getting tired, but this is more beneficial for workers themselves. For example, I have not increased salaries since 2008. The workers afterwards started to demand a salary increase, and I offered them whether the salary increase or the additional workers. They preferred the increase in their salaries. (Firm 15, Construction and Petrol Station)

Therefore, taxes, severance pays and especially social security payments in Turkey are perceived as financial burdens and obstacles to employment by employers. On the other hand, in line with the examinations in 4.2.2.2; expensiveness of female labour or additional costs of employing women is presented as obstacles against young women's employment when high unemployment rates of young women come into question. In line with the findings examined in 5.5 reveal that childcare-related provisions, composed of lactation room, workplace nursery, maternity leave and women's right of severance pay in the first year of marriage are considered as indicators of expensiveness of female labour and presented as reasons of employers' reluctance against employing young women.

The additional costs of women's employment may establish challenges. Because, the more a staff loads upon the establishment, the worse s/he is. Particularly, the women cause additional costs. For example, we need to

meet some costs for their maternity leave. Similarly, in workplace nursery obligation, we need to find out a teacher for daily nursery, at least the children will be fed with milk, and these lead to serious costs. When state tries to make something easy for women and workers, it generates challenges for us. Clearly, it is a requirement to discount these rates. For example 150 TRL can be paid to the state instead of paying 350 TRL. I really do not understand why the state demands tax, premium from employment. What about the social security? Is social security system good and effective? No. (Firm 12, Real Estate)

In the light of the discussions in chapter 3 and 4, employers' emphasis on non-wage labour costs and taxes as obstacles against employment is the reflection of restructuring of labour market in Turkey towards neo-liberal premises since 1980s. This emphasis is the indicator of globalization of production and structural adjustment purposing deregulation and flexibility in labour market by deteriorating working conditions, labour standards and employment status to minimize cost of production and gain competitiveness in global markets as mentioned by Türel (1997), Ecevit (1998), Standing (1999), Moghadam (1999). However, as entitled by Onaran (2004), rigidity of labour market in Turkey is no more than a myth. In line with the examinations of Temiz (2004) and Ecevit (2008), although flexibility is presented as a solution for women's employment; feminization of informal sector, low-representation of women in trade-unions, gender-gap in wages, women's being intensified in the most precarious employment forms and non-institutionalized nature of childcare provisions or non-implementation of women-related obligations in the labour law puncture the impact of rigidity on young women's employment in Turkey and reflect the articulation between neo-liberal capitalism and patriarchy.

In accordance with the examinations in 4.2.2.2, employers also emphasis on extending flexible employment forms, removing restrictions in front of flexible working arrangements in the labour law and actualizing the conditions of flexicurity to increase employment of young and woman's labour force.

The employment problem is not solely for the young women. It is normal that general supply and demand imbalance is reflected to young women. I can say that the labour costs are high, the bureaucracy is more, and the incentives are not satisfactory. These generate obstacle against employment. However, the flexibility regulations laid down in the Labour Law, such as flexible working hours and flexible working forms, may be applied in favor of the women in the labour market. Some efforts should be performed for the actualization of the flexibility applications suggested in the Labour Law. (Firm 2, Glass Material Industry)

In line with the argument of Ercan (2007), the emphasis on flexible employment forms is an outcome of the job creation challenge of implemented neo-liberal economic policies.

However, the way it is presented as a remedy particularly for young women's unemployment is the reflection of the articulation between neo-liberal capitalism and patriarchy. In line with Marxist Feminist and Socialist Feminist premises, examined in 2.4.2 and 2.4.3, the intensification of young women's employment in flexible employment forms contribute to the accumulation of surplus, the maintenance of male dominance in private sphere and the withdrawal of state from welfare provisions. As emphasized by Toksöz (2007) and Ecevit (2008), the main problem is not the extension of flexible employment forms in the labour market. Rather, the challenges in here are these employment forms' becoming an obligation for young women, young women's being segmented and restricted in these vulnerable parts of labour market and young women's systematic exclusion from decent job opportunities. Indeed, findings examined in 5.3.1 and 5.3.3 reveal that young women are seeking for full-time, stable, secure jobs, especially public jobs and it is senseless to expect that young women will voluntarily accept working conditions and standards of flexible employment forms. Accordingly, the other critical point in here is that young women's intensification in those flexible employment forms is based on gender based division of labour and male-breadwinner ideology, the determined job priorities by which restrict young women's employment to flexible employment patterns.

On the other hand, as supporting the claims of TÜSİAD (2004), Gürsel (2005), WB (2007, 2009), Ercan (2007), TİSK (2007, 2009) and WB & SPO (2009), findings reveal that employers consider "so-called" rigid labour market regulations as reasons of the extension of informal sector in Turkey.

Labour costs are actually decisive on the employment. Numerous taxes are upon the responsibility of employers. If these costs are reduced, informal employment will decrease, and employment rates will increase. Rather than employment-oriented investments, rent-based income is encouraged. Therefore, in the existence of high taxes and high labour costs, investors do not prefer to take risk of employing someone. (Firm 14, Telecommunication Operator Service and Marketing.

Numerous employers prefer informal employment. There is a huge gap between the cost of employment of a worker and the net salary of this worker. When we consider having new positions, we make a detailed calculation before making the final decision. (Firm 6, Pharmaceutical Industry and Representation)

Accordingly, as supporting their previous claims above, employers assume that "the less the costs of the labour and the amount of taxes, the more the rate of employment in formal sector and the high the amount of wage paid to labour". Findings also reveal that employers consider extension of informal sector as individual preferences of labour. In other words,

according to employers the extension of informal sector is not only an outcome of their labour cost sensitivity but workers' consent on working without insurance.

The taxes paid by an employer are more than 50% of his/her income. This is a serious rate. It seems as if we worked for the state. I am doing a job, and determining the cost of this job should be my preference. I should be able to determine the level of my investments in direct proportion to my investment analysis and expectations. But when the state demands one of the two things from me, employment is a great challenge here. Because, I am paying 1000 TRL to my staff per month but his/her net salary is 700 TRL in reality. That is to say, I need to pay extra 300 TRL to the state for solely one staff. In this case, neither me nor the worker earns anything. I know that there are many people in Turkey ready to accept working without insurance due to this 300 TRL. In our sector, they generally offer this. The taxes are also very high. If you intend to employ workers in a completely formal way, you can realize the burden of costs well. As the costs are high, the numbers of formal jobs are less. Therefore, job opportunities are created, but they are informal jobs. For example, the individual pension system is common. Maybe I am talking about an unrealistic thing but the employers should pay only the wage and the responsibility of paying social security premiums should be under the initiative of the workers. I am paying his/her wage, I am buying his/her labour, that's all. It is unlogical to pay additional money to the state for this. If we only pay the net salaries, my staff will also be happy and satisfied. But now, the most important cost I have is my staff and I try to do maximum job with minimum staff. (Firm 1, Restaurant)

As emphasized in chapter 3, although workers' consent on working without insurance is interpreted as their preferences and interests by employers, the extension of informal sector is a cost minimizing strategy used by employers to gain competitiveness in (global) markets since 1980s. Informal sector, the extension of which is ensured by high unemployment rates, presents a reserve army of labour. The existence and maintenance of this reserve army of labour suppresses wages, working conditions and labour standards both in formal and informal sector and contributes to the accumulation of surplus. On the other hand, young women's being intensified in informal sector and their being designated as the reserve army of labour point at the fact that the maintenance of neo-liberalism is leaned on gender based division of labour and gender-based segmentation (Ecevit,2000,2008; Seguíno, 2002; Mills,2003; Bolcan,2006). Moreover, as signaled by the findings in 5.3.1 and 5.3.3, young women's, especially young mothers' emphasis on social insurance, permanent, full-time, regular jobs, and public employment indicate informal jobs' being compulsory choices rather than a preference for young women.

Shortly, assumed positive impact of decreased labour costs on young women's employment in formal sector is also no more than a myth. In line with the argument of Portes & Castells

(1989), as the border between flexibility and informality have been blurred by deregulation process since 1980s, employers' insistence on flexible employment forms and decreased labour costs as solutions for young women's unemployment should be considered as flexicurity's being modified name of informality hiding neo-liberalisms' attacks on formal working conditions and formal employment.

6.7 Gendered Outcomes of Economic Crisis

In accordance with the discussions in 4.3.2, according to employers, one of the reasons of high unemployment rates in Turkey is frequent economic crisis disrupting economic performance and obligating firms to downsize.

The economy in the country is not stable. Frequent economic crisis obligate establishments to be shrinked. When the capacity of an establishment is shrinked, 300 staff is reduced to 200 staff. These 200 staff is composed of workers in key positions. Thereby, these shrinked establishments do not generate employment. (Firm 14, Telecommunication Operator Service and Marketing)

The reason of unemployment in our country is associated with the fact that the market may never become in a normal level. I normally need to employ 100 staff in every provinces. When conditions are good, I employ such staff. But now, the market is depressed and there is a slowdown in works. (Firm 16, Telecommunication Material Production and Marketing)

As supported by the projections of international and national institutions examined in 4.3.1, findings indicate that downsizing of the firms in economic crisis conditions reduces the number of employed labour and compresses the employment creation performance of economy, already in trouble especially for women and young women in Turkey (Şenses, 2000; Bolcan,2006; Voyvoda, 2009). Within the scope of this study, 3 of 32 young women lost their jobs due to downsizing (as seen in Merve's experience) and bankruptcy (as seen in Didem's and Filiz's experiences) of the firms. However, these 3 young women do not have a clear idea or observations about the number, the gender and the ages of redundant workers. Only Merve, who worked in a bank previously, states that the firm considers those who are bachelor and who have started the job recently for redundancy.

They dismissed me in November, 2008 due to economic crisis. They displaced those single and newly employed. They preferred to displace those working for 3 years, rather than those working for 10 years. I think they considered those working for 10 years more qualified and experienced. It is also because of the severance pay. On the other hand, they prefer to displace those single, as a single person is only responsible from himself/herself. But a married man needs more and unemployment

will generate challenges for him. I think, I have been preferred as I have been employed for 3 years. (Merve, 24, Graduated from a high school)

Within the scope of findings, Merve's emphasis on *last in first out principle/severance pay effect*, marital status and performance is supported by the statements of employers as well. The critical point in here is that those criteria of redundancy make young people find themselves out of the door, firstly, in economic crisis conditions. Since young people, especially young women are recent entrants of labour market trying to find a permanent place for themselves, and since they are generally employed in informal sector and in lower rankings of the firms, and since they are free of familial and financial responsibilities, they are considered more suitable for redundancy by employers.

The reason of the elimination of young persons is possibly the severance pay. In addition, the reason of the easier elimination of women may be associated with their less economic responsibilities compared to those of men. Every woman has a family and a husband. (Firm 5, Hotel/Lodging Industry)

As both women and young persons do not have a breadwinning responsibility, they are preferred by employers for redundancy. The severance pay is effective in the displacement of the young staff. I will also consider severance pay and prefer to displace those young staff. On the other hand, if my female worker and male worker are in the same conditions, I prefer to displace woman rather than man, due to man's breadwinning responsibility. (Firm 7, Project-based Construction Engineering Project)

If redundancy becomes an obligation, the women may be preferred due to their underperformance. Moreover, if she is pregnant, we can consider displacing her firstly since she will leave the job sooner or later. Nevertheless, I think that if the woman worker is more effective than the man, I prefer the displacement of the man. (Firm 10, Insulating Material Production and Marketing)

In this context, as supported by the discussions in 4.3.4 and 5.3.1, although young women do not have clear observations about it, employers' statements indicate that female labour is much more vulnerable to redundancies than male labour in economic crisis conditions due to gender-based division of labour and male breadwinner ideology. Because the articulation between neo-liberal capitalism and patriarchy designates women's labour as a secondary, substitutable, lower-skilled and reserve army of labour, and men's labour as a primary labour and the breadwinner of the family. Young women who have somewhere to go (home), something to do (domestic chores) and who are financially supported by a man (father, husband) are perceived as more suitable candidates for redundancy by employers as argued

by Walby (1992), Lordođlu & Minibaş (1999), Eyübođlu et al (2000), Bolcan (2006) and Ecevit (2010).

On the other hand, in addition to male breadwinner ideology, other important factor determining employer's decision of displacement is the *working performance*. The working performance evaluation is made especially in large-scale firms. It is due to the fact that while primary communication is widespread in small-scale firms, in large-scale firms, employers are oblivious of private informations of labour (who lives alone, who are engaged or married, who have how many children, who is breadwinner of family, whether women is divorced or widowed) and generally make decision of displacement by looking at the performance or contribution of him/her. The logic of performance evaluation is based on that 'the lower the worker's performance or contribution, the higher the risk of redundancy'. In the light of the findings, although it is presented as an objective criterion, performance evaluation is subjective in itself and does not emancipate young women from patriarchal hobble. In fact, findings indicate that women's domestic responsibilities or the pressure of double burden hinders women's working performance and make them vulnerable to redundancy.

The reason of young persons' displacement is because their severance pay rates are lower. On the other hand, the reason of women's displacement is that their working performance is low due to their other responsibilities. Women have many responsibilities such as domestic tasks, child-caring...etc. When the responsibility of children, the responsibility of home and the responsibility of job come together, the woman's performance becomes low. Since the women are unable to balance all these, they are disrupted. For example, I am a lawyer of a computer company. No discrimination among men and women are available in there. But they have some certain performance evaluation criteria and if you cannot meet these criteria they are displacing you without considering your child or any other excuses. The working performance of women is also determined by these criteria and if their performances are low, they are displaced. (Firm 11, Law)

The reason of young persons' displacement is because their severance pay rates are lower. We displaced some workers due to economic crisis. Our elimination was totally based on performance evaluation. Even, those senior but not performing well were displaced. The first rankers in our performance assessments are generally men. Men are more ambitious than women. Moreover, the impact of marriage on the woman at her 30 and the man at his 30 is not the same. The women due to their domestic responsibilities are back in terms of performances and therefore they are displaced. (Firm 6, Pharmaceutical Industry and Representation)

In this context, findings reveal that unequal gender-based division of labour or double burden hinders young women's working performance and makes them more vulnerable to redundancies than men whose responsibility is only their jobs. Accordingly, findings point at

the patriarchal nature of employer's decision making about redundancies in economic crisis conditions which becomes a tool of reproducing gender-based division of labour and male dominance in labour market. In other words, economic crisis becomes a patriarchal cleaning in the labour market positioning female and male labour back to their proper places; women to the private sphere and men to the public sphere. On the other hand, in accordance with the premises of Marxist Feminism, employers' desisting from female labour in the first instance is normal. Since, women continue to contribute surplus accumulation at their home by reproducing current and future generations of labour without paid (Elson & Pearson,1986; Mackinnon,1989; Tong,1989; Walby,1990; Abbott, Wallace & Tyler, 2005). Within this scope, employers do not hesitate to displace women workers in economic crisis conditions and do not give priority or attach importance to women's unemployment. However, if young women's difficulty in re-employment is taken into consideration, indicated by the findings in 5.3.2, it is clearly seen that that these redundant young women's chance of being re-employed is very limited and restricted by patriarchal priorities.

6.8 Conclusion

This chapter provides an examination of the reproduction or maintenance of patriarchal capitalist logic and the ignorance or trivialization or normalization of young women's unemployment in an institutional level. Young women's job seeking process, human capital discussions, state's and family's approach to young women's unemployment, malestream configuration of trade unions and macro-economic policies and debates point at the fact that the operation of these institutions are leaned on gender-based division of labour and male-breadwinner ideology. The emphasis on gender based division of labour and male breadwinner ideology restricts young women's employment chances and makes them vulnerable to unemployment.

Findings indicate that unemployment of young women is over and above young women's individual struggles and requires institutional support to overcome patriarchal barriers in front of their entrance to labour market. However, state's, family's and economy's being clustered around neo-liberal premises since 1980s hinders expectations from them in terms of improving their labour market position and facilitating their entrance to labour market. In this context, findings point at the importance of feminist struggle and organization in terms of generating a gender-sensitive pressure on social policy and overcoming patriarchal barriers in front of young women both in public and private sphere.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

This study is a feminist study in which the reasons of the gender gap in youth unemployment rates and the reasons of the gender gap in educated young persons' unemployment rates are questioned and examined. This examination includes re-conceptualization and re-construction of existing gender - blind explanations and discussions with regards to feminist approach. The study mainly focuses on exploring the reasons of young women's unemployment in urban labour markets and in private sector. In general, the reasons of young women's unemployment is considered in relation to employers' discriminatory practices against women in the recruitment process or young women's preferences, selectivity and commitment to work. However, this study approaches it in a more comprehensive manner by considering state, labour market, family and the articulation mechanisms amongst them as addressees of the problem and by enabling to explore the employment bargain between young women and employers within these articulation mechanisms. Because, this study and its findings suggest that the labour-capital matching process or the employment bargain between young women and employers is over and above employer's hiring and firing and, young woman's job seeking, finding and accepting practices. In this context, instead of assigning the responsibility of young women's unemployment on young women's or employers' shoulders, this study attempts to understand macro level articulation mechanisms and their effects on young women's and employers' perceptions and practices. Accordingly, in the direction of the feminist methodological standpoint, 48 semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with 32 unemployed young women and 16 employers in the context of this study.

As a feminist study, this study is based on an assumption that the explanations and examinations not challenging gender-based power relations are far from providing an integrated frame about young women's unemployment and are condemned to reproduce male domination in both public and private sphere. As examined in *chapter 2*, although young women's unemployment is considered in relation to their *preferences* in terms of labour force participation, human capital, turn-over and absentee rates, work commitment, interrupted working history, job priorities and position in the family by non-feminist approaches, a close and gender sensitive look to young women's experiences confirm that

the patriarchal and capitalist power relations in both public and private sphere have decisive and restrictive effects on young women's job seeking, finding and accepting practices and ultimately on their job/employment opportunities. Indeed, findings indicate that young women are the most determined group of female labour in the labour market with regards to working and economic independency and their interrupted working patterns, their job priorities, their low human capital and their passivity in job seeking -presented as reasons of their unemployment- can only be evaluated in relation to unequal gender-based division of labour and its reproduction in patriarchal capitalist labour market, state and family. Moreover, this study insists that the problem is not only a challenge against patriarchy or capitalism. Rather, the fundamental point here is their articulations with each other and the reflections of these articulations on young women's employment and unemployment.

As emphasized in *chapter 2*, young women's unemployment is not an outcome of their exclusion from labour market, but their being segregated and crowded in its particular parts. Findings of this study indicate that the re/construction of gender - based segregation and crowding in the labour market with regards to the articulation between capitalism and patriarchy and its reproduction in state's policies, in family's approach to young women's working have become important indicators of young women's unemployment. It is because of the fact that young women's segmentation and crowding in these particular parts of labour market restricts their employment chances and increases their unemployment rates. However, again, the important point revealed by the study is that the segregation and crowding could not be considered in relation to young women's individual preferences. Rather, it is important to capture its obligatory and inhibitive configuration imposed by these patriarchal capitalist articulation mechanisms. Moreover, why / how / when patriarchal strategy of exclusion has turned to segregation and crowding, how segmentation and crowding, which are derived from gender-based division of labour, have become strategies of neo-liberal / new right reconstruction of labour market, state and state policies since 1980s, how family is integrated to these restructuring process and how these relations and articulations foster young women's unemployment rates should be well understood.

In line with the discussions in *chapter 3*, the economic restructuring or structural adjustment process, experienced since 1980s, represents an important brittle point in women's labour market position. The experiences confirm that the burden of restructuring and adjustment is mainly on the shoulders of female labour whose positioning in patriarchal society compensates both capitalist and patriarchal power relations and interests and enables

integration with and being competitive in global markets. Turkey has been one of the pioneer countries of structural adjustment. It has leaned its growth strategy on export-oriented industrialization and has implemented related policies in a consistent way since the adoption of 24th January Decisions in 1980. Although structural adjustment experience of Turkey is similar with the experiences of other developing countries, non-feminization of labour force and employment differentiate Turkey's experience from others.

Non-feminization can be interpreted as the reflection of high unemployment rates, or rather *employment creation challenge* of export-oriented industrialization model, in spite of achieved high growth rates in Turkey. As emphasized in *chapter 3*, there has been a contradiction between labour supply and labour demand in Turkey for a long time, which makes unemployment a complex and structural problem. Moreover, that unemployment problem of the young people, and particularly young women, has presented an emergency to be resolved in Turkey, which is different from other developed and developing countries, is associated with demographic transition. Importantly, if the employment rates are not increased in accordance to growing young population, this demographic transition, which is perceived as 'a windows of opportunity', will mean higher unemployment rates in Turkey.

The direction of the process will be more decisive on young women's labour market position. Because, labour market indicators indicate that unemployment in Turkey is especially a young women - oriented problem requiring a relevant evaluation and consideration. When compared with young men and women in older ages, young women's higher labour force participation rates, higher labour force participation and unemployment rates among educated young women, their longer unemployment durations and their low employment rates even in service sector point at the fact that the export-oriented growth model and structural adjustment have not generated employment opportunities for young women, especially for educated ones. In this context, the model offered by this study considers young women's unemployment in relation to Turkey's structural adjustment process and insists on its destructive effects job creation, especially qualified job creation performance as an indicator of young women's unemployment.

However, the discussions in *chapter 4* indicate that the employment creation challenge is not a main focus of the examinations about young women's employment and unemployment. Rather, the reasons of young women's unemployment are reduced to the rigidity of labour market in Turkey, young women's insufficient human capital and their individual

preferences, and failure or selectivity. This is an outcome of the fact that the structural adjustment process and related policies are concrete appearances of neo-liberal or new-right logic. This logic represents an important axial dislocation in public policy, configuration of labour market and family. It gains strength from gender ideology and it realizes or reproduces state's, male labour's and capital's interests in public and private spheres by placing young women's labour to appropriate places in the labour with regards to male-breadwinner ideology. Indeed, in Turkey, the main focus of social policy since 1980s has not been the full integration of women into labour market. Rather, it is the positioning of women within the labour market in which they can fulfill the domestic responsibilities of the state and reproduce the current and next generations of the labour and contribute to the surplus simultaneously and maintain the male domination (the husband or the father) in the household.

In one side, state strives to cut public costs at the expense of relinquishing its welfare-related perspective. Young women's unemployment is considered in relation to flexibility / deregulation, active labour market policies and entrepreneurship by state representing a break from employment creation and an invisible handshake between new-right and patriarchy in state policies. As emphasized in *chapter 4*, labour market regulations which regulate labour's right and women's labour market positions are considered as expense items by state and this approach leaves young women vulnerable in their employment bargain with employer and undermines young women's labour force participation and employment possibilities and opportunities.

Childcare is one of the important dimensions of young women's unemployment. In addition to the state's reluctance towards perceiving childcare as a social problem and providing public childcare, the existing regulations are not deterrent and controlled. The daily nursery obligation in private sector is depended on the number of female workers and, this legitimates and fosters gender based discrimination in the recruitment process. Moreover, most recently, a step has been taken by the state to privatize childcare or to make it an area out of an obligation for employers. However, as confirmed by findings, the most important factor differentiating young women's situation from older women is that they are in a marriageable and reproductive age and they have pre-school children. Maternity leave, daily nursery obligations and absenteeism are perceived as efficiency and cost matters by employers. Moreover, as pointed by the findings, the most important dimension of employers' reluctance towards employing young women is the fact that they are *volatile*

labour due to their expected marriage and pregnancy, or the possibility to *leave the job*, which imposes financial burden of recruitment. Employer's volatility concern is confirmed by young women's tendency of leaving their jobs after pregnancy. However, this tendency can not be interpreted as their low work commitment. Rather, it should be considered in relation to gender ideology defining women's main responsibility as a motherhood and legitimating state's withdrawal from regulating childcare. Lack of childcare services restricts young mother's chance of finding a job providing daily nursery opportunities, increases their reservation wages and makes them stay at home until their children start primary school.

Accordingly, states' withdrawal from regulating the employment bargain between young women and employers restricts employment possibilities of young women. Findings reveal that for employers who are in search of accumulating a surplus value and efficiency, the problem is not related to labour's gender at the first glance. What is important is workers' not imposing additional cost to employers or threatening surplus accumulation by suspending efficiency. As the state no longer fills the gender gap in working conditions, young women's private life; that is to say, their motherhood or bachelorhood, whether or not they have someone to consign their children become dimensions of recruitment process and excuses of discrimination against them. This process is fostered by the fact that employment relation starts with employment contract in Turkey or gender-based discrimination in recruitment and job seeking process is unregulated.

On the other hand, even if young married women or young mother are employed, state's withdrawal from women-related regulations intensifies the double burden experienced by young women and hinders their working performances. As peeped out in economic crisis conditions, this hindered job performance makes young women find themselves out of the door in the first place. Within this scope, without restoring the contradiction in young women's job related and domestic related difficulties, solving young women's unemployment by providing incentives to employers is condemned to be temporary and ineffectual efforts. Moreover, providing incentives to employers rather than young women is an unsurprising outcome of new-right logic which point at the state's preference between labour and capital, the patriarchal capitalist bargain and the articulation of interests between state and employers.

Discussions in *chapter 4* reveal that the state's fight with unemployment is leaned on active labour market policies, and reduced to vocational training courses in Turkey. As an

unsurprising outcome of new-right logic and its articulation with human capital approach, young women's unemployment is associated with their low level of education and job experience by the state and employers. Although job experience is an important indicator of general youth unemployment, the factor which differentiates young women's situation from young men is its patriarchal nature. Findings indicate that one of the main characteristics of young women's labour is not intra-labour force mobility but inter-labour force mobility or obligatory intermittent working history obstructing their accumulation of job experience and their re/employment chances. Inexperience is also an outcome of young women's difficulty in finding a job that meets their job related expectations and families' son preference in terms of encouraging to work with regards to male-breadwinner ideology. In this context, findings point at the fact that although active labour market policies are reduced to vocational training courses, other components of these policies including internship programmes could be activated and focused on filling the gender gap in job experiences.

On the other hand, given the high unemployment rates among educated young women, young women's unemployment can not be discussed in relation to their low education level. Findings indicate that young women do not perceive their low or high education level as a reason of their unemployment. Rather, they, especially university graduate young women, insist on the lack of job opportunities in the labour market, confirming job and particularly qualified job creation challenge of adopted economy policies since 1980s. As confirmed by young women and employers, this also relates to the skill-mismatch, implying a contradiction between skills demanded by employers and obtained through education. One side of this is an outcome of Turkey's changing role in the new international division of labour. As confirmed by the findings, employers are in need of qualified intermediate staff and say that they have difficulty in finding a labour meeting their expectations. This explains active labour market policies' being focused on vocational training courses and employers' being in favour of labour graduated from vocational schools. This also explains high unemployment rates among young women graduated from universities and general high schools. However, the factor which differentiates the situation of young women's labour force from young male labour force is the limited number of them in vocational education and in vocational schools related to the demand in labour market due to the gender-based segmentation in vocational training.

This gender-based segregation in vocational training is also an important characteristic of İŞKUR's vocational training courses. Although the need for intermediate labour has

repeatedly been expressed by employers, it is extremely outstanding that young women are still directed to women's jobs by provided courses. However, it is important to adopt courses with the demand in the labour market and increase the number of young women in employment guarantee courses. As revealed by findings, the intermediate labour demanded by employers should be able to use machines and adopt themselves to new technology and accordingly, the patriarchal gap between women and machines can only be challenged and restored by giving place to young women in these employment guarantee courses.

In this context, although young women perceive vocational training courses of İŞKUR positive in terms of gaining additional marketable skills, they do not consider İŞKUR, its courses and received certificates effective in terms of employment. These courses are perceived by young women as the delaying tactics of İŞKUR in the absence of job opportunities in the labour market. Young women's emphasis on the lack of jobs in the labour market or, more clearly, on employment creation challenge is confirmed by employment rates of young women who have finished those courses and received their certificates. This implies the fact that not only economic policies but also the programmes derived from this patriarchal capitalist approach have poor performance of employment creation.

With regards to the articulation between capitalism and patriarchy, when young women's integration with labour market and global production are considered, it has been generally considered in relation to flexibility and flexible employment patterns in Turkey since 2003. It represents employers' voices finding an expression in state's policies and regulations. As indicated by the findings, employers dangle after mechanisms that minimize labour cost and they perceive and present non-wage labour costs, taxes and women-related obligations in the labour law as obstacles to young women's employment, intrinsically, to their surplus and competitiveness power. Flexibility, and most recently flexicurity, can be interpreted as a transformed and sympathized form of informality. As employers perceive high unemployment rates and the extension of informal employment as outcomes of labour market rigidity in Turkey, it can be easily argued that flexicurity is a medium form between informalization and formalization solving the challenge between the job security and the surplus in favor of capital.

The critical dimension of this discussion is that the promotion of flexibility and flexible employment patterns as solutions for young women's unemployment can only be interpreted

as the reflection of the articulation between capitalism and patriarchy or reproduction of the interests of capital and male dominance in the labour market. With regards to high informal employment rates among young women and the abeyance of existing women-related regulations, it could not be assumed that the labour market regulations in Turkey are rigid and generate an obstacle especially to young women's employment. In fact, young women's previous job experiences and job seeking processes clearly show that they are obligated to work under hard, unsecure working conditions and in temporary jobs including additional women-related tasks such as washing, cleaning and serving. These imposed additional tasks are not related to their positions, but related to their role in patriarchal society by which they are expected to be unwaged officewives. The critical point in here is its restrictive effects on young women's employment chances. Indeed, different from young men and older women, *job-related factors* especially working conditions, the permanency of a job and the existence of social insurance are crucial indicators of young women's decision about accepting and rejecting a job offer or leaving or staying on the current job. Accordingly, although part-time employment is presented as a miracle for young women's employment, as indicated by findings, young women insist on full time, secure, permanent employment opportunities. Within this scope, the main problem is not the extension or promotion of flexible jobs. Actually, these employment patterns might be a solution for job creation challenge if their relations with job security and labour's rights are well constructed. In line with the experiences of other countries, the problem is these employment patterns' becoming an obligation for young women who have difficulty in finding jobs fitting with their job-related priorities and expectations. Because, young women's concentration in flexible employment patterns implicitly operates for deepening gender-inequality, reproducing female labour's inferior and secondary position, placing young women in reserve army of labour and removing them from primary, decent and permanent employment opportunities in the labour market.

All those discussions reflect the reproduction of the articulation between capitalism and patriarchy in the states' policies and the invisible handshake between capital and state. Discussions reveal that the system is leaned on the functionality of division of roles between women and men reproducing rather than challenging gender inequality. In this context, young women emphasize on young men's privileged position in the state's policies due to their breadwinning position in the society which indirectly trivializes young women's unemployment and legitimates employers' discriminatory practices against young women's labour. The side effect of this invisible handshake is that it obstructs young women's chance

of employment, reduces their opportunities to flexible employment patterns and weakens their power in employment bargain with employers.

The factor that trivializes young women's unemployment and weakens young women's bargaining power is not only the articulation of interests between the state and capital. Rather, the family as a bearer of patriarchal premises becomes an important dimension and indicator of young women's job seeking, finding and accepting process by reproducing determined rules of young women's relations with public sphere derived from male-breadwinner ideology. The important point in here is these patriarchal rules' restrictive and segregative effects on young women's employment opportunities. Firstly, son preference is one of the important dimension of young women's job seeking process. As emphasized by young women, due to their breadwinner and supporter role in the family, son's human capital and employment is a priority of the family. It is an unsurprising outcome of gender-based division of labour in which young women's labour is considered as secondary labour and young women's employment or working is perceived as an unnecessary or extra thing to do if there is no financial difficulty. When a son, a daughter, a husband and a wife are unemployed at the same time, what is expected from young woman is to wait until man's employment before seeking job for herself. It is because of the fact that male unemployment, different from female unemployment, is a matter of honour and is considered as a failure of the man in breadwinning, and ultimately, a challenge to male dominance. In this context, by reproducing gender-based division of labour, family trivializes young women's unemployment and legitimates employers' discriminatory practices against them.

Family is not only the bearer or reproducer of male domination in private sphere but it is also the bearer of articulated interests of the capital and the state, indirectly, by reproducing segregation, crowding and young women's unemployment. Segregation, crowding and unemployment are gendered strategies in which state's withdrawal from welfare expenses, capital's surplus accumulation and integration with global markets, and male authority and dominance in the household are realized and maintained by the reproduction of young women's determined rules of relations with public sphere within private sphere. As indicated by findings, young women's employment is a conditional matter, the conditions of which are determined by the articulation between capitalism and patriarchy and reproduced by gendered mechanisms of *permission* and *consent* within the household. Indeed, one of the important fact revealed by the findings is that the bargain between men (father, brother or boyfriend) and young women within the family does not depend on working or not working

but on job preference and working conditions. In other words, it doesn't depend on exclusion but on segregation. The priorities and opinions of fathers, husbands and boyfriends become much more important and decisive than that of young women. Especially, the decisiveness of husband on married young woman's job seeking and accepting is much more prominent than father. Within this context, getting permission and gaining consent are inevitable and important parts of young women's job seeking although education level increases young women's likelihood of resistance. However, the problem is not only related to getting permission and gaining consent of the family but of the society in general. Indeed, even if the conditions of an offered job do not create problem for the family, the perceptions and approaches of neighbourhood can become decisive on families' and young women's decisions about the job. Further, as indicated by the findings, when there is no man in the house, as seen in mother-headed families' experiences, the system becomes anxious about the continuity of its operation and generates other male figures such as uncles to fill the gap of male power in the household.

In this context, it can be clearly argued that getting permission and gaining consent are gendered mechanisms by which patriarchal capitalist system realizes and reproduces itself. The system makes family, husband and neighbourhood responsible for inspecting young women's placement at appropriate places in the labour market, in a way that will not challenge gender-based division of labour and male-dominance in both public and private sphere. In this context, although accepting and rejecting a job offer is considered as young women's individual preferences, selectivity and job disliking by employers, it should be interpreted as the reflection of young women's being enclosed by the patriarchal frame giving no way other than playing the given/determined role.

Another important dimension of young women's unemployment is the way they seek for a job, the tools and mechanisms they use in job seeking and the networks they depend on. Although young women's unemployment is considered in relation to their passivity in job seeking, this study insists on patriarchal restrictions which keep young women away from using different job searching tools effectively. The findings point at the fact that young women's job seeking heavily relies on their kith and kin relations and their possibility of using different job searching mechanisms is obstructed by their fear of being exposed to unwanted behaviours (sexual harassment), their mistrust on job vacancies on newspapers, their disbelief in İŞKUR, their domestic responsibilities and their being lack of social capital. The critical point in here is young women's difficulty in using job seeking tools effectively

restrict their employment chances, their access to better employment opportunities and longer their duration of unemployment. Moreover, it becomes a reproducer of young women's restricted relations with public sphere, or rather, male domination in both household and labour market. Although kith and kin-based job seeking is perceived as the most effective way of job seeking by young women, it should be interpreted as another gendered strategy reproducing patriarchal job priorities and accordingly, leading segregation, crowding and unemployment. The findings indicate that young women's job seeking relies on a man –*an uncle*– because men are in higher positions or they have higher social capital than women in the labour market. This man functions as a gatekeeper of the labour market guaranteeing male control over job opportunities and placement of women in appropriate places with regards to the articulation between capitalism and patriarchy.

All those discussions lead us to two important implications of this study: First, as confirming the model of study, patriarchal capitalist premises reproduced by labour market, family and state have decisive role in labour-capital matching process and make this process an employment bargain between young women and employers. Findings reveal that young women try to find a place for themselves in the labour market within the scope of these determined gendered rules and regulations. These hidden gendered rules and regulations find their expressions in young women's job priorities and preferences. As pointed by the findings, young women are reluctant to work under hard, unsecure working conditions, until late hours, in night shifts, in men-intensive working environments or one-to-one with a man and, in jobs requires business trips, getting around one place to another throughout the day and communicating with a lot of people, generally with men. On the other hand, they would like to work in desk jobs and closer to home especially when working hours are long. If young women are married or have children, these priorities become much more obligatory and restrictive. Independent from their age and education level, voluntarily or involuntarily, young women are in search of job opportunities fitting with their job priorities that restrict their chance of employment in private sector. Especially young women having high human capital are the most disadvantaged group. Because, in addition to their job priorities against patriarchy, their human capital related priorities and expectations obstruct their employment chances. The critical point in here is that although these job priorities are perceived as young women's preferences, selectivity and low work commitment by employers, these should be interpreted as hidden patriarchal limits related to young women's working that are assured by getting permission and gaining consent and by the state's reluctance towards regulating young women's relations with labour market in a gender-sensitive manner. On the other side,

employers reproduce these hidden patriarchal priorities and their interests derived from these priorities. Indeed, employers also hesitate to employ young women in positions and sectors offering male-intensive environment or causing the risk of sexual harassment, requiring long working hours and physical endurance, including business trips and field works. Moreover, employers find themselves in a complex process of labour cost calculation and they consider young women's possibility of leaving their jobs, getting maternity leave, imposing provision of childcare facilities and absenteeism in recruitment process. Because, employers seek for someone who would work permanently, effectively, devote / commit himself / herself to the job totally and who would not impose additional costs and responsibilities threatening their surplus accumulation and competitiveness.

It is evident that priorities of young women and employers are contradicting priorities. In other words, the problem is the contradiction between offered working conditions *in private sector* derived from neo-liberalism and determined rules of young women's relations with labour market derived from gender-based division of labour. Young women and employers enter an employment bargain through these contradicting priorities. Positions, occupations and sectors in which this contradiction is reified become places that young women have a chance of finding a job for themselves. This point leads to segmentation and crowding of young women in particular sections of labour market. However, segmentation and crowding can not be reduced to discriminatory practices of employers. Rather, the criteria that designate women's and men's job are these job priorities determining not only employers' but also young women's decisions of rejecting and accepting a job offer. Findings reveal that young women try to solve this contradiction by standing to public jobs meeting their patriarchal and human capital based expectations. However, one of the important effects of structural adjustment process on labour market is privatization policies eliminating public employment opportunities and restricting especially educated young women's chances of employment.

Segmentation and crowding of young women in labour market should be considered in relation to structural adjustment experience of Turkey, particularly within the scope of employment creation challenge. While the numbers of young women being segmented and crowded in those particular parts of labour market has been increasing, the numbers of young women having a change of finding a job for themselves has been decreasing due to poor job creation especially qualified job creation performance of implemented economy policies since 1980s. It can be anticipated that privatization policies, demographic transition and

young women's increasing labour force participation tendency will deepen this challenge and continue to increase young women's unemployment rates. In this context, as long as the state withdraws from regulating and balancing young women's position in the labour market in a gender-sensitive manner, the family reproduces those priorities by patriarchal mechanisms of permission and consent and the labour market and its institutions follow neo-liberal premises, these articulated interests would offer young women no more than two options: being unemployed or accepting flexible, informal, atypical employment patterns both of which reproduce consistently the interest of capital, state and family. Indeed, unemployed or flexibly employed young women are able to contribute to surplus of employers by reproducing current and next generation of labour force and provide cheap and flexible labour and enable the state to cut its welfare-related expenses and maintain male dominance and authority in private sphere.

Within this scope, second important implication of this study relates to its insistence on labour force participation and employment of young women and, feminist struggle and organizations. The findings point that the state, family, labour market lean their operations on male-breadwinner ideology and systematically trivialize or normalize young women's employment and unemployment. In other words, state's, family's and economy's being clustered around patriarchal capitalist premises since 1980s hinders expectations from them in terms of women's empowerment. However, as indicated by the findings, unemployment of young women is over and above their individual struggles and requires institutional support to overcome patriarchal barriers in front of their entrance to labour market. In this context, this study emphasizes on the importance of feminist struggle and organizations in generating civil and organized pressure on social policy and challenging male domination in the society. Moreover, in contrast to the premises of preference theory, this study reveals that unemployed young women insist and decide on working whatever their reasons are. This is interpreted as a positive tendency by this study due to the fact that women's employment and labour force participation provide possibilities of consciousness raising, organizing and changing the existing system. In this point, legal regulations proposed to and implemented by mainstream institutions can not be main struggle form, rather challenging whole system is fundamental for filling the gender gap in unemployment rates.

Finally, this study provides a comprehensive frame of the reasons of young women's unemployment. Moreover, it implicitly challenges existing policies and approaches and reconstructs them in the direction of feminist approach. This study is able to be a road map

for employment policies about women and especially young women. Accordingly, a following work can be a policy-oriented study that would focus on proposing gender sensitive policies to fill the gender gap in unemployment and employment rates. On the other hand, active labour market policies and their effectiveness in terms of women's and young women's employment are very important waiting for a gender sensitive consideration. In this context, the following studies can also be focused on active labour market policies and on investigating them in a more detailed and gender sensitive manner.

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